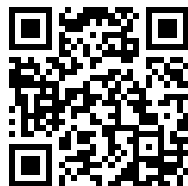

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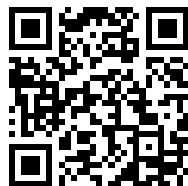
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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

IV. THE LANGUAGES OF THE EARLY CHURCH: (A) GREEK AND THE GREEK BIBLE.

THE whole history and developement of the Canon of the New Testament, as we have so far seen it unroll itself before our eyes moves within the confines of a single language. From the 'traditions' handed on by St Paul to his converts down to the Gospel and Apostolicon of Marcion everything is Greek. But before we pass beyond the rough chronological limit which has bounded our horizon in the preceding chapters, and follow the Gospel in its process of transference into the vernacular of the Latin-speaking and Syriac-speaking peoples, we must once more, in the present chapter, travel over the same century and a half of the Christian *origines* and study them anew from the linguistic standpoint. We must satisfy ourselves to what extent the dominance of the Greek tongue in the Christian society goes back to the very beginning, to the Jewish surroundings which cradled the infant Church: and we shall find that the experiences of the journey will not have been without direct profit to our equipment as textual critics of the New Testament.

Three languages shared the field and divided the interests of the Judaism of the first century: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. Hebrew was the ancestral language of the Jews. Aramaic was now, and had long been, the vernacular of the Jews in Palestine, acquired gradually by them from their neighbours round about. Greek, at the time of the Christian era, was the only language familiar to most Jews outside the Holy Land, and as the common medium of intercourse between the peoples of the Eastern

Mediterranean was known to many even of the Aramaic-speaking Jews of Palestine.

HEBREW had wholly ceased to be a spoken language: the 'Εβραϊστί of the title on the Cross, the 'Εβραῖς διδάκτος of St Paul's speech on the steps of the *Parembolē*, mean Aramaic, not Hebrew¹: but it was the language of the sacred books which counted for so much in the life of Judaism, and in view both of the high standard of education among the Jews and of the near affinity of the Hebrew and Aramaic tongues, it is probable that there were still many Jews who could understand it. In the synagogues of Palestine the Scriptures were always read in the Hebrew original: no translation into Aramaic was ever made, but the time came when for the benefit of Aramaic-speaking congregations a Targum or running paraphrase in Aramaic of the Hebrew text was allowed a subordinate position in the synagogue services, much in the same way as after the official Latin Gospel in the Mass a rendering into the vernacular often follows in French churches to-day. The earliest of these Targums that are extant, the Targum of Onkelos on the Pentateuch and the Targum of Jonathan on the Prophets, may go back in substance to the first and second centuries A.D.: and no doubt the beginnings of the system are to be sought for earlier still.

ARAMAIC—a name which, though properly speaking it is interchangeable with Syriac and applies equally to all its dialects, is now used conventionally by historians of Christianity to distinguish the dialect of Palestine or southern Syria from the related but not identical dialect of northern Syria or Edessa—was doubtless the familiar language of our Lord and His apostles. All the fragments of His speech which our Greek Gospels have preserved untranslated are in the Aramaic idiom²: and there have been few

¹ It is a curious point of contact between the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse that in both books the writer is fond of introducing names, in the Gospel Aramaic, in Apoc. Hebrew, under the title 'Εβραϊστί (the word does not occur in any other New Testament book)—Jo. v 2 Βηθσαθά or Βηθσαιδά or Βηθσεδά, xix 13 Γαββαθά, xix 17 Γολγοθά (and cf. xx 16 'Ραββουνεί): Apoc. ix 11 'Αβαδδών, xvi 16 'Αρ Μαγεδών. The Greek and Gentile Luke apologizes for the vernacular 'Ακελδαμάχ, with perhaps a touch of polite disdain, τῇ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν, Acts i 19.

² Marc. v 41 Ταλειθά κύριε, vii 11 Κορβάν, vii 34 'Εφθαθά, xv 34 'Ελωί 'Ελωί λαμὰ σαβαχθανεί, and cf. iii 17 Βοανηργές. In all these cases translations are given side by side with the original. That our Lord would be expected to speak in Aramaic is further clear from Acts xxvi 14 ἤκουσα φωνὴν λέγουσαν πρὸς με τῇ 'Εβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ. [Compare too the words 'Ραββεί, 'Ραββουνεί, 'Ώσαννά.]

more interesting contributions within our own generation to the better understanding of the Gospels than the attempt to get behind the Greek form in which our Lord's teaching, as it has come down to us, is clothed, and to penetrate, in the case at least of the simpler ideas and expressions, to the underlying Aramaic kernel. It is possible too that the local church of Jerusalem, and its lineal representative after the flight of the Christians at the time of the great siege, the church of Pella, were bilingual and still understood, perhaps still employed for worship, the language used by Christ. Even outside Palestine some few of the first disciples found their missionary field among Semitic-speaking peoples. Early tradition connected St Bartholomew with the church of Ethiopia, St Thomas and St Thaddaeus with the church of Edessa. And though all the books of the New Testament, as we have them, are in Greek, the possibility must not be excluded that our Greek books may in some cases be reproductions of an Aramaic original or at least expansions of an Aramaic nucleus.

Yet examination of the evidence does not, save in a single instance, lend any real colour to such suppositions. Jerome explained the difference between the styles of 1 and 2 Peter by suggesting that the apostle employed different interpreters in the composition of the Greek of the two epistles¹: but Jerome probably underrated the extent to which Greek must have become a familiar language even to an apostle who had started life as a fisherman in Galilee, and we must look on other lines for the solution of the problem of the *secunda Petri*. Papias, too, long before Jerome, had called Mark the interpreter of Peter, and Irenaeus had followed Papias²: but if it were certain that they meant by ἑρμηνευτής an interpreter from one language into another, would it not be more likely that the interpretation was from Greek into Latin for Latin-speaking hearers at Rome, rather than from Aramaic into Greek? Clement of Alexandria accounts for the difference of Greek style between the epistle to the Hebrews and the (other) Pauline epistles by the conjecture that St Paul wrote to the Hebrews in Hebrew, and that the Greek text is a rendering

Ep. ad Hedibiam 120 *Quaest.* xi (Vallarsi, i 838) 'Denique et duae epistolae quae feruntur Petri stilo inter se et caractere discrepant structuraque verborum. ex quo intellegimus, pro necessitate rerum diversis eum usum interpretibus'.

Eus. *H. E.* iii 39: Iren. *adv. Haer.* III i 1 (Greek in Eus. v 8): and cf. Jerome in the passage just quoted, 'Habebat . . . interpretem . . . beatus Petrus Marcum, cuius evangelium Petro narrante et illo scribente compositum est'.

by St Luke.¹ Modern critics have suggested the addition of the epistle of St James to the list of books with Aramaic originals²: but their reasons are as purely *a priori* as are Jerome's for the epistles of St Peter.

In fact, there is one and only one tangible piece of evidence for an Aramaic original of any New Testament book: and that is of course Papias's categorical statement that 'Matthew composed the *Logia* in the Hebraic dialect, and every one interpreted them as best he could'. Scholars are agreed in accepting on this testimony St Matthew's authorship of Aramaic *Logia*, but they differ widely as to what these *Logia* were. Prof. Burkitt suggests that they were a collection of Old Testament prophecies³: and nothing would in itself be more probable than that at some very early date *Testimonia* were brought together out of the Old Testament for the purposes of the controversy with Judaism. But what need in that case of individual and separate effort at translation, when the Greek Bible was in all hands to supply an authorized rendering? And why should Eusebius, whose interest was concentrated on the genesis of the canonical Gospels, have inserted unexplained this quotation from Papias, if the *Logia* had nothing more to do with the Gospel as Eusebius knew it than the provision of its references to the Old Testament? Even if we may not, with Lightfoot, translate *Logia* by 'Gospel' pure and simple, it is impossible to account for the ancient and unanimous ascription of our First Gospel to St Matthew's authorship, if there does not lie very near behind it some document at least of 'Sayings' for which the apostle was directly and immediately responsible.⁴ It is interesting to note that Jerome, at the end of the fourth century, found in use among the Nazarene sect in Palestine a Hebrew—that is, an Aramaic—'Gospel according to the Hebrews', which the sectaries themselves appear to have claimed as the original of the Greek Gospel of St Matthew. While it kept on the whole fairly close to the canonical Gospel, its variations, omissions and additions were yet considerable enough to induce Jerome to translate it for the benefit of his contemporaries into both Greek and

¹ ap. Eus. *H. E.* vi 14.

² See Mayor's edition, pp. ccv sqq.: Mayor himself rejects the view.

³ *Gospel History* pp. 126-128.

⁴ See above, *J. T. S.* Jan. 1909, pp. 171, 172.

Latin.¹ Not a fragment has survived either of these translations or of the text from which they were made: our knowledge of this 'Hebrew' Gospel is confined to some dozen citations made from it in other writings of St Jerome.²

But the real Gospel 'according to the Hebrews', just like the Epistle 'to the Hebrews', was written not in Hebrew or Aramaic, but in Greek. So too, as we have just seen, were the Epistle which James the Lord's brother, the head of the Christian community at Jerusalem, addressed 'to the Twelve Tribes that are in the Dispersion', and also the Epistle of St Peter to the 'sojourners of the Dispersion' in Asia Minor. The *Didache* is a Jewish-Christian document and modelled on Jewish exemplars: but the *Didache* again is in Greek. The literature of the Christian controversy with Judaism, the Dialogue of Jason with Papiscus, and the Dialogue of Justin Martyr with Trypho, was embodied from the first in the same language.

That GREEK was the language of the primitive Church is thus a general statement which needs only very slight reservations. And early Christianity was Greek, because contemporary Judaism was in the main Greek also.

The Jewish Dispersion was one of the most marked results of the great movement of Hellenic expansion which accompanied and followed the conquests of Alexander the Great. Cities were the distinctive feature of Greek as opposed to 'barbarian' life: and the planting of new cities was the principal expedient by which Alexander and the successors who partitioned his dominions after him set themselves to Hellenize the Eastern world. But the native Greek population must have soon proved insuf-

¹ *Vir. Ill.* § 2 'Evangelium quoque quod appellatur secundum Hebraeos et a me nuper in Graecum Latinumque sermonem translatus est, quo et Origenes saepe utitur': in *Matt.* xii 13 'in evangelio quo utuntur Nazaraei et Ebionitae, quod nuper in Graecum de Hebraeo sermone transtulimus, et quod vocatur a plerisque Matthaei authenticum': *adv. Pelag.* iii 2 'in evangelio iuxta Hebraeos quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone sed Hebraicis litteris scriptum est; quo utuntur usque hodie Nazaraei secundum Apostolos sive, ut plerique autumant, iuxta Matthaeum; quod et in Caesariensi habetur bibliotheca': in *Mic.* vii 6 'evangelio, quod secundum Hebraeos editum nuper transtulimus' (Vallarsi, ii 817; vii 77; ii 768; vi 530).

² Collected in Westcott *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels* Appendix D: but no. 12 of the list there given should perhaps be omitted, for in that passage (*Comm. in Matt.* ii 5) the words 'in ipso Hebraico' may mean 'in the original Hebrew [of the Old Testament]'.

ficient for the huge drain on their numbers which this policy implied : and accident or statesmanship discovered in the Jewish race an effective supplement. For centuries past the Jews had been struggling, now with more and now with less success, against absorption by the surrounding peoples, and they were animated therefore by no inconvenient loyalties to the dispossessed governments : a prolific population was willing enough to discharge its surplus into colonies, and genius for trade achieved its fitting outlet in the new city-foundations of the Macedonian conquerors. Asia Minor and the Aegean, Syria, Mesopotamia, but above all Alexandria, were soon full of Jewish emigrants, who lived in their own quarter of each city, under their own laws and their own magistrates, and in the free exercise of their own religion. The one necessary concession which the Jew made to his neighbours was in the matter of language. Greek was now the universal medium, not only of literature and education and polite society, but of trade and business, throughout the whole Levant : and just as the Jews of Palestine had learnt to talk Aramaic instead of their ancestral Hebrew, so the Jews of the Dispersion (as the new colonies were collectively called) learnt to talk Greek and forgot their native Aramaic. In especial, under the fostering protection of the Ptolemies, the Greek Jews of Egypt and Alexandria acquired something almost like a distinctive nationality of their own.

Meanwhile, even the Jews of Palestine, at any rate those of the towns, had perforce to employ Greek for the purpose of communication with their Gentile rulers, and of intercourse with the Gentile settlers whom their native princes had encouraged to come and live among them. Caesarea Stratonis, for instance, the favourite foundation of Herod the Great and afterwards the civil capital of the Roman province of Judaea, was from the first a Greek-speaking city. Thus when the Jews of the Dispersion gathered in Jerusalem for the annual feasts, the common ground between visitors and residents was not Aramaic, but Greek : and it necessarily followed that the preaching of the Christ to the 'strangers and proselytes' must almost from the first have been carried on by the apostles, not in a native Aramaic, but in an acquired Greek, or at least through Greek-speaking interpreters.

If such was the case at Jerusalem, much more was the same thing true of the preaching in the Dispersion. St Paul, as we

learn from the Acts and the Roman epistle, had in the course of his three missionary journeys preached the Gospel 'from Jerusalem right round as far as Illyricum' ¹ through Syria, Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece. Everywhere he kept to the towns, everywhere he started work in the synagogue: everywhere, as far as we can tell, he preached and was understood in the Greek tongue. If the people of Lystra fell back, in a moment of excitement, on their native language—the historian records the fact just because it was so exceptional ²—we need not doubt that their ordinary intercourse with the apostle was conducted in Greek on both sides. Nor is there any reason to think that it was otherwise at Rome. The epistle to that Church had been addressed to it in Greek: and from the distinctively Greek character of the Roman Church throughout the succeeding century we can safely argue back to its *origines*, and assume that the first generation of Roman Christians were evangelized, were instructed, and worshipped, through the medium of the same language.³

St Peter's missionary labours are not known to us in the same detail as St Paul's. The canonical Acts do not follow him outside Palestine, unless we read some such hidden meaning into Acts xii 17 'he departed to another place'. From the Galatian epistle we learn of his presence at Antioch; and tradition, which there is at least *prima facie* reason to respect, makes him the founder of the Antiochene line of bishops. His own epistle is addressed to the Christians of the five provinces which made up at that time the Asia Minor of Roman rule, though he nowhere expressly implies in it that he had preached to them in person. It is dated from Babylon: but there is every reason to suppose that Babylon is not the literal Babylon of the Euphrates, but the mystic Babylon of the Seven Hills. An unambiguous allusion appears to be made in the Fourth Gospel to St Peter's martyrdom as a familiar fact: and no rival tradition claims for it any other scene than Rome. St Peter, like St Paul, lived and died a missionary to Greek-speaking peoples.

¹ Rom. xv 19 ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυριοῦ. On 'Illyricum' see appended note at the end of this article.

² Acts xiv 11 ἐπήραν τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν Λυκαονιστί. Cf. Ramsay *Church in the Roman Empire* p. 58.

³ Of St Paul's preaching in Spain more will be said in a later chapter in connexion with Latin Christianity.

What Rome was as a focus of apostolic traditions in the West, that the East possessed in Ephesus and in the province of Proconsular Asia, of which Ephesus was the capital. Here were gathered, as it would seem, about the time of the Jewish War and the destruction of Jerusalem, most of the survivors of the original disciples, and especially those who had hitherto remained in closest contact with Palestine. The Fourth Gospel gives special prominence (apart from Peter and John) to Andrew, Philip, and Thomas: and the two former of these are further connected with Asia Minor by independent traditions recorded in documents of the end of the second century.¹ Papias of Hierapolis had conversed with those who had listened to Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John, and Matthew²: and though we are not to conclude that all the apostles named had themselves preached in the neighbourhood, we may not unreasonably see, in the prominence of the most purely Hellenic district of Asia Minor as a centre of Christian memories, yet another proof of the almost exclusive hold of the Greek language over the apostolic and sub-apostolic Church.

But if the language of the early Church was Greek, its Bible was Greek too. We moderns are so accustomed to think of the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament as two sharply contrasted wholes, that we forget that no idea of any linguistic barrier between the two Testaments was for a moment present to the mind of any Greek-speaking Christian. If the New Testament of the Church was in Greek, the Old Testament was in Greek also: and it was in Greek, not because the Church had provided a new vernacular rendering of the unfamiliar Hebrew, but because she inherited an existing one from the Jewish Dispersion. The Septuagint was already the Bible of the vast majority of Jews. They had no need to change their old Scriptures for new ones, when they accepted the teaching of Jesus as Messiah.

About the actual conditions under which the Hebrew Scriptures were rendered into Greek by the Seventy translators, legend was busy at a very remote period. The story of the miraculous accompaniments which guaranteed the divine inspiration of the new

¹ 'Eadem nocte revelatum Andreae ex apostolis ut recognoscentibus cunctis Iohannes suo nomine cuncta describeret', Canon Muratorianus: *Φίλιππον τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ὃς κεκοίμηται ἐν Ἱεραπόλει*, Polycrates ap. Eus. *H. E.* iii 31, v 24.

² ap. Eus. *H. E.* iii 39.

version may be read in Epiphanius.¹ Even the belief, general among early Christian writers, that the translation of the whole Hebrew Canon was carried through at Alexandria at one and the same time has been disproved by the researches of criticism: it is now clear that the translations of different books or groups of books were made at different times, possibly even in different places. But whatever breaches may have been made in the outworks of tradition, the inner kernel remains: the books of the Law were translated at Alexandria 250 years or more before Christ, and the whole Hebrew Canon was represented in a more or less official Greek form in time for the Christian Church to adopt and assimilate it before its final separation from Judaism.

But the complete Greek Bible of the Dispersion differed in one very obvious way from the Hebrew Bible of Palestine. Its contents were not the same as the contents of the Hebrew Bible, for it included in addition those books which we call 'deutero-canonical' or 'apocrypha'. It was this larger Canon which, outside Palestine and outside the influence of the few scholars who knew the Hebrew language and the Hebrew Canon, was the recognized Bible or Old Testament of the Christian Church: Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus were accepted on the same level as Proverbs, Tobit as Esther, and the books of the Maccabees enjoyed equal authority with the books of Chronicles. The witness of the Western Church before Jerome is practically unanimous in this sense. The great Greek Bibles of the fourth or fifth century, \aleph A B C, if they differ from one another in the exact contents of their Old Testament, as we have seen that they do in regard to their New Testament, yet agree on a Greek as against a Hebrew Canon.² If Melito of

¹ *de mens. et pond.* §§ 3, 6. Epiphanius appears to be alone in the statement that the 72 translators worked in pairs, ζυγῇ ζυγῇ κατὰ οὐκίσκον, each pair taking a single book; 'thus, for instance, Genesis was allotted to one pair, Exodus to the next pair, Leviticus to the next, and so on all through.' This story so far presents a remarkable parallel to the latest researches of Septuagint scholars, who have called attention to the existence of minute differences in the style of the first and second halves respectively of all the longer books: see Mr Thackeray's proofs in *J. T. S.* iv 245, 398, ix 88.

² Cod. C has no more than 64 O.T. leaves, but these contain parts of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus: of the others \aleph has Tobit, Judith, 1 and 4 Maccabees, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus: A has Baruch, Tobit, Judith, 1, 2, 3, 4 Maccabees, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus: B has Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobit, Baruch. The order too differs in all three: but all agree in sandwiching the deutero-canonical in among the rest without any distinction.

Sardis in the second century gives the 'number and order of the ancient books' as he found it recognized in Palestine, the Hebrew colour of the list explains itself: and the same Palestinian influence will account for the arguments of Africanus in the third century, and for the Canon of Cyril of Jerusalem in the fourth. Origen's list is introduced in so many words as the 'twenty-two books according to the Hebrews' καθ' Ἑβραίων: his own usage is based on the fuller canon, but his list had an independent influence, and the only truncated list in the West before Jerome is copied direct from it—that, namely, of St Hilary of Poitiers.¹ When Jerome set himself to oust the Septuagint text from its position in the Latin Church and replace it by a new translation from the Hebrew, he naturally adopted the Hebrew Canon with the Hebrew text: the additional books of the Alexandrine Canon form no true part of the Vulgate Bible. If the Sixth of the Thirty-nine Articles cites St Jerome as saying that these 'other books the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners, but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine',² we must make it quite clear to ourselves that this distinction between canonical and deuterocanonical books was in the main a new one of Jerome's own making, and does not represent the inherited tradition of the Church of earlier days. Something like it had been employed by Eusebius in the classification of the books of the New Testament³; but the principal additions which mark off the Septuagint Canon from the Hebrew, the books, say, of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and Tobit, had (outside the local and non-Christian influences already named) a wider circulation and a firmer footing in the first four centuries of the Church than the Catholic Epistles or the Hebrews or the Apocalypse. In any case the attempt to reckon degrees of canonicity implies a work

¹ Melito ap. Eus. *H. E.* iv 26: Origen ap. Eus. *H. E.* vi 25: Cyril Hier. *Catech.* iv 35: Hilary *Prol. in librum Psalmorum* § 15.

² *Praef. in libros Salomonis* (Vallarsi, ix 1295) 'sicut ergo Iudith et Tobit et Macchabaeorum libros legit quidem ecclesia, sed inter canonicas scripturas non recipit: sic et haec duo volumina' [sc. Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus] 'legat ad aedificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam. si cui sane LXX interpretum magis editio placet, habet eam a nobis olim emendatam. neque enim sic nova cudimus ut vetera destruiamus.'

³ Eus. *H. E.* iii 25. Athanasius's thirty-ninth Festal Epistle, A. D. 367, offers the nearest parallel; it distinguishes the Canonical Books as the Scriptures of the baptized Christian from the Apocrypha as the Scriptures of the catechumen.

of investigation and reflexion : it is, as regards the Old Testament, a device employed by scholars or theologians to bring under one formula older and contradictory conceptions. And of these warring conceptions one is characteristic of the Hebrews and the Hebrew-Christian Church of Palestine, the other of the Jewish Dispersion and of the Christian Churches among the Gentiles.

As with the number of the books, so with their text. The Septuagint translation—if we put aside the difficult question of the versions of the book of Daniel—was current in the Churches, and in a relatively unadulterated form, till its purity first, and next its supremacy, were disturbed by the labours of the two great scholars whose Hebrew acquirements so profoundly affected the future history of the Old Testament texts in the Greek and Latin Churches respectively. Between the work of Origen and the work of Jerome there was indeed a difference of scope and method, which corresponded to a difference in the characters of the two men. Origen accepted *ex animo* the enlarged Greek Canon of the Old Testament as one of the characteristic marks which distinguished the Christian Church: but in the case of the books translated from the Hebrew he found many serious divergences between the Greek of the LXX and the Hebrew text of his day, and his great critical undertaking, the Hexapla, aimed at facilitating the correction of the LXX to the standard of the Hebrew by the aid of the later Greek versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus. The transpositions and additions—these latter were supplied from the version of Theodotion—which this procedure rendered necessary were, in Origen's own edition, marked off from the LXX proper by an elaborate mechanical apparatus of asterisks, obeli, and so forth. But while the text thus doctored soon ousted its genuine rival and became the ordinary Old Testament text of the Greek Church,¹ the signs by which the verity of the original LXX had in the Hexapla been safeguarded proved too complicated for the majority of copyists, and were silently

¹ Compare Jerome's ironical remarks, addressed to St Augustine as an adherent of the LXX (ep. cxii 19 : Vallarsi, i 746) 'miror quomodo Septuaginta interpretum libros legas, non puros ut ab eis editi sunt, sed ab Origene emendatos sive corruptos per obelos et asteriscos... vis amator esse verus Septuaginta interpretum? non legas ea quae sub asteriscis sunt, immo rade de voluminibus, ut veterum te fautorem probes. quod si feceris, omnes ecclesiarum bibliothecas damnare cogeris : vix enim unus aut alter invenietur liber qui ista non habeat'.

dropped. Not even the oldest of our uncial MSS lacks the large increments from Theodotion which bring the Greek Job of the LXX up to the proportions of the Hebrew text; yet neither \aleph , for instance, nor B reveals by any sort of indication that their LXX text has borrowed numerous passages which are simply Theodotion, and not really LXX at all.

In Origen's system the LXX at least provided the groundwork: Jerome was a better Hebrew scholar than Origen, and was little trammelled either by self-distrust or by respect for ecclesiastical custom. The Vulgate Old Testament was not produced by revision of the Old Latin, but was undertaken in direct and exclusive dependence on the Hebrew.

For the true text of the LXX, then, we have to appeal in the first place to Greek evidence unaffected by the work of Origen, and to Latin evidence unaffected by the work of Jerome: and criticism has made it quite clear that the true text of the LXX is far from being a *quantité négligeable*. The LXX would always indeed have had an imperishable claim on our interest as the Old Testament of the primitive Church: but we know now as well that it is an indispensable aid to the restoration of the Hebrew original, seeing that the tradition of the Massoretic text is as certainly posterior to the Christian era as the LXX is certainly prior. Just as for the New Testament the versions have hitherto been unduly neglected in comparison with the extant Greek evidence, so for the Old Testament the LXX has a value in comparison to any available Hebrew evidence enormously greater than either Origen or Jerome or the scholars of the Protestant Reformation suspected to be the case. On this ground alone we should be rightly proud of the prescience with which Oxford led the way in the eighteenth century by the edition of J. E. Grabe (1707-1720), and followed up Grabe's work with that splendid monument of zeal and erudition, the LXX of Holmes and Parsons (1789-1827): nor shall we be less proud of the determination of Cambridge, under the guidance of Dr Hort and Dr Swete, to supersede the edition of Holmes and Parsons by a still better and completer one.¹

¹ Of the larger Cambridge edition, edited with admirable care by Mr Brooke and Mr McLean, only Genesis (1906) and Exodus-Leviticus (1909) have as yet appeared: but for the purposes of most of us the beautiful manual edition by Dr Swete, with the same writer's *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, will be amply sufficient.

In emphasizing the fact that the Greek translation of the Seventy was the Bible alike of the Jewish Dispersion and of the early Church, we are bringing it into near relation with our own immediate purpose. When the Christian Church first came to possess the complete Bible of the two Testaments, it was by grafting the collection of Greek scriptures of the New Testament on to the existing collection of Greek scriptures of the Old Testament. On this existing collection of 'sacred' and 'inspired' books, 'profitable for teaching, for convicting and convincing, for instruction in righteousness,'¹ most of the writers of the New Testament had been nurtured whether as Jews or proselytes or converts to the Christ: they were steeped in its thoughts, they expressed themselves in its language. Books like the Apocalypse and the Epistle to the Hebrews are full of such reminiscences from end to end, and even where the character of the book as a whole does not lend itself to the same usage a particular chapter may occur, as the speech of St Stephen in the Acts, where the necessary conditions hold good: nor is it the least of the merits of Westcott and Hort's edition that by its use of uncial type it keeps this feature prominently before the eyes of every reader.² Perhaps critics have not always borne sufficiently in mind the assistance which constant reference to the LXX may supply to the student of the New Testament even in his textual difficulties.³ Our first and most natural presumption will be that, given the familiarity of the sacred writers with the LXX, that one of two various readings is most likely to be correct which agrees with the LXX text. But then we have to remember, on the other hand, that the scribes who copied out our New Testament books were also familiar with the LXX,

¹ 2 Tim. iii 15, 16: I think that the contrasted words *ἐλεγχμὸς ἐναντιόθωσις* at least include the idea of the refutation of the Jewish, and building up of the Christian, interpretation of the Messianic Scriptures.

² The caution must, however, be added that the editors have rightly included in their uncial type all words or phrases which correspond in sense to any passage of the Old Testament books, whether or no they echo the actual language of the LXX.

³ I should like in this connexion to name (though they were not intended for textual purposes) the nearly forgotten books of the Rev. E. W. Grinfield, *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Hellenistica* (2 vols., Pickering, London, 1843) and *Scholia Hellenistica in Novum Testamentum* (2 vols., 1848). Mr Grinfield is probably best known now as founder of the Septuagint lecture at Oxford—a lecture which is only rarely devoted to its proper and primary purpose.

may, during the first Christian generations—and we must never lose sight of the truth that it was during those first generations that the most serious variations of text came into being—were often more familiar with the Old Testament, the Bible of their childhood, than with the New. We ourselves find it impossible to escape from similar processes of unconscious assimilation, only with us it is the language of the Old Testament, as the less familiar, which would be in danger of accommodation to the language of the New: with ancient scribes the temptation was strong to assimilate all derived language to its source, to raise the standard of exactness all round, to make a reminiscence into a quotation, and a loose quotation into a precise one.

We must first admit that there are cases where it is the New Testament writer who follows the LXX text and the New Testament scribes (or some of them) who diverge from it. Such cases are rare, and probably occur only where the phrase echoed from the Old Testament is not well enough known to be familiar and at the same time unusual enough to encourage alteration. A good illustration will be Luc. iv 26, where the reading Σάρεππα τῆς Σιδωνίας 'Sarepta of the Sidonian country' is given by \aleph A B C D 1, the Ferrar group, and both Old Latin and Vulgate, in exact accordance with 3 Reg. xvii 9: while the later Greek MSS and the Syriac versions substitute for the unusual adjective Σιδωνίας the well-known place-name Σιδωνος. The external evidence is decisive: and we deduce from it that the chance that an unexpected phrase will be turned into an ordinary one may be greater than that the scribes would in so small a matter have either known or verified the exact wording of the LXX.

But far more numerous are the passages where scribes have, consciously or unconsciously, brought the text of the New Testament writers into closer agreement with their source or supposed source in the Old Testament.¹ Of the various forms

¹ Attention may be called in passing to an instance where, as Prof. Burkitt points out (*Gospel History and its Transmission* p. 49), independent reminiscence of a LXX phrase by St Matthew and St Luke will account for one of the rare agreements between them in Marcan matter against St Mark. In both Matt. xvii 17 and Luc. ix 41 the reading ὃ γινεῖται ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ διεστραμμένη appears to be certain (although Marcion's Gospel text, and therefore perhaps his copy of St Luke, did

which their misguided energy took in this direction, the simplest is that where a definite quotation is expanded to the full measure of the LXX, without any actual alteration of what evangelist or apostle had written. Thus the quotation in Luc. iv 18, 19 is introduced by reference to the 'roll of the prophet Isaiah', and is in fact found in Is. lxi 1, 2. But whereas in the original the central words ran ἀπέσταλκέν με ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμένους τὴν καρδίαν (or τῇ καρδίᾳ), κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν κτλ., St Luke's text, according to the witness of **N B D L Z** 33, the Ferrar group, the Latin versions, the Old Syriac, Origen, Eusebius, and Athanasius, gave an abbreviated version ἀπέσταλκέν με κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν κτλ. Now when we find A and the later Greek MSS, the Peshitta, and Irenaeus, inserting the omitted words, we do not for a moment doubt that they have been supplied to the text of St Luke from the text of Isaiah.

Or again, in Matt. ii 18 we have a quotation from Jer. xxxi [xxxviii] 15 introduced 'as that which was spoken through Jeremy the prophet', and most of our authorities give the second clause θρήνος καὶ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὀδυρμὸς πολὺς in accordance with the Old Testament text, θρήνου καὶ κλαυθμοῦ καὶ ὀδυρμοῦ. But **N B Z** 1 22 and the Latin and Egyptian versions omit θρήνος καὶ: and the words are to be regarded here too as a scribal assimilation to the LXX.

In these two Gospel passages it has been easy to come to the same conclusion as the critical editors of the New Testament. The problems of the book of Acts are less simple to resolve: but it may be doubted whether, for instance, the canon that agreement with the LXX text is, in the case of *variae lectiones*, a ground for suspicion should not modify the texts of our editions of Acts ii 17-20. In the opening clause of this quotation from Joel, St Peter is made to use the phrase ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, whereas the LXX has μετὰ ταῦτα, and B follows the LXX. Here all editors, including Westcott and Hort, desert B: but if we

omit the word): but in Marc. ix 19, their common source, it is no less certain that the true reading is ὁ γενεὰ ἀπιστος without addition. A solution of the difficulty may be found in the LXX of Deut. xxxii 5—in so familiar a chapter as the Song of Moses—γενεὰ σκολιὰ καὶ διεστραμμένη. But I should like to add here that I am now somewhat tempted to think that an explanation of this and similar passages may be found in the use of the First Gospel—no doubt as quite a subordinate authority—by St Luke.

rightly read *ἐν ταῖς ἑσχάταις ἡμέραις* in verse 17, it is tempting to omit *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις*, with D and the *de Rebaptismate* (a tract contemporary with St Cyprian), in verse 18. Still more suggestive is the agreement of *ND* (followed by Tischendorf) in omitting Joel's *καὶ ἐπιφανῇ* after *ἡμέραν Κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην* in verse 20.

But the influence of familiar LXX phrases will be felt even where the words are not expressly introduced as a quotation. Thus in Acts vii 30, *NA BC* and the Vulgate present the text *ᾠφθη αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοῦ ὅρους Σινὰ ἄγγελος ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς βάτου*. But in the LXX of Exod. iii 2 we read *ᾠφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος Κυρίου ἐν πυρὶ φλογὸς* (*v. l. ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς*) *ἐκ τοῦ βάτου*: and consequently Codex Bezae and Codex Laudianus, with the mass of MSS and the Peshitta, write *ἄγγελος Κυρίου* instead of *ἄγγελος* in the text of Acts. A more complicated variation on the same lines is Luc. xvii 29. *ἔβρεξεν πῦρ καὶ θείον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ* is the reading of *NBL*, the mass of Greek MSS with the Sinai Syriac and the Vulgate, followed by the editors: *ἔβρεξεν θείον καὶ πῦρ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ*, *AD* and a few others: *ἔβρεξεν πῦρ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ*, the Old Latin MSS (*abeffilq*), the Curetonian Syriac, Irenaeus and Eusebius. Of these three readings the second corresponds with the LXX of Gen. xix 24, and may be rejected at once on that ground. But the first also is a familiar Old Testament tag, as familiar as is 'fire and brimstone' to ourselves: compare Ps. x (xi) 6, Ezech. xxxviii 22, and so the Apocalypse *passim*. Against the Greek evidence and the editors, we will therefore conclude without much hesitation for the originality of the last of the three alternatives, *ἔβρεξεν πῦρ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ*.

Somewhat similar, at least in the sense that the scribal change is by way of addition only, and has left the genuine words unaltered, are the cases where an allusion is worked up into a direct historical reference, and the i's are dotted and the t's crossed for the benefit of the careless reader. So in Luc. ix 54 James and John ask the Lord *Κύριε, θέλεις εἰπωμεν πῦρ καταβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀναλῶσαι αὐτούς*; The allusion to 4 Reg. i 10, 12 is unmistakable: and it was perhaps first only as a marginal gloss that the words *ὡς καὶ Ἡλίας ἐποίησεν* made their appearance in the Gospel. But they now find place in the text of *ACD* and the mass of Greek MSS, in most MSS of

the Old Latin, in the Peshitta, and in numerous Fathers from the fourth century onwards. The true reading is preserved in \aleph B L Ξ and two cursives, in two of the best Old Latin MSS *e l*, in the Old Syriac, and in St Cyril.

In all these instances it is the shorter of two readings which is right: and except in the case of omissions by *homoeoteleuton* or other definitely assignable cause, it may be taken as a sound general rule that a shorter reading is so far more likely to be right than a longer one. 'Colligite quae superaverunt fragmenta ne pereant' was not only a natural but a sound instinct of scribes, and especially of biblical scribes: as between a shorter and a longer text, the responsibility of omitting for good what might be genuine was obviously more serious than that of retaining for the time what might be spurious.

There remain the cases where, under the influence of the Old Testament, the very words of the New Testament writers have been modified, and brought into closer agreement with their sources. It might have been expected that reluctance would have been felt in thus altering the actual language of the sacred record: yet so strong was the impulse, that even the last words of the Lord from the Cross were not exempt from the harmonizing process. Luc. xxiii 46 appears in all the early uncials, in the Latin and Syriac versions, and in many Fathers, in the form Πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου: but because Ps. xxx (xxxi) 6 runs εἰς χεῖράς σου παραθήσομαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου, the future is substituted for the present in the Gospel by L and some of the later uncials with the great mass of cursives.

Corrections like this last almost look like the result of a definite and not very early recension of which assimilation to the LXX text was one of the guiding principles: and of course wherever the variation appears to be only a relatively late one, external evidence alone would make the decision easy. But there are other and more difficult cases in which variation clearly commenced at a much remoter period, and there we welcome the help of the test of probability arising out of agreement or disagreement with the Septuagint. Reference was made in an earlier chapter¹ to Luc. xii 14, where \aleph B L 1 and the editors give τίς με κατέστησεν κριτὴν ἢ μεριστὴν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς; For

¹ J. T. S. (Jan. 1909) p. 180.

κριτήν ἢ μεριστήν A and the mass of MSS have δικαστήν ἢ μεριστήν: while Marcion-Tert D 33, the Old Syriac, and one good MS of the Old Latin c, give a single noun only, which on the authority of the two Greek MSS, D 33, we shall without difficulty identify as κριτήν. In this verse Westcott and Hort do not print anything in uncial type: but at least it cannot be questioned that the form of the saying suggested to scribes a parallel in Exod. ii 14 (cited in Acts vii 27, 35 and in Clem. Rom. 4) τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστήν ἐφ' ἡμῶν; That parallel will account for the appearance of δικαστήν in A and the *Textus Receptus*, and we are left to decide between the two variants κριτήν and κριτήν ἢ μεριστήν. Individual critics will estimate differently the weight of the probabilities: some may think that *homoeoteleuton* will account for the loss of the two words ἢ μεριστήν: for myself I suspect that the shorter reading is once more right, and that the influence of the double noun in the Exodus passage suggested a double noun in the Gospel. κριτήν ἢ δικαστήν, which is found in Clement of Rome, is mere tautology, due to the influence of the Lucan κριτήν on the text of Exodus: the happier effort of κριτήν ἢ μεριστήν would have been, on this hypothesis, suggested by the μερίσασθαι of verse 13. A prudent editor might perhaps print the verse in the shape τίς με κατέστησεν κριτήν [ἢ μεριστήν] ἐφ' ἡμῶν;

The last and most complicated series of various readings which concern us in this chapter are those where an Old Testament source and its citation elsewhere in the New Testament may both have influenced the tradition of the text. Sometimes indeed the complication is so far simplified that the source and the parallel give the same reading. A simple case, where the sense is not affected, would be Acts iv 11, where 'the stone that has been set at nought ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν οἰκοδόμων' is the reading of \aleph A B D, Origen and Didymus. But the Psalm (cxvii [cxviii] 22), and its citations in the Gospel, have ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, and the *Textus Receptus*, representing the mass of MSS, puts τῶν οἰκοδομούντων into the Acts in place of τῶν οἰκοδόμων. Again, in Luc. xxiii 34 ἐβαλον κλῆρον 'they cast the lot', which Westcott and Hort adopt with \aleph B C D L and the mass of MSS, is the reading both of the parallels in the other two Synoptists and of the common source in Ps. xxi (xxii) 19:

ἐβαλον κλήρους, the reading of Tischendorf with A 1 33, some of the Old Latin MSS (*a eff* against *bc*), the Vulgate, and St Augustine,¹ has all the appearance of being a stylistic correction by St Luke himself, which scribes have attempted to harmonize away into agreement with the other biblical documents. So in another echo of the same Psalm in the Passion, according to St Matthew and according to all printed texts of St Mark the Aramaic verb *σαβαχθαυεί* (Matt. xxvii 46, Marc. xv 34) is interpreted, in accordance with the LXX of Ps. xxi 2, by the Greek ἐγκατέλιπες. But D in St Mark reads ὠνείδισας, and two Old Latin MSS, *c* and *i*, give respectively 'exprobrasti' and 'in opprobrium dedisti': and not only so, but *k*, our best Old Latin MS, which had been reported as having 'dereliquisti' over an erasure, has been shewn by Prof. Burkitt to have originally given 'maledixisti'.² It is hardly conceivable that this reading is a wanton freak of scribes: and, in view of the overpowering temptation to harmonize with the dual authority of St Matthew and the Psalter, I should be prepared to accept the testimony of D and its three Old Latin allies.

The summary of the Commandments (Marc. x 19 = Matt. xix 18, 19 = Luc. xviii 20: cf. Exod. xx 12-16) presents curious difficulties in the text of St Mark. St Matthew and St Luke follow Exodus closely, diverging from one another only in the order of the Commandments. St Mark agrees with them according to a few, but those some of our best, authorities—B* 1 (the Ferrar group??) and the Old Syriac. All other authorities add the command *μὴ ἀποστερήσης*, and, in view of the impossibility of otherwise accounting for it, the addition must be considered genuine: B and the Old Syriac are therefore, it seems, not above the temptation to harmonize.³ But further, an important group D Γ *k* substitute *μὴ πορνεύσης* for *μὴ φονεύσης*,

¹ The Old Syriac appears to have the plural in all three Gospels, and cannot therefore be cited.

² *J. T. S.* i 278. No less than six of our Old Latin Gospel MSS are, as Prof. Burkitt points out, defective at this part: the reason of course is that St Mark comes last of the four Gospels in the ordinary Western order, and the first and last pages of a book are always the most liable to loss.

³ The Latin for *μὴ ἀποστερήσης* is in *k* 'ne abnegaveris', in *ac* 'non abnegabis'. Have we not then in this passage of St Mark the key to the summary of the Christian *sacramentum* given in Pliny's letter to Trajan 'ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent'!

c has both, and *i* omits both. It is possible that accident may account for this variation: if *φονεύσης* were miswritten *πονεύσης*, the neighbourhood of *μοιχεύσης* would do the rest. But the combined testimony of *D k* can never be quite lightly treated.¹

As a final example of a textual problem, difficult and at first sight insoluble on account of the action and interaction of the different Gospel and Old Testament sources, let us look at Ps. cxvii (cxviii) 26, *εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου*, and its apparent echoes in the Gospels. As used by our Lord in the lament over Jerusalem, there is no variation to record: St Luke (xiii 35), equally with St Matthew (xxiii 39), gives it in strict agreement with the Psalter. But as employed by the crowd in the triumphal entry each one of the four evangelists gives a different turn to the phrase, and in St Mark, St Luke, and St John it is not easy to arrive at the true reading. I begin by setting out Westcott and Hort's text in each case:—

Matt. xxi 9 'Ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυεὶδ' *εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου* ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.

Marc. xi 9, 10 'Ὡσαννὰ' *εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου* *εὐλογημένη ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δαυεὶδ* ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.

Luc. xix 38 *Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ βασιλεὺς,*² *ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου* ἐν οὐρανῷ εἰρήνη καὶ δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις.

Jo. xii 13 'Ὡσαννὰ' *εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου*, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ.

(1) In St Matthew the text is without variation, and the LXX of Ps. cxvii is strictly followed. The other evangelists diverge in more or less degree from the Psalm, and in proportion as they do so variations multiply. (2) Of these in St Mark there is none that need be cited, save that *k* gives the abbreviated form 'benedictus qui venit in regnum patris nostri David'. It is true that accidental omission of the words *ἐν ὀνόματι . . . ἐρχομένη* at any point in the ancestry, Latin or Greek, of *k* would account for this reading: but it gives such an admirable sense, *εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δαυεὶδ*, and the ordinary

¹ It is worth noting, as a contribution to the criticism of the Codex Bezae, that in the two variations last discussed, Marc. xv 34 and x 19, it is the Greek only of *D* which goes with *k*: the Latin has the ordinary reading.

² With marginal alternatives *ὁ ἐρχόμενος βασιλεὺς* or simply *ὁ βασιλεὺς*.

reading could so easily have grown out of it, once the inevitable addition of *ὀνόματι Κυρίου* was made after *ἐν*,¹ that the more I study it the more I gain impression of its superior originality.

(3) In St Luke there are no less than five variant readings:—

- (a) *εὐλογημένος ὁ βασιλεὺς* *e* *l**
- (b) *εὐλογημένος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου* N* H 69 Origen
- (c) *εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος βασιλεὺς ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου* N° A L most Greek MSS
- (d) *εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ βασι- B*
λεὺς, ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου
- (e) *εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου, εὐλογημένος ὁ βασιλεὺς* D most Old Latin MSS

The Vulgate and Syriac versions support (c) or (d): Tischendorf adopts (b), Westcott and Hort (d). I confess to a suspicion that once more the shortest reading is not improbably also the most original. *e* is, where *k* fails us, the best representative of the African Latin: *l* is a MS which comes from the same neighbourhood as *e*—*e* was found at Trent, *l* is connected with Aquileia—but it is more unequal than *e*, its value being almost entirely confined to the third and fourth Gospels.² If we assume (a) as the original reading, the rest can all be deduced from it as different combinations with the text of the Psalm.³ (4) In St John the variations are less serious, but a new complication is caused by the fact that the two Old Latin authorities whose text approved itself in St Luke again shew omissions but differ from one another in the words which they omit: *e* omits *ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου*, *l* omits *ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ*. Besides this the *καί* is omitted by the Latin and Syriac witnesses and most of the Greek. Again the claims of a shorter reading seem preferable, and I would suggest tentatively *εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος [ὁ] βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ*.

The readings here recommended are, it will be noted, the

¹ The reader must be reminded that the iota adscript or subscript does not appear in early MSS: *βασιλεία* and *βασιλεία* would not be distinguished from one another.

² My knowledge of both the value and the limitations of *l* I owe to Prof. Burkitt: but I cannot lay my hand upon the reference.

³ The concluding words of St Luke as given in the editions, *ἐν οὐρανῷ εἰρήνη καὶ δόξα ἐν ἁγίοις*, hardly give a tolerable sense.

readings of the 'African' Latin—of *k* in St Mark, of *e l* in St Luke, of *e* in St John—unsupported by any other authorities: and if they are right, no more eloquent testimony could be rendered to the value of this version. But are they right? I should like to submit two considerations which seem to me to reinforce the textual evidence on which in the preceding paragraph the hypothesis of their correctness has been based.

In the first place the circumstances of the Triumphal Entry must almost inevitably have brought to recollection the prophecy of Zechariah (ix 9: quoted in Matt. and Jo.) ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς σου ἔρχεται σοι δίκαιος καὶ σώζων, αὐτὸς πραῖς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον. And the presence of the title ὁ βασιλεὺς in three out of the four reports of the scene—and though St Matthew has not got the word, he has replaced it by an equivalent reference to the Davidic Sonship—seems at least to imply that Psalm cxvii cannot account for the whole of the thought that was in the minds of the spectators.¹ In the second place these revised and abbreviated readings, by concentrating the cry of the multitude, as represented in the last three evangelists, upon the kingship, give us surely a much more intelligible background to the charge brought against our Lord by the chief priests at the judgement-seat of Pilate: all four accounts (Matt. xxvii 11=Marc. xv 2=Luc. xxiii 3=Jo. xviii 33) reproduce Pilate's opening interrogatory in identical words Σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων;

The dominating note of our treatment of these parallel passages has been the assumption that comparison of a well-known verse in the Psalms and in St Matthew would exercise upon early scribes of the other Gospels an irresistible force in the direction of harmonizing uniformity. The result may appear, at first sight, startling: but if the assumption has in any way justified itself, the moral of the importance of the LXX to the student of the text of the New Testament needs no further words to point it.

¹ The seventeenth of the Psalms of Solomon is well worth comparing here.

NOTE ON ROMANS XV 19 μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ.

THE following note has been put together out of the materials collected in Marquardt *Römische Staatsverwaltung* iv 141 sqq. (in the French translation ix 171 sqq.), and Mommsen *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* III i pp. 279, 280. It may be found useful in supplementing the information given in the commentaries on St Paul *ad loc.*

Illyricum was a general name for the districts inhabited by Illyrians or people of Illyrian race; even when the first skeleton organization was given to it by the Romans in 167 B.C., it is called Illyricum, not Illyria (Liv. xlii 26). Whether or no it originally covered as wide a ground, at any rate by the time of the Christian era the term was applicable to the whole country from the Alps eastwards to the mouth of the Danube and southwards to the Adriatic.

Augustus divided Illyricum, which had hitherto formed one unit of government, into three separate provinces (and this triple division remained unaltered throughout the first century):—

(1) The eastern and south-eastern parts were made into the province Moesia not later than A.D. 6.

(2) Northern or Lower Illyricum became the province Pannonia in A.D. 10.

(3) The original nucleus which was now all that was left of the old Illyricum was technically 'Upper Illyricum', *superior provincia Illyricum*. But the awkwardness of this name, and the liability to confusion with the larger sense of Illyricum, soon brought about in practice the use of a separate name—parallel to Moesia and Pannonia—namely Dalmatia. Tacitus and Josephus use Dalmatia: Dio Cassius uses Illyria down to the time of Augustus, Dalmatia after Augustus. St Paul uses the same name, and doubtless in the same sense for the province of Upper Illyricum, in the Pastoral Epistles: 2 Tim. iv 10 Τίτος εἰς Δαλματίαν.

But though these three names of Moesia, Pannonia, Dalmatia, now stood for separately organized provinces, there remained more than one link which bound them still officially together: and between the dates when the single province of Illyricum was divided up by Augustus, and the date when Diocletian or his successors grouped various provinces into the diocese of Illyricum and various dioceses into the Prefecture of Illyricum, the phrase had a continuous political history as applied to the three provinces as a whole. Tacitus writes that news came 'ex Illyrico iurasse Dalmatiae ac Pannoniae et Moesiae legiones' (*Hist.* i 76), and even employs the phrases 'Illyrici exercitus', 'Illyrici legiones'. Similarly in inscriptions we find 'in Illyrico' used in a sense that covers any one of the three provinces. In finance especially the union of the

provinces was a close one: the 'vectigal Illyricum', τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν τέλος, had its own organization and officers, whose sphere extended over Dalmatia, Pannonia, Moesia, and after Trajan's time Dacia as well.

If we assume St Paul to be keeping close, here as elsewhere, to the political sense of geographical terms, he will mean by τὸ Ἰλλυρικόν the whole extent of the three provinces: and there will then be no reason at all why we should not bring his own language 'to the confines of Illyricum' into harmony with the record of his European preaching as contained in the Acts. From Philippi or Thessalonica to the Moesian border was no great distance: the apostle may even have made, on one or other of his journeys along the coast, brief excursions inland.

I do not think, therefore, that St Paul, during the whole period of his activity as recorded in the Acts, ever found himself outside the range of currency of the Greek language.

C. H. TURNER.

PHILO AND THE CATHOLIC JUDAISM OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

THE study of Philo progresses, although the great edition of Cohn and Wendland halts in its stride.¹ Professor Émile Bréhier² has published a comprehensive exposition of the philosophical and religious ideas of Philo, and Professor Leopold Cohn³ has just issued the first instalment of his works in a German translation. From another quarter comes a contribution more limited in scope indeed, but not inferior in learning and thoroughness—a study of *The Influence of Philo upon Primitive Christian Exegesis*, by Dr Paul Heinisch, which bears the *imprimatur* of F. de Hartmann, Vic. Epipi Genlis.⁴

The bibliography, which Professor Bréhier prefixes to his book, is not good reading for English-speaking people. The classic edition, by the pages of which Philo is still quoted, was published in 1742 by Thomas Mangey, Sizar of St John's College, Cambridge,⁵ and Canon of Durham. Mr F. C. Conybeare is the

¹ The fifth volume was published in 1906, the fourth in 1902, the third in 1898, the second in 1897, and the first in 1896.

² *Les idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie*, par Émile Bréhier, Professeur Agrégé de Philosophie au Lycée de Laval, Paris, 1908.

³ *Die Werke Philos von Alexandria in deutscher Übersetzung*, herausgegeben von Prof. Dr Leopold Cohn, Erster Teil, Breslau, 1909. It contains *Einleitung vom Herausgeber über die Welterschöpfung*, übersetzt von Dr J. Cohn (Eschwege) . . . *Ueber Abraham*, übersetzt von Dr J. Cohn . . . *Ueber Joseph*, übersetzt vom Herausgeber . . . *Ueber das Leben Mosis*, übersetzt von Prof. Dr B. Badt (Breslau) . . . *Ueber den Dekalog*, übersetzt von Dr L. Treitel (Laupheim). The translation is accompanied with footnotes, of which the editor says:—'Sie haben nur den Zweck, hier und da Schwierigkeiten des Textes zu erläutern und für bestimmte Lehren und Aeusserungen Philos auf die Quellen und auf Parallelen hinzuweisen. Besondere Sorgfalt ist auf den Nachweis von Parallelen im Talmud und Midrasch verwendet worden, aber auch darin ist Vollständigkeit nicht beabsichtigt, geschweige denn erreicht' (p. vii).

⁴ *Der Einfluss Philos auf die älteste christliche Exegese (Barnabas, Justin und Clemens von Alexandria): ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der allegorisch-mystischen Schriftauslegung im christlichen Altertum*, von Dr Paul Heinisch, Priester der Erzdiözese Olmütz, Münster i. W., 1908.

⁵ 'Thomas Mangey, born at Leeds, Yorkshire . . . admitted sizar for Mr Hall . . . 28 June [1704] aet. 16,' *Admissions to the College of St John the Evangelist*, Cambridge, part ii, p. 172.

next English name: his work on the *De Vita Contemplativa*, published at Oxford in 1895, is described as 'unique édition critique'. In 1886 Dr Rendel Harris published the *Fragments of Philo Judaeus* at Cambridge, and this also is reckoned among 'des travaux... vraiment importants'. Under the heading 'Études générales' stands Dr Drummond's *Philo Judaeus and the Jewish Alexandrian Philosophy in its development and completion*, published in London in 1888—and recently 'remaindered'. Among special studies Ryle's *Philo and Holy Scripture* is the only representative of English scholarship. And the pity of it is that—with the exception of Mr C. G. Montefiore's *Florilegium Philonis*—there is (so far as I know) nothing else in English that Professor Bréhier ought to have read or commemorated. Jewish scholars and Roman Catholics and philosophers think it worth while to study Philo; but he is a voluminous person and—*nos silemus!*

Well, the books of Professor Bréhier and Dr Heinisch have been sent to the JOURNAL for review, and the editor permits me to try to say why they should be read, and why—they would both agree that this is still more important—people interested in Christianity, and therefore in its mother-church, should read Philo himself for themselves.

Since 1895 English scholars have been silent on the subject of Philo; but from time to time in Cambridge the Special Board for Divinity tempts men to study one or other of his tracts as an examination-subject. It is difficult to imagine a man who having tasted Philo could abstain from habitual indulgence, and refrain from tempting others.

For the fact of the matter is that Philo wrote out the faith by which he lived in the equivalent of two volumes folio. Of other Rabbis, Palestinian or Babylonian, we have only sentences and exaggerated appreciations in Talmud and Midrash. The writers of the Nazarene sect have left occasional writings and books concerned either with Jesus of Nazareth or with some of the missionaries who first proclaimed His resurrection from the dead. Josephus, who accepted Vespasian as Messiah, wrote the history, ancient and modern, of his nation at the end of the first century, with the apparent object of reconciling Jewry to the Roman rule. There are Jews who dreamed in cipher and gave out

hidden revelations; and these have survived in languages of which inquisitors had no cognizance. But only Philo sets forth the presuppositions and translates the verbal imagery of the Jewish faith in gross and in detail. Christians have pilfered his stores of learning without forgetting to call him Jew. Jews have neglected him, because he wrote in Greek, and was secretly or openly adopted by the Christians. Philosophers have patronized him as a lowly step in their lofty ladder, and have labelled him according to their fancy or their knowledge of more ancient philosophers. But *ver novum*—all this is over and gone. If one cares to know the faith which has survived the shocks of circumstance from the days of Antiochus Epiphanes until to-day, one must read Philo. Men call him philosopher; but he regarded philosophy as a means and not as an end—a mental gymnastic perhaps, but just an instrument apt for his purpose. And his one purpose was that all men should be led into the way of truth and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life. No better summary of his gospel could be found than this:—‘The chief end of man is to glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever.’ And Philo is himself a typical embodiment of the faith which he preached.

Half-way through the first century of the current era Philo was an old man. As an old man he was compelled by force of circumstances to champion his faith against the imperious challenge of the man-god Caligula. The Jews, as he says, had a notion of the deity, which no man living at the time could fulfil. Atheists for this turn, they confronted the omnipotent Shepherd of the civilized world with tremulous equanimity and denied His divinity to His face. Here, if anywhere, we may see Judaism in action and its precepts put into practice. The writings of Philo are concerned in the main with the inner life of the individual; but his picture of this interview stands out sharp and clear to exhibit the genius of Common or Catholic Judaism.

By way of preparation for the proper appreciation of this picture it will be well to look for a little at the previous condition of the civilized world and also at the immediate cause of this embassy—the Jew-baiting at Alexandria.

On the Ides of March in the year 44 B.C. Julius Caesar was struck down at the foot of Pompey's statue—'but for supporting robbers'—by self-appointed ministers of justice. His body was burned in state, and the Roman people remained by the pyre all night long.¹ Foreigners resident in Rome came in crowds to mourn after their several fashions, and chief among them the Jews, who never failed to visit his tomb at night.² Josephus records the benefits which he had conferred upon the Jews, and Philo praises him as the founder of the dynasty under whose rule the whole world had peace, and the Jews had liberty to keep their Law.

Augustus pursued the same policy of toleration, and Philo speaks of him as passing the limitations of human nature. In the eyes of the Jews he was Saviour and Benefactor. His arm was long enough to protect the scattered communities of the Jews from the hatred of their neighbours, and so protected they enjoyed a Messianic Age. Here and there seditious individuals or even innocent communities might suffer persecution; but Roman law checked local lawlessness.

Tiberius withdrew his countenance from some of them for a time, when he fell under the influence of Sejanus. False accusations were laid against the Roman Jews, but even so the provincial governors received a proclamation bidding them conciliate the Jews resident within their jurisdiction, inasmuch as they were naturally peaceable, and their peculiar laws contributed towards the general tranquillity.³

Therefore from the standpoint of general Judaism, whose wide purview was made up of so many separated and yet united interests, the world enjoyed the Golden Age, and had no need to hope or yearn for it, when Caligula came to the throne in the year 37 of the present era. They were free to frequent their synagogues, to send their temple-dues to Jerusalem, and to devote themselves in their several ways to the pursuit of happiness. And this freedom they owed to the family of Augustus, who had made war to cease and saved the world from mutual annihilation.⁴

¹ Appian *Bellum Civ.* ii 148.

² Suetonius *D. Iulius Caesar* 84 fin. 'in summo publico luctu exterarum gentium multitudo suo quaeque more lamentata est praecipueque Iudaei qui etiam noctibus continuus bustum frequentarunt'.

³ Philo, ii 569 M.

⁴ Philo, ii 567 f M.

It is reasonable to suppose that in all this Philo is expressing the general opinion of his nation as a whole. Individuals—the Jews in Rome, perhaps, who had suffered from the machinations of Sejanus, and certainly the titular king of the Jews, Herod Agrippa—may well have looked for a deliverer in the successor of Tiberius.

Of the Jews in Rome who matched their wits against the cunning of Sejanus we know nothing. Agrippa was the friend and boon companion of the new emperor. Six months before the accession of Gaius, son of Germanicus and foster-child of the legionaries, he had been thrown into prison for expressing a wish that this might come to pass. Upon the fulfilment of his wish he was released. To replace his iron fetters he received a golden chain of equal weight. The Senate made him Praetor and declared him king over the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias. At length he set out to put his kingdom in order; and at the emperor's wish he went by way of Alexandria.

Pharos was sighted at twilight after a good voyage; but Agrippa wished to enter the harbour in the dead of night. He had seen the sights of Alexandria, when he stayed there to raise a loan upon his wife's credit; and he was anxious to avoid publicity. In spite of his precautions, the news of his arrival was spread abroad and increased the general excitement.

Flaccus the governor was ill at ease, for he had been appointed by the dead Tiberius. His friends resented the presence of King Agrippa as an insult to the governor. The populace detested the Jews and grudged them their share of the emperor's favour. So Agrippa was lampooned as he waited for a wind; and Flaccus, at best, did nothing to restrain the licence of his subjects. After all, as his friends declared, he needed a friend at court; and, since the son of Tiberius and Macro the prefect were dead, his only advocate was the city of Alexandria, which all the family of Augustus had honoured from the beginning.

At last the mob proceeded from read and written libels to an acted mockery of the Jews and their king. They took a harmless lunatic named Carabas and clothed him with a parody of a king's insignia—a leaf of papyrus for diadem, a door-mat for robe, and for sceptre a stick of papyrus which they found lying in the street. In the Gymnasium they enthroned him for all to see; and then, as

his bodyguard surrounded him and his subjects laid petitions and salutations before him, there arose a great shout of 'Marin'. The shout revealed the purpose of the whole performance: 'Marin' is the Syrian word for Lord; and the people knew that Agrippa was a Syrian by race and had a large section of Syria, over which he was king. That the scene chosen for their symbolic anti-Semitism should be the Gymnasium was both natural and appropriate. Two hundred years earlier Jason the high-priest inaugurated the great apostasy by building a place for gymnastic exercise in Jerusalem according to the customs of the heathen.¹

Emboldened by their impunity, the mob proceeded to a more ordinary and a more effective method of Jew-baiting. In the name of the emperor they demanded of the governor that images should be set up in the synagogues. Four hundred families of Jews were evicted from their homes—and the governor acquiesced.

But, god as he was, the emperor had still a feeling for the king of the Jews, his boon companion. Scattered as they were, the several communities of the Jews retained a consciousness of national unity. Suddenly Flaccus was arrested in the middle of a revel; and the Jews assembled at dawn on the seashore—for want of a synagogue—to praise God for their deliverance. It was the season of the Feast of Tabernacles.

In the nature of the case the respite gave them no permanent security. The mob of Alexandria had tasted blood and the emperor had declared his divinity. Even Romans forgot or abjured their ancient Roman liberty and prostrated themselves before him like so many barbarians. Of all his subjects only the Jews refused to accept his declaration. So the Jews of Alexandria sent an embassy to Rome.

The ambassadors, who waited upon the emperor, discovered that he not only affirmed but actually believed his own divinity. Helicon, his jester, flattered him to the top of his bent and lost no opportunity of inflaming him against the Jews. In spite of this the ambassadors met with a kind reception, when they first entered the presence in a field beside the Tiber. Only Philo felt

¹ 1 Macc. i 11-14; 2 Macc. iv 7-14.

misgivings, being older and wiser than the rest. The emperor promised them a hearing in due time: the delay was unnecessary and ominous.

From Rome the court removed to Puteoli, the great seaport of communication with Egypt and the East; and thither went the Jews to wait for their audience. One day, as they waited, a man accosted them. His face was flushed and troubled. Panting for breath he asked them 'Have you heard the news?' He stopped abruptly and burst into tears. Then he began again, and again broke off. At last he said, 'Our temple is gone. Gaius has ordered that a colossal statue of himself, inscribed with the name of Zeus, be set up within the Sanctuary.' The deputies stood stock-still, aghast at the intelligence. Others appeared to confirm it, and they all retired to mourn over their private and common misfortunes in seclusion. No hope remained and they prepared to die for the observance of the Law. The danger of the winter-voyage and the peril of the Alexandrine community, all this was as nothing compared with the menace offered now to the catholic community of Israel. And yet they encouraged one another to cherish the hope in God their Saviour: He might ordain the chastening of the nation and would bring them safely through, as in the days of old.

Resolute and hopeful in their despair the deputies turned upon the messengers and demanded what had moved Gaius to issue this decree. The bare fact was a spark to set them burning: after their lamentation they were eager to understand the situation. The answer was that Gaius desired the fairest temple upon earth for himself. A collector of tribute in Judaea had suggested the sacrilege by letter, in order to save himself from impeachment by his victims. The mongrel population of Jamnia had furnished the occasion by erecting an altar of common material for the sole purpose of provoking the Jews, who lived with them; and the Jews had destroyed it. So Petronius, the legate of Syria, had orders to place the statue within the Sanctuary; and only his knowledge of the Jews prevented him from compliance.

In the event their hope was justified. At the risk of his life the legate saved the Holy City, the mother-city not of Judaea only, but of most of the countries in the world. As Agrippa said to Gaius, or is made to say:—'The Jews have sent colonies

at different times into Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria, and Coele-Syria ; into Pamphylia, Cilicia, and most of Asia as far as Bithynia and the recesses of Pontus ; likewise into Europe, Thessaly, Boeotia, Macedonia, Aetolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth, and the most and best parts of the Peloponnese. The most famous of the islands Euboea, Cyprus, and Crete were full of Jewish colonies.'

But this is to anticipate : the Alexandrine deputies have yet to face the emperor, whose divinity neither they nor any serious pagan could recognize.

Gaius gave them audience, while he was inspecting the gardens of Maecenas and Lamiæ. They greeted him as 'august emperor'. He responded so courteously and so benevolently, that they despaired not only of their petition but also of their lives. 'You,' he said, 'are the atheists who will not acknowledge my divinity like the rest.' The deputies protested that they had sacrificed three times in his honour. 'Enough,' he said, 'you have sacrificed—but not to me!' And so he turned to his inspection of the buildings on the estates. Upstairs and down he went, finding fault and sketching costly alterations. Then he asked the deputies a great and solemn question:—'Why do you abstain from pork?' Their enemies—contrary to etiquette—burst into shouts of laughter : some were pleased and others were merely anxious to shew their appreciation of the imperial wit. 'We answered,' Philo says, "'Different peoples have different laws ; there are some things our opponents may not use.'" Some one said, "Yes, most men refuse to have common lamb served up to them." "That's reasonable enough," said the emperor, "lamb is not good eating ;" and then, "we would learn what form of government you have." In the middle of our exposition he leapt off at speed into a great house and gave orders for the glazing of the windows. Again he asked, "What do you say?" and ran into another house to superintend the hanging of some old pictures. We were exhausted and in despair. Our souls had gone forth from us for fear to beseech the true God that He would restrain the passion of the pretender. And so the emperor took pity on us and changed his wrath to mercy. In a milder mood he said, "It seems to me that these men are unfortunate rather than wicked : their unbelief in my divine nature is mere stupidity. So he bade us depart."

In these two scenes Philo displays the passions of a Jew, which else are overlaid to some extent by his acquired philosophy. A Greek in speech and in mind, like the Jew who colloqued with Aristotle,¹ he remained at heart a Hebrew as his fathers were. Son of the synagogue and student of the Law, he is fired by the outrage offered to the Temple. By choice and practice he had removed himself from human affairs; but his nation could claim him at its need. He was patriot as well as philosopher; but above all he was Rabbi and, at times, prophet. In his writings he parades his Greek learning; but his gospel is the Law and he is concerned to win men to accept its easy yoke and present help.

Thanks to Josephus, we are able to set beside Philo the figures of his brother and his brother's son, to shew what parts Jews were playing in this ancient world.

His brother Alexander Lysimachus was a great man in Alexandria and in Rome itself: he managed the Egyptian estates of Antonia, mother of Germanicus and of the future Emperor Claudius. He was imprisoned by Caligula and released by Claudius, 'his old friend', after Caligula's death.² King Agrippa, to whom for his wife's sake Alexander had lent five talents in earlier days,³ gave his daughter in marriage to his creditor's son. So favoured, it is possible that Alexander earned his second name Lysimachus ('peace-maker') by putting an end to the civil war which had broken out between the Jewish and the native inhabitants of Alexandria upon the death of Caligula. At any rate it is known that he held the office of Alabarch; and an Alabarch was an official whose favour might be necessary for so great a man as Cicero⁴ in his struggle with Caesar. But for all his greatness Alexander Lysimachus remained true to his native religion; and he covered the nine gates of the Temple with silver and gold.⁵

Tiberius Alexander, son of this financier, was a soldier and—perhaps, therefore—an apostate. As an apostate from the worship of the One God and from the customs of Judaism he was no longer a Jew according to the Jewish canon. But for the historian the

¹ Clearchus, *Jos. c. Ap.* i 22.

² *Jos. Ant.* xix 5 § 1 (§ 276 Niese).

³ *Jos. Ant.* xviii 6 § 3 (§§ 159 f Niese).

⁴ Cicero *ad Atticum* ii 17 (fin.) 'velim ex Theophane expiscere quonam in me animo sit Alabarches'.

⁵ *Jos. B. J.* v 5 § 3 (§ 205 Niese).

phenomenon of such apostasy is of the first importance. Philo's references to the impious ἀποφράδες suggest that in his time and place it was as common as it was easy to desert to the general irreligion or religion of the world outside the ghetto. The mysteries attracted the Jew of the Dispersion no less than the Gentile. Both were to some extent surfeited with cities and civilization and inclined to welcome a ceremonial reproduction of primitive and natural religions. But in the case of Philo's nephew the career which he adopted supplies an adequate motive for his desertion of 'the ancestral customs'. A soldier cannot keep the Sabbath. No doubt some Rabbi might have been found to give dispensation. But Philo himself was of the stricter school, and to take service in the Roman army was not to help directly the establishment of the general theocracy. In the history of the Jews there was a time when the pious Hasidæans condoned the breach of the Sabbath and countenanced recourse to the arm of flesh. But such a life as Tiberius Alexander led is essentially incompatible with Judaism.

Apostate as he was, he lived gloriously and had still to do with Jews. He even went up to Jerusalem—as Procurator of Judæa in succession to Fadus.¹ During his term of office there was a famine in the Holy Land, and Helena, Queen of Adiabene, proselyte to Judaism like her people, bought corn from Egypt for the starving Jews.

James and Simon, sons of Judas the Galilean, who revolted—apostatized—from the Romans, when Quirinius assessed Judæa, were brought before him for judgement; and he ordered them to be crucified. For all this the apostate kept the nation in peace, because like Fadus he did not interfere with the customs of the country.² Judas and his sons were robbers like Barabbas—would-be deliverers of Israel in the eyes of their misguided followers.

From being Procurator of Judæa, Tiberius Alexander became Prefect of Egypt and there also he kept the *Pax Romana*. Nero appointed him, and King Agrippa came to make friends with him.³ But the Greeks cherished their feud with the Jews of Alexandria and the Jews persisted in provoking the Romans.

¹ Jos. *Ant.* xx 5 § 2 (§§ 100–103 Niese). ² Jos. *B. J.* ii 11 § 6 (§ 220 Niese).

³ Jos. *B. J.* ii 15 § 1 (§ 309 Niese).

Tiberius Alexander tried to quiet the Jews and they replied with blasphemies. So he ordered his two legions to devastate the Jewish quarter in the Delta and only withdrew them when the Jews begged for mercy.¹

There is yet another incident in his career which concerns the historian of Judaism, though less than it concerned him. Nero made Vespasian Governor of Judaea in A.D. 66, and, in the year of the four Emperors, Tiberius Alexander proclaimed him Emperor of Rome in Alexandria, whence Rome derived her corn. There was an ancient prophecy current throughout the East that thence should come a Governor. Hitherto the Emperors had treated even the Greek Orientals—as Aristotle advised Alexander of Macedon to treat barbarians—like dogs or milch cows. But, as Tacitus says, many were persuaded that in the ancient books of the priests it was written, ‘the East shall be healed of her sickness and men shall go forth from Judaea to rule the world’.² Suetonius refers to this belief,³ and with Tacitus and Josephus⁴ regards it as one of the causes of the great Jewish rebellion. All three historians are convinced that the prophecy really referred to Vespasian and Titus. Now Vespasian dated his reign from July 1, A.D. 69, when Tiberius Alexander proclaimed him. The Jews had applied their own prophecy—for it is written in their own scriptures⁵—to themselves and by their rising they prepared the way for its real fulfilment. Vespasian—the man of mean birth, whom Nero need not fear—was the Messiah of Josephus the Pharisee, as he was the apostate’s Emperor. And the Jews generally might have known that they were in the wrong of it, because, Josephus says, there was another oracle, ‘the City and the shrine shall be captured when the Temple becomes four-square’.⁶

¹ *Jos. B. J.* ii 18 §§ 7 f (§§ 487–497 Niese).

² *Hist.* v 13 ‘pluribus persuasio inerat antiquis sacerdotum litteris contineri eo ipso tempore fore ut valesceret Oriens profectique Iudaea rerum potirentur: quae ambages Vespasianum ac Titum praedixerant’.

³ *Vesp.* 4 ‘precrebuerat oriente toto vetus et constans opinio esse in fatis ut eo tempore Iudaea profecti rerum potirentur. Id de imperatore, quantum eventu postea patuit praedictum Iudaei ad se trahentes rebellant’.

⁴ *B. J.* vi 5 § 4 (§§ 310–315 Niese).

⁵ Micah v 1.

⁶ *B. J. l.c.* Josephus mentions three signs which pointed to the catastrophe, and describes the advent of Jesus, son of Ananus, at Tabernacles four years before the war began, his prophecy ‘Woe to Jerusalem’, and his scourging by order of Albinus the procurator.

From the soldier of fortune, from the financier, and even from Philo the ambassador, we must turn to Philo the Rabbi to learn what Judaism is. Summarily it is this:—An active faith in the One God, who is in Himself unknowable: it is nourished and sustained by appointed mediators, and it is furnished with outward and visible signs, which are prescribed by the Law. Israel, as the name denotes, is the body of men who '*see God*'. Strictly speaking God is invisible to man, but the sight of God is the goal at which every Jew is bound to aim. To help him in his quest he has assistance which other men lack. He and his nation strive to reach the One God and God is gracious to His suppliants.

What the privileges of the Jew are, let St Paul the disciple of Gamaliel say:—'The children of Israel to whom belong the adoption to be sons and the visible presence of God and the covenants and the law's enactment, and the ceremonial observances and the promises; whose are the patriarchs, and from whom, so far as natural descent is concerned, came the Christ; whose is the Supreme God, the Holy One blessed be He for ever.'¹

In the time of Philo different sectaries had found different Messiahs. Men whom Josephus brands as Robbers had delivered—or had failed to deliver—their followers for a time. Whether they were or were not anointed by prophet or rabbi, they served their generation or themselves, as Deliverers will. St Paul held Jesus to be Messiah because he was raised from the dead and thereafter removed from human ken as a visible and tangible force in human affairs. Paul looked for the coming of this Messiah as an event in the future. And so far the Nazarene sect conformed to the faith of Judaism. The Christ when He came must fulfil all righteousness, preach the faith in the One God, and therefore be a Jew: as it is said, 'Salvation is of the Jews'.

But the Christ, if He come, is part of the Promises which the Fathers in part received. Jacob was made—not born—the son and heir of the God of Israel. The ancient glory and the covenants find a home in the Temple. And the worship of

¹ Rom. ix 4, 5. I quote for the most part the rendering of W. G. Rutherford, altering it at the end. Following the accepted text he writes 'from whom . . . came the Christ, supreme over all, God blessed for everlasting'. I submit that the transposition adopted in my rendering above—ὁ ὁ for ὁ ὁ—deserves consideration.

the Temple is contained with all other prerogatives of the Jew in the Law, the yoke of which he took upon his shoulders. The sum and substance of Judaism is the Law which Moses delivered to Israel when as yet God reigned over them by means of His prophet.

In the days of Philo and St Paul the Law contained a motley crowd of precepts. The scribes and the priests and the prophets, who sat in turn in Moses' seat, had defined and applied the primitive religion which they preserved. The Torah covered the whole of a man's life as primitive religions do. The custodians of the Torah had 'gained them the gains of various men—ransacked the ages—spoiled the climes'. And when it was fixed by being written down, an Oral Tradition went with it. The conditions of a Jew's life changed from time to time; and his written code had living voices to interpret it accordingly. Scripture was pitted against Scripture in the interests of common sense. Rabbinic exegesis may be subtle and eccentric when it comes into contact with obsolete precepts; but the precepts were all part of the Sacred Law, which the rabbis must expound and the Jews must obey.

The Law of the Jews did not deal merely with the seventh day and with the higher aspirations of men. The scribes who interpreted it were better called clerks in English. Their concern was that a man should be at peace with his associates, and so with himself. They were clerks of the Great King's peace within the parish to which they were called. To fulfil their function they needed a higher education—higher in degree but not different in kind—than that which any Jewish child received. There were country parsons in Judaea who were only distinguished from their flocks by a wider knowledge of the less inevitable parts of the Bible. It was said by the ancients, 'The reward of a precept is a precept'. St Paul said, 'For the righteous man the law does not exist'. By training and therefore by habit the Jew kept the Law, and his Law contained the essentials of any sane code. It provided for the individual and not only for the community: it was the operative part of a primitive religion which had survived the impact of successive civilizations.

In modern times much has been said of the legalism which effectually prevented the Jews from enjoyment of true religion.

The subtle decisions of the scribes have been quoted from the Talmuds as proof that by their learned trifling they reduced the Torah to a ludicrous and oppressive network of minute observances. But once more it must be remembered that for the righteous man the Law is as though it did not exist. Habit inbred, if not actually innate, produced in the good Jew an instinctive obedience to the main principles and the chief precepts of the Mosaic law. And in the first century there were many Gentiles who accepted its yoke. There were women and even men in the civilized world who became Jews according to the variable standards of Jewish missionaries. The delimitation of their activity to the territory of the Roman Empire perhaps explains the attitude of modern critics. The civilized world was bounded by the Rhine on the west, and the Euphrates on the east; Scythians, Germans, and Britons, along with other intractable savages, were outside the pale.

To set the proselytes aside for a little: all native Jews were themselves proselytes like Abraham himself.

Trained as they were in the essentials of their Law from infancy, the time came when each individual must decide for himself whether he would remain a Jew and live as one in the world but not of it. The faithful remnant had little to gain by fidelity to the faith of their fathers. Apostasy was easy. But those who remained faithful did *not* find in the Law an irksome burden. They were as well disciplined as the Roman legionaries; and the Law, in which they rejoiced, was a fertile cause of the propagation of Judaism. The Law contained the promise of life. The Jew had no need to travel over the perilous ocean to win salvation at a central shrine. He was not compelled to consult the heavens and to guide his conduct by the motions of the stars. The subterranean abyss had no Gospel for him. God's word was in his heart and in his mouth. He could read what Moses wrote to his children as the reader read it in synagogue on the Sabbath. And his heart testified that herein was life: man's reason—the voice of conscience—call it what we will—God's spoken word was in his heart as well as in his mouth.

Again and again Philo protests that 'the good profession' is neither impossible of attainment nor hard to track down. It is

'in thy mouth, thine heart, and thine hands', as Moses says. It is not overseas at Delphi, nor in the heavens, as the astrologers aver, nor yet in the depths, whence Demeter or Osiris rose again and rise yearly in the mysteries. Judaism is independent of place and time. The fruit by which it may be known is consonance of thought, word, and action. Its motive power is the Law. It is Faith in the Invisible Creator and Governor of the universe.¹

This Faith had its external rites and ceremonies, and some of the laity, no doubt, attributed a magical efficacy to its sacraments. Many of the proselytes in the first century were probably attracted by these accessories: Tacitus himself seems to hint that they introduced accretions detrimental to the religion of their adoption. But the essentials of Judaism admit of being stated in the Golden Rule according to Hillel, and the safeguards—are safeguards. The Scriptures contain the laws of etiquette and the laws of health. The interpreters of the Law prescribed right weights and measures, rules for the killing of meat: no part of man and no part of human activity was outside the terms of the function which they had received. If any of them bound intolerable burdens upon the shoulders of their people, there were other scribes who could sympathize with the weaker brethren and release them. Observance of the Sabbath, abstinence from forbidden food, and payment of the Temple dues were apparently the only external duties which were binding upon the ordinary Jew. And it would not be difficult to justify these requirements to a mere physiologist. The only possible exception is the yearly tribute for the priests; but a shrine is necessary to any religion, and the better a law is from the physiologist's point of view the more it needs the sanction of Religion, if it is to be obeyed by the generality of men.

So Catholic Judaism—the religion of the plain Jew—stands midway between the superstitious ritualism of the Hypocrites and the lofty freedom of the Allegorists, so far as the outward expressions of the Faith are concerned. There were Hypocrites and there were Allegorists within Jewry in the first century—men who professed Judaism and practised it to excess, and men

¹ *de Mut. Nom.* 41 p. 614 M (§§ 236 ff. CW).

who discerned the spiritual significance of its practices and proceeded to ignore them.

All readers of the Gospel according to St Matthew are familiar with the idea of the Hypocrites; and the common result of their reading is that they suppose all the scribes and Pharisees—if not all the Jews—to be condemned and denounced.

Such a conclusion is of course mistaken. But that there were hypocrites among the Pharisees was familiar enough to the rabbis. Of these hypocrites it is said, a disproportionate number was to be found in Jerusalem. Both the Talmuds contain an ancient tradition, which speaks of seven classes of Pharisees. All of them served God from different motives or in different ways. As Pharisees and as Jews it was their business to serve God; but their successors questioned the sincerity of them all. Among them is a class or type which Philo also found in the ghetto of Alexandria—the Shechemite Pharisee. There were hypocrites, then, in Egypt, in Babylon, and in Palestine, and they were denominated Shechem after the manner of the Jews who always looked to the Scriptures for a vocabulary. It is usually said that the Judaism of Palestine was distinct from that of Babylon and that of Egypt; and all such traditional statements are of doubtful authorship and uncertain authority. But this fact remains: there were representatives of Shechem—Hypocrites—in all three centres of Judaism.

The appellation is variously explained by the Talmuds and Philo. The explanation of Philo is a typical example of the way in which he finds a scriptural foundation for his teaching. It is written:—‘Shechem humbled Dinah and yet spoke after her mind.’ The name Shechem means *shoulder*, the symbol of labour; and the name Dinah means *justice*. So Shechem is the laborious hypocrite, who is righteous in speech and in externalities but unrighteous at heart and in act. The rabbis who stand behind the Talmuds arrive at the same conclusion, but by different means.

But Shechem is also the name of a place in another text from which Philo preaches to his readers. Joseph learns on occasion that his brethren are tending their flocks there.¹ Now this is to say that the fathers—the living embodiments of the

¹ Gen. xxxvii 13.

Law, whose merits are availing for their true descendants—have the mastery over their irrational passions by dint of persistent labour. It is a great load which the virtuous must carry. They must resist the body and the pleasure of the body: they must set their face against external things, and the delights which are derived from them. Pleasure lovers regard such ascetics as mad; but, in point of fact, they are sane and well, as Scripture says.¹ But asceticism may degenerate into something akin to hypocrisy, if it be practised for its own sake in season and out of season. In this respect the Jewish code is eminently sensible. The Law of the Levites decreed that none should give himself up to the service of God before the age of thirty years. The good Jew, therefore, must first do his part in the world of men: he must see to 'the building of the world', as the rabbis put it. Whether he accepted the regulation as applying to himself or not in respect of its obligation, he was bound by it in respect of its definite prohibition. The Law commanded him to *pursue righteousness righteously*.² 'Therefore,' Philo says, 'if you see any one refusing meat and drink at the proper time, or excusing himself from baths and unguents, or neglecting the protections of his body, or sleeping on the ground and lodging in discomfort, then affecting a counterfeit continence on these grounds—take pity for his error and shew him the true way of continence. These practices of his are fruitless and unending labours which only exhaust body and soul with hunger and other afflictions. On the other hand, count no man pious who is fair without and foul within for all his ceremonial sprinklings and purifications.'³

At the opposite pole to the Hypocrites were the Allegorists, who despised all external rites—even the Sabbath and Circumcision. They knew the significance of the symbol and therefore neglected its outward sign. Philo blames them for their levity and insists upon the necessity of external observances. Man is made up of mind and matter. Sacraments are needed to assist him in his struggle to rule his irrational part: they appeal to both of the elements in him, and the visible signs remind him of his high vocation.

Allegorists and Hypocrites and the sane director of the plain

¹ *Quod det. pot.* p. 193 M (§§ 9–12 CW).

² Deut. xvi 20.

³ *Quod det. pot.* p. 195 M (§§ 19 f. CW).

man's conscience—all these are Scribes of the Jews. The Law contains an infinite variety of precepts. If you push any one of them to its logical conclusion, if you strip it of its husk and make out the principle involved, you must remember—as they remembered—to balance things by taking heed of human weakness, and by treating other precepts in the same way. It is the habit of Jewish teachers to insist upon a duty to the momentary exclusion of other duties. They make their point with all the vigour and rigour which lie within their power. But—*securus iudicat orbis*—Judaism lives unto this day. Sabbath by Sabbath the Scribes taught their flocks 'here a little and there a little' in the scattered synagogues. And—*securus iudicat orbis*—the Jews of the Dispersion reassembled at the feasts in Jerusalem to round off their several provincialisms 'as iron sharpeneth iron'. There were turbulent spirits among them akin to the Galilean zealots, but there were also peaceable men like Philo who sought only that the Nation should have peace and liberty of conscience to serve God as the Law and Prophets prescribed.

The gist of the matter is this:—If we study in a museum of dead antiquities, we say 'barren legalism' and yearn for fresh air; but, if we divest ourselves of prejudices and labels, Philo and Josephus will tell us how these dry bones lived. *Haec hactenus.*

J. H. A. HART.

DOCUMENTS

THE *VETUS ITALIA* TEXT OF THE *EXULTET*.

MONSEIGNEUR DUCHESNE has shewn¹ how the liturgical blessing of the Easter Candle was foreign to the original Roman use, and was only allowed in the suburbicarian churches in the middle of the sixth century, though it was apparently customary everywhere else in the West. The differences, however, between the usual Roman text, as found in the *Gregorianum*, the 'Gelasian' formula, and the *Exultet* of the Mozarabic and Ambrosian, are so fundamental that the several formulae must be of quite independent origin. Yet this is only what might be expected if it is borne in mind that this 'preconium paschale' or, more accurately, that larger part of it which follows the introduction² and the liturgical preface,³ was not only recited by the deacon or archdeacon, but was apparently occasionally composed by him. The existence of two such formulae written by Ennodius of Pavia (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auct. Antiquis.* vii pp. 18, 109); the quotation by St Augustine (*De civitate Dei* xv 22) of part of a metrical form which he had composed 'in laude quadam cerei' (possibly, as Duchesne suggests, for some deacon at Milan or a neighbouring church); the caustic remarks as to their composition made by St Jerome or pseudo-Jerome in the letter to Praesidius of Piacenza in 384 (Migne *P.L.* xxx c. 1881); and the rhythmical Mozarabic formula, written in the first person singular, quoted in Ewald and Loew, *Exempla scripture Visigothice*, Tab. II and III and republished in *Studi e Testi* xiii pp. 40 sqq., are sufficient proof of this; and further witness to it is borne by the ascription of the usual *Exultet* in the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* and the *Missale Gothicum* to St Augustine, 'cum adhuc diaconus esset'; while in a Poitiers Pontifical quoted by Martène (*De ant. eccl. rit.* iv 24) it is stated to be the work of St Augustine as corrected by St Jerome; Durandus mentions as other composers St Ambrose and even Peter the deacon of the twelfth century; and as late as the fourteenth century a Munich MS (Clm. 831) calls it 'Benedictio Gelasii pape'.

¹ *Christian Worship*, English tr., ed. 2, 1904, p. 252.

² In this introduction the deacon invokes a blessing on what he is about to recite.

³ The two compositions of Ennodius (see below) and the Mozarabic commence with *Aequum et dignum*; the Ambrosian only begins to differ from the Roman after the Preface.

It seems clear then that each extant *Exultet* is an individual composition on a fixed theme; the main subject never varies, but its treatment does. For the present the temptation is resisted to compare the different ways in which the theme is developed or to touch the thorny question as to whether the earlier *laudes cerei* were for daily or for paschal use.

With the benedictions in the Gelasian, Ambrosian, and Mozarabic books we are not now concerned, nor with the Roman; our view must be confined to a formula which was restricted to South Italy, and has not yet received the attention it deserves.¹ The present notice is called for by an article in a recent number of the *Rassegna Gregoriana* (vol. vii col. 125-134) entitled *Un 'Exultet' inedito*. Liturgists, who are much indebted to Dom Latil for the Monte Cassino series of reproductions of *Exultet* rolls, will welcome his account of the Salerno MS Missal of 1431 with its text of the *praeconium paschale*. This, however, can scarcely be called 'inedito'. Some ten years ago in answer to a request by Fr Ehrle to reconstruct as originally written the oldest *Exultet* roll in the Vatican Library (MS Vat. Lat. 9820), I had to reply that the greater part of its original text (which had been so erased that only the initial letters of some sentences were legible) must have been quite different from that of the only version of the Roman *Exultet* then known; but as soon as G. B. Nitto de Rossi and Francesco Nitti di Vito had published in their *Codice diplomatico Barese*, 1897 (vol. i pp. 208-215), the text of the Bari roll² I saw that its initial letters agreed exactly with those of the first hand of the Vatican roll.

This Bari text has since been published by M. Émile Bertaux in *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale* (Paris, 1904, pp. 218 sqq., Plate ix), and in the accompanying *Iconographie comparée des rouleaux de l'Exultet*; M. Bertaux calls attention to its difference from the usual form, the *Vulgata*; the text has also been reproduced in the latest English (1904) edition of Mgr Duchesne's *Origines du culte chrétien*. Dom Beyssac has also published in *Rassegna Gregoriana*, v. 107, a fragment belonging to Dom Palmieri and has shewn how it agrees almost exactly with that of Bari except as to its conclusion (see below).

The text now published by Dom Latil also agrees almost *verbatim* with the Bari roll; and, far from being 'veramente nuova' and a fifteenth-century composition,³ is a faithful reproduction of the rarer

¹ Duchesne's note (*l. c.* p. 256 n. 2) in which he speaks of it as 'a formula which varies somewhat from the usual text' does not do justice to the immense difference between it and the well-known text.

² Another photograph appears in *Comptes rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres xxxv* (1897) pl. 1.

³ On the subject of its melody I express no opinion.

text, which in comparison with the *Vulgata* may very well, for reasons given below, be called the *Vetus Itala*.

Before, however, any suggestion is made as to its origin and use, it should be recalled that the same text appears in the original part of the Roll of Mirabella Eclano which I have been privileged to see (cf. Raimondo Guarini *Ricerche sull' antica città di Eclano*, Napoli, 1814); and that the fragment of a Roll of unknown origin but in a script very similar to that of MS Vatican. Lat. 9820, published in Disp. vii of the Monte Cassino reproductions, contains the sentence 'Apes siquidem . . . virgini[tatem]' which belongs to the *Vetus Itala* and not to the Vulgate text, so that this roll should probably be added to the list of *Vetus Itala* texts.

But there is still another example of this text, one hitherto unsuspected, viz. the Roll, once the property of Lord Crawford and now in the Rylands Library at Manchester.¹ Of this there only remain the first three sheets, containing the text as far as 'viros non norunt'. The roll is now 181 x 31 cm., and has four pictures: (i) at the *Vere dignum*, Christ seated between two angels; (ii) a large one in three compartments, (a) the Crucifixion, (b) the Entrance into Limbus, and (c) the Deliverance of Adam and Eve, representing 'Solutis quippe nexibus et calcato mortis aculeo resurrexit a mortuis qui fuerat inter mortuos liber'; (iii) the Nativity as representing 'dum per virginea viscera mundo illaberis', and (iv) the usual picture of the bees before 'apes siquidem'; the pictures, as in the oldest rolls, not being upside down, but corresponding to the direction of the text. The script bears some resemblance to that of MS Vatican. Lat. 10673, the S. E. Italian as distinguished from the Cassino type, and may fairly be dated about 1000 A.D.

The Vatican roll, no. 9820, referred to above, has the first sentence 'Exultet . . . salutaris'; after which only a few letters and words are legible until the conclusion with an additional sentence: *Necnon et famulam*, &c. The *Vetus Itala* sentence: 'Ut superne benedictionis tue munus accomodes' is quoted on the deacon's roll represented in one of the pictures. The first impression conveyed by this MS and the usual explanation of its condition was that the text has been erased and then rewritten in an inverse order to that of the pictures, that so the people might be able to see the pictures the right way up as the roll was unwound and allowed to fall over the front of the ambo. But on examination it became clear that the original text was in fact quite different, and that the pictures, after having been roughly cut out, have been readjusted to fit in with the new text which

¹ In 1877 this roll was in private possession at Nürnberg. See W. Wattenbach in *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, 1877, No. 8, col. 296.

has been written over the erasure of the original text. The roll has now been restored as originally written, no regard being paid to its later maltreatment; but it will be noticed that the order differs considerably from that given in the *Iconographie comparée* of Bertaux, *l.c.* p. 223, n. 2.¹ It bears witness to the deliberate rejection of one text in favour of another. Up to the *Vere dignum*, however, the two texts are identical; and this has led to a curious result. When the new text had to be adapted, the beginning of an old roll still served its purpose. Hence the original text of Mirabella is retained as far as 'creature commendas' and the representation of the bees, while the rest of the roll beginning 'Vere quia dignum' has the Vulgate text in a thirteenth-century hand; the oldest Gaeta roll has everything after the Preface erased and rewritten in the fourteenth century; the MS Vatic. Lat. 3784 extends as far as the Preface only and was probably completed by a part now lost; the Palmieri fragment has first the *Vulgata* and then, without any break or new title, the *Vetus Itala* beginning with 'Vere quia dignum'. The second Bari roll [Ba*] kept in the same glass case as the earlier one [Ba] has as far as the Preface the *Vetus Itala* text in a hand of the middle of the twelfth century; the rest of the roll is *Vulgata* added at the end of the thirteenth; but by the end of the twelfth century the *Vulgata* was in use at Bari, for the third and smallest roll [Ba**] has that text, although for its conclusion it retains that of the *Vetus Itala*.

The differences in the Bari text as edited by Nitti di Vitto² and Bertaux, the palpable errors in Guarini's collation of the Mirabella roll, and some evident mistakes, possibly typographical, in Dom Latil's version of the Salerno Missal, seemed to demand a personal inspection of all the known sources before a critical edition of the text could be published. This I have been able to make,³ and two South Italian journeys for that purpose have revealed more than had been expected;

¹ The description of this Roll by Bertaux (*l.c.*) seems to call for comment. Reserving for my *Paleografia Musicale Vaticana* a notice of his omission of a sentence at the back of the roll which is of prime importance for the determination of its date, and of his neglect to distinguish the various hands which can still be made out, I should here point out that he has failed to see that the text has been rewritten and that the pictures were not originally upside down, while he acknowledges that the fifteen representations could without difficulty have been incorporated in the Bari roll and expresses surprise that the most characteristic passages of the text, viz. those referring to 'Adae peccatum' and the 'primum pascha', are not illustrated. As a matter of fact these two incidents are not mentioned at all in the *Vetus Itala* and the paintings fit in perfectly with that text.

² I am greatly indebted to the Solesmes monks for a photographic copy of the fragment belonging to Dom Palmieri. A page of it is reproduced in *Paléographie Musicale* ii pl. 20.

³ The text in Duchesne (*l.c.*) is the faulty one of the *Codice diplomatico Barese*; its footnotes do not accurately represent the original.

for not only did Bari and Salerno yield additional material, but the rich Chapter Library of Benevento disclosed sources hitherto unnoticed; MS vi 33, of the end of the tenth century, in addition to many evidences of the survival of an older *ordo* on certain feasts, has for the *praeconium paschale* the *Vetus Itala* text; whilst MS vi 39, written about 1100 A.D. and (like MS Vatic. 9820) for the abbey of S. Peter, Benevento, has the *Vulgata*.

The list then of the known examples of the *Vetus Itala* text are:—

- Ba* Bari roll, complete.
- Ba** Second Bari roll, as far as the preface.
- Ba*** Third Bari roll, from 'Una cum'.
- Ben* Benevento Chapter MS vi 33, complete.
- Ga* Gaeta roll A, as far as the preface.
- Mi* Mirabella Eclano roll, as far as 'commendas'.
- Pal* Fragment Palmieri B; from 'Vere quia dignum'; the text is at times indecipherable.
- Pi* Pisa, Museo Civico roll A, two sentences only [see below].
- Ry* Rylands Library roll, defective after 'non norunt'.
- Sal* Salerno MS Missal 1431, complete.
Salerno MS Missal, saec. xv, complete.
- Tro* Troia roll (so far as can be ascertained from the Monte Cassino reproduction) where the older hand is apparently erased.
- Va* Vatican roll 9820 (vide supra).
- Va** Vatican roll 3784, as far as the preface.
- Va*** Vatican MS Lat. 10673; only the first sentence remains on the last fol. of the MS, but (vide *Miscellanea A. Ceriani*, Milano, V. Hoepli, 1910) the MS was written for some place where the two uses 'Ambrosian' and 'Roman' existed side by side for *ad libitum* use, and the *Exultet* is placed in the so-called 'Ambrosian' *ordo*.

It is also worth recording that two sentences, saved from the wreck of the older text, have been retained in two rolls and in one MS which have the *Vulgate* text:—

(a) The oldest roll in the Museo Civico of Pisa,¹ written in South Italian script of the end of the eleventh century, inserts after 'nectar includunt' of the *Vulgate* the sentence 'Flore utuntur . . . substantia'; after 'destruunt castitatem' it inserts 'Cuius hodor . . . hilaris', a sentence which it repeats after 'luminaribus misceatur' with the addition of 'non tetro odore arvina desudat sed iocundissime suavitate inficitur'.²

¹ Jos. Martini: *Theatrum Basilicae Pisanae*, App. fol. 20, Roma, 1724-1728.

² The Pisa roll also contains after 'cruribus suspensis insidunt' the following sentence: 'Legunt pedibus flores et nullum damnum in floribus invenitur,' which also occurs in the 'Gelasian' formula.

(b) The roll written about 1100 A.D. for Sorrento, now at Monte Cassino, has after 'rutilans ignis accendit', 'cuius odor . . . sancto' and 'Flore . . . conficiunt' before 'apis ceteris'.

(c) MS Bodleian Canonici Bibl. Lat. 61, written about the same time probably for Zara in Dalmatia, has 'Flore utuntur . . . conficiunt' after 'nectar includunt'.

The concluding sentence, which precedes the intercession for the authorities, 'In huius . . . hoste fidelibus' is taken from the first benediction of Ennodius, with 'omnipotens' for 'domine' and 'tua iussa faciens' after 'procellarum', and a few variants noticed below.

In the following edition of the text no notice has been taken of the accompanying rubrics or of the preceding *Lumen Christi*, &c. ; of the additions by later hands of the Vulgate text in *Ba*, *Ga*, *Mi*, *Va* ; of subsequent insertions of names of dignities which have no connexion with the original text ; or of manifest errors due to the original scribe or later copyists, e. g. in the beginning of the text, l. 2 *tantis regis*, *Va*, *tantis regi Tro*, l. 3 *tellus* omitted *Tro*.

No care has been taken to mark the use of *e* cedilla or to reproduce such orthography as *inobs*, *abemus*, *set* for *sed*, *adque* for *atque*, or the use of *b* or *v* in such words as *illaveris*, *vivit* for *bibit*, *flavra*, *flabea*.

Limitations of space have prevented the printing of the clauses in a way which would have shewn their rhythm, &c., but commas have been freely introduced for this purpose and the sentences are divided from each other as in the rolls.

Such words and letters as are legible in *Va* are represented in *italic* type.

Exultet iam angelica turba celorum, exultent divina mysteria, et pro tanti regis victoria, tuba intonet salutaris.

Gaudeat se¹ tantis tellus irradiata fulgoribus et eterni² regis splendore lustrata, totius orbis se sentiat amisisse caliginem.

Letetur et mater ecclesia, tanti luminis³ adornata fulgore et magnis populorum vocibus hec aula resultet.

Quapropter, astantibus vobis, fratres *Karissimi*, ad tam miram huius luminis⁴ claritatem, una mecum queso dei omnipotentis⁵ misericordiam invoke,

Ut qui me non meis meritis infra⁶ levitarum numerum⁷ dignatus est aggregare, luminis sui gratiam⁸ infundens, cerei huius laudem implere praecipiat,

Per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium suum,⁹ viventem¹⁰ secum atque regnantem¹¹ in unitate spiritus sancti deum¹² per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.

¹ et *Mi*. ² tanti *Mi*. ³ patris *Ry*. ⁴ in *Ba*, *Ba**. *Ben. Mi*. ⁵ numero *Ben, Ba** (first hand numerum), *Mi*. ⁶ claritatem *Ga*. ⁷ tuum *Sal*. ⁸⁻⁹ atque regnantem secum *Ba**. ¹⁰ omit *Mi*; deus *Ba, Ba**, *Sal*.

Habemus ad dominum.

Gratias agamus domino deo nostro.

¹¹ Dignum et iustum est.¹²

Vere quia dignum et iustum est, per Christum dominum nostrum,
Qui nos ad noctem istam, non tenebrarum sed luminis matrem,
perducere dignatus est, in qua exorta est ab inferis in ¹³ eterna die ¹⁴
resurrectio mortuorum;

Solutis quippe nexibus et calcato mortis eculeo ¹⁵ resurrexit a mortuis
qui fuerat ¹⁶ inter mortuos liber.

Unde et ¹⁷ nox ipsa ¹⁸ sydereo pro ecclesiarum ornatu cereorum splen-
dore tamquam dies illuminata collucet, quia in eius matutino,
resurgente Christo, mors occidit redemptorum ¹⁹ et emersit vita
credentium.

Vere tu pretiosus es opifex, formator es omnium, cui qualitas ²⁰ in
agendi non fuit officio *sed* in sermonis imperio.

Qui ornatum ²¹ atque habitum ²² mundi ²³ nec adimpliandum ²⁴ quasi
inops potentie, nec additandum quasi egenus glorie condidisti.

Totus ac plenus in te ²⁵ es, ²⁶ qui dum per virginea viscera mundo
illaberis, virginitatem etiam creature ²⁷ commendas.²⁸

Apes siquidem dum ore concipiunt, ore parturiunt, casto corpore, non ²⁹
fedo desiderio copulantur.

Denique virginitatem servantes, posteritatem generant, ³⁰ sobole gaudent,
matres dicuntur, intacte perdurant, filios generant et viros non
norunt.³¹

Flore ³² utuntur coniuge, flore ³³ funguntur genere, flore ³⁴ domos
instruunt, flore ³⁵ divitias conveunt, ³⁶ flore ³⁷ ceram ³⁸ conficiunt.

O ammirandus ³⁹ apium ⁴⁰ fervor! ad commune opus pacifica turba
concurrunt ⁴¹ et operantibus plurimis una augeatur ⁴² substantia.

O invisibile ⁴³ artificium! primo ⁴⁴ culmina pro fundamentis edificant
et tam ponderosam ⁴⁵ mellis ⁴⁶ sarcinam pendentibus domiciliis
imponere non verentur.

O virginitatis insignia! que non possessori damna sed sibi lucra
convectant; auferunt ⁴⁷ quidem predam et cum preda ⁴⁸ minime
tollunt peccatum.⁴⁹

¹¹⁻¹² omit *Ba, Ba.* ¹³⁻¹⁴ eternam diem *Ry.* ¹⁵ aculeo *Sal.* ¹⁶ fuit *Ba.*

¹⁷ omit *Ba, Ba.*, *Sal.* ¹⁸ ipse *Ba.* ¹⁹ redemptorem *Sal.* ²⁰ equalitas *Pal.*

²¹ natum *corrected into* ornatum *Mi*; ornatu *Sal.* ²² habitu *Sal.* ²³ mundo *Ben.*

²⁴ adimpliandum *Pal.* ²⁵ *se corrected into te Pal.* ²⁶ es *Ben.* ²⁷ creatura
Ben, Pal, Mi. ²⁸ commendans *Pal (second hand), Ry.* ²⁹ non de *Pal.*

³⁰ generans *Ben.* ³¹ Here *Ry* breaks off. ³² flores *Pal.* ³³ conduunt *Pisa.*

³⁴ cera *Pisa.* ³⁵ ammirandum *Ben, admirabile Pisa.* ³⁶ apum *Pisa, Sal.*

³⁷ concurrat *Pisa.* ³⁸ augeatur *Ben.* ³⁹ invisibilis *Pal.* ⁴⁰ primo (*diluculo*
second hand) *Ben.* ⁴¹ ponderosa *Ben, ponderosas Pal.* ⁴² melli *Pal.*

⁴³ auferetur *Pal.* ⁴⁴ predam *Pal.* ⁴⁵ peccata *Pal.*

Spoliant quidem florum cutem et morsuum non annotant cicatricem.
 Sed inter hec que dinumeravimus,⁴⁶ huius cerei gratiam predicemus.
 Cuius odor suavis est et flamma ylaris; non tetro odore arvina⁴⁷
 desudat⁴⁸ sed iocundissima⁴⁹ suavitate.
 Qui peregrinis non inficitur⁵⁰ pigmentis sed illuminatur spiritu sancto;
⁵¹ Qui ut⁵² accensus proprias⁵³ corporis compages depascit, ita coagu-
 latas lacrimas in rivulos fundit⁵⁴ gutturarum.
 Quique semiusta membra ambroseo sanguine flavea vena distollit,
 abitum bibit ignis humorem.
 In huius autem cerei luminis corpore, te omnipotens postulamus, *ut*
superne benedictionis munus accommodes,
*Ut*⁵⁵ si quis hinc⁵⁶ sumpserit adversus flabra ventorum, adversus spiritus
 procellarum, sit ei,⁵⁷ domine, singulare *perfugium*, sit murus ab hoste
 fidelibus.
⁵⁸ Salvum fac populum tuum domine et benedic⁵⁹ hereditatem tuam,⁶⁰
 ut redeuntes ad festivitatem pasche, per hec visibilia⁶¹ invisibilibus
 tuis inhiantes,⁶² dum presentium usufruuntur, futurorum⁶³ desiderio⁶⁴
 accendantur.⁶⁵
⁶⁶ Una cum beatissimo papa nostro ill.⁶⁷ et antistite⁶⁸ nostro ill.⁶⁷ sed et
 omnibus presbiteris, diaconibus, subdiaconibus cunctoque clero vel
 plebe.
⁶⁹ Memorare⁷⁰ domine⁷¹ famulorum tuorum⁷² imperatorum nostrorum
 ill. et ill.⁷⁴ et⁷⁵ cunctum exercitum eorum.⁷⁶

⁴⁶ credimus *Ben.*⁴⁷ ar vina *Ba.* et ruina *Pisa.*⁴⁸ resudet *Sal.*⁴⁹ iocundissime *Pisa.*⁵⁰ infigitur *Pisa.*⁵¹⁻⁵² Qua *Ben.*⁵³ propria *Pal.*⁵⁴ infundit *Ben.*⁵⁵ Et *Ben., Sal., Ennodius.*⁵⁶ hunc *Pal.*⁵⁷ eis *Pal.*illi *Ennodius.* ⁵⁸⁻⁶⁰ occur in *Ba*** before the conclusion *Per dominum* &c.⁵⁹⁻⁶⁰ hereditati tue *Ba**.*⁶¹ visibilibus et *Ba., Ba**, Ben., Pal.*⁶² inhians *Ba**, Ben., Pal.*⁶³ futurarum *Pal.*⁶⁴ desideria *Ba., Ben., Pal.*

⁶⁵ Here *Pal* inserts: Precamur ergo te domine ut nos famulos tuos omnem clerum et devotissimum populum una cum beatissimo viro papa nostro ill. et antistite nostro ill. et his qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis. Memento etiam domine famulorum tuorum principum nostrorum il. et il. et omni exercitum...
⁶⁶⁻⁶⁸ Lacuna in *Pal.* ⁶⁷ N. *Sal.* dompno illo *Bari**.* ⁶⁸ archiepiscopo *Sal.*
 famulo tuo pontifice *Ben.* dompno illo *Bari**.* ⁶⁹⁻⁷⁶ Respice quesumus domine super devotissimum famulum tuum N. Cuius tu deus desiderii vota prenoscens, ineffabilis pietatis et misericordie tue munere iocundum perpetue pacis accomoda, Et in his pascalibus gaudiis regere, gubernare et custodire digneris. ⁷⁰ Memora

Pal. ⁷¹⁻⁷² omit *Pal.* famulum tuum *Ben.* famuli tui *Ba**.* ⁷³⁻⁷⁴ imperatore nostro il. *Ben.* regis nostri ill. *Ba.* ⁷⁴ ill. et principum nostrorum il. et il. *Pal.* ill.

et principe nostrum il. *Ben.* ⁷⁵⁻⁷⁶ eorum exercitum universum *Ben., Pal.* cunctum eius exercitum et omnium circumadstantium. Salvum fac... accendantur *Ba**.*

⁷⁶ eorum et omnium circumadstantium *Ba.* eorum. *Necnon et famulam tuam abbatissam nostram il. cum universa congregatione* [first hand *beatissimi petri apostoli*, second hand *beatissimi petri apostoli sibi commissa ac*] *temporum vile quiete concessa, gaudiis eam facias perfrui sempiternis. Vat.*

⁷⁷ *Qui vivis* ⁷⁸ *cum patre* ⁷⁹ *et spiritu sancto et regnas* ⁸⁰ *unus* ⁸¹ *deus, in* ⁸² *secula seculorum. Amen.*⁸³

A word as to the conclusion of the *Exultet*. As Dom Beyssac justly remarks (*Rassegna Gregoriana* v 109), the Palmieri fragment 'contient manifestement un doublet', and I venture to suggest a possible explanation. The Bari roll and the Salerno missal are identical as to the sentence 'Salvum fac . . . vel plebe', a sentence which is complete and good in construction if we take 'Ut redeuntes . . . accendantur' as a parenthesis (possibly a marginal addition and not in the original text) and if we connect 'una cum' with the *¶ Salvum* and its *R. Et benedic*, which form a separate paragraph in *Ba***. This prayer with its archaic ring, quite foreign to the later text, is for the *populus-hereditas* of the Psalmist and includes pope, bishop, clergy, and 'plebs', the temporal powers being remembered in the succeeding sentence beginning 'Memento'.

But the Palmieri copyist, though retaining intact all that is in the Bari roll and the Salerno missal, interjects three sentences: (i) between 'accendantur' and 'una cum' he places 'Precamur . . . populum' (words which in the *Vulg.* precede 'una cum'), but he does not complete the sense of the sentence by some such necessary conclusion as the *Vulg.*: 'gaudiis facias perfrui sempiternis'; (ii) instead of this he inserts the *Vulg.* 'Et his . . . laudis' but connects it with 'una cum' instead of concluding it with 'premia eterna largiaris [largire, largiri digneris]'; (iii) he adds, again from the *Vulg.* 'Memento . . . omni exercitu'.¹ If we might suppose that the lacuna of one line in the MS contained the words: 'una cum beatissimo papa nostro il. et antistite' there would be less difficulty. In either case two or three partly imperfect clauses from the *Vulgata* are inserted in the *Vetus Italia* text. Either the scribe mixed the two together or, more probably, by the time the Palmieri MS was copied, the *Vulgata* had become so well known that its fuller conclusion made its way into the older and dying formula.

We are, then, in the presence of two very distinct texts of the *Exultet* in concurrent use in Italy; the *Vulgata* and the *Vetus Italia*.

The *Vulgata* (1) goes back as far as 800 A.D., being found both in the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* and in the *Missale Gothicum*, and

⁷⁷⁻⁸⁰ Per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum qui tecum et cum spiritu sancto vivit et regnat *Ba***. ⁷⁸ vivis et regnas *Pal.* ⁷⁹⁻⁸⁰ in unitate spiritus sancti *Pal, Sal.* ⁸⁰ illegible *Vat*, regnans *Ba.* ⁸¹ omit *Ben, Ba***, *Pal, Sal.* ⁸² per omnia *Ba***, *Pal, Sal.* ⁸³ omit *Ba***.

¹ Dom Beyssac suggests *Amelfitano* as the word in the lacuna, but *Salernitano*, as a word of five syllables, the second one liquescent, and with a spondaic termination, would be equally applicable.

it occurs in the oldest copy of the *Gregorianum*, viz. MS Vatic. Regin. Lat. 332 made between 855 and 867 or possibly before 855 ;

(2) is found in all Sacramentaries and missals of North and Central Italy (e.g. Arezzo, Bobbio, Como, Lucca, Monte Amiata, Monza, Nonantola, Novalesa, Padova, Perugia, Piacenza, Vercelli, Verona) ;

and (3) is frequent in South Italian *liturgica* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, e.g. the Rolls of Amalfi (?) (Pisa A), Benevento (Casanat. MS 724), Capua, Fondi (Paris B. N. Lat. n. a. 710), Gaeta (B and C), the Barberini roll (592) and the one in the British Museum (add. MS 30337), and the MSS Barberini Lat. 560, 603, 699, Vatican Lat. 4770, 6082, Ottobon. 570, Vallicell. c. 32.

The *Vetus Italia* seems to have been restricted to Southern Italy and, with one or two exceptions, was not copied after the end of the eleventh century. About that time that part of its text which follows the 'Vere dignum', in fact the actual *praeconium*, was for some reason abolished and its place was taken by the other text. (The present is not the occasion to enter into the question as to which was really the older or as to the relation between the two.) In the eleventh century, as MS Vat. 10673, the Palmieri fragment, and other MSS shew, the two texts and the two uses to which they belonged are found side by side in South Italy ; Dom Beyssac's explanation that the choice of the *Exultet* was left to the personal preference of the deacon does not seem to fit the case. There are two concurrent uses, the older local use and the more recently introduced, and apparently, for a time at least, it was permissible to use either of them ; the *ordo* of Vat. MS 10673 (vide *Miscellanea A. Ceriani*, cit. sup.) leaves no doubt on this point. We cannot here discuss what authority this *ordo* has to call the former 'Ambrosian'¹ and the latter 'Roman' ; if we might substitute 'old Italian' and 'ninth-century Roman' I think we should arrive at a better comprehension of the facts of the case. It is with extreme diffidence that I venture to touch a difficult but most interesting and important subject, and I merely do so by way of suggestion. The one seems to be the original Italian liturgy, a liturgy of which we possess practically no monumenta, the other the Roman, commonly called Gregorian, as it emerged from the Carolingian reformation.² The South of Italy naturally retained its old customs longer than the North and the Centre, but the 'Roman' use made its way in gradually

¹ Its text has no connexion whatever with the Ambrosian as found in the earliest Milan MSS, none of which, however, go further back than the eleventh century.

² There are no real Roman *liturgica* extant older than the ninth century. Were they then destroyed ?

and effectively; for a time the two existed side by side, but the arrival of the Normans with their 'Roman' books gave the *coup de grâce* to the local liturgy.¹ Only those who have studied the liturgical MSS of South Italy (of which MS Barberini Lat. 560 is a most conspicuous example) and specially those of Benevento² can realize how full they are of erasures and corrections, and, wherever the older text has been allowed to remain uncanceled, how frequent are the references to an alternative use, 'vel secundum quosdam,' 'vel secundum Romanum,' &c.³ To one who is willing to put up with the many discomforts and disappointments involved in an *iter liturgicum* in South Italy, I would warmly commend the search for more material in this direction, and I should not be surprised if he discovered more evidence for the earlier Italian liturgy.

The startling fact remains that the old text of the *Exultet* was used at Salerno as late as 1431; for it was not then copied as an archaeological memento but inserted in its proper place in the missal written in that year and in the other similar but undated missal. It is known that in other respects that city was extremely conservative; the names and history of its bishops shew how slightly Norman influence prevailed there; and as late as the eighteenth century it retained the dramatic witness of the prophets in the Mattins of Christmas Day. The local opposition may have been so strong that the new text was refused admission to Salerno whilst it made its way into Bari, Benevento, Gaeta, &c. If the opinion of Pieralisi (*Il preconio pasquale*, Roma, 1883), that the Barberini roll was written for Salerno at the end of the twelfth century, could be proved, it would be fatal to this theory; but there is really nothing in that roll to connect it with Salerno; and the same is true of the twelfth or thirteenth century roll now in the cathedral of Salerno (No. 15); it is a textless series of pictures arranged in a wrong order but, as the Red Sea is included, its text must have been the *Vulgata*. It is quite possible that just as Benevento destroyed the *Vetus Itala* text in order to use its pictures, so Salerno may have cut

¹ It was during his visit to Montecassino (A. D. 1057-1058) that Pope Stephen IX put a stop to the Ambrosian chant there, but a century later a breviary of that abbey (the lost MS No. 199) contained a notice which touches the *Exultet*: 'feria v et vj et Sabbato in nocte fiant omnia secundum Romanam consuetudinem' (*M. G. H. Script.* vii 693; *Bibliotheca Casinensis* iv [1880] 126).

² I regret that my article on MS Vat. Lat. 10673 in the *Miscellanea A. Ceriani* was in type before my last visit to Benevento when I found startling evidence of the double use there in the tenth and eleventh centuries; the oldest missal in the Chapter Library fits in exactly with the 'Ambrosian' of the Vatican MS.

³ Cf. MS Vatic. Ottob. 145, copied in the eleventh century from a Cassino exemplar, f. 124: 'Quando non canimus ipse (!) Antiphonas secundum Romano, quomodo suprascripte sunt, canimus secundum Ambro[sianum] hoc modo,' &c.

up a Vulgata roll, retaining its pictures but destroying its text as of no use there. Hence that city enjoys the distinction of having retained its old *liturgica* longer than any other South Italian city; and in the missal of 1431 we may see the last remnant of the old Italian use for Easter Even.

H. M. BANNISTER.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE TWO WITNESSES.

THE vision of the Two Witnesses is one of the noted difficulties of the Apocalypse. They are introduced as if familiar in figure or in common speech : 'I will give unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days' (xi 3). They are then identified with the two olive trees of the vision of Zechariah iv 3, which is varied by the substitution of two lamp-stands for one, and their appearance is attended by a wealth of symbolic detail.

There can be no doubt, for any careful reader of the book, that the vision is intricately mystical or allegorical. But neither can there be any doubt, I think, for one who has considered the method of the writer and the nature of his visions, that he had in mind some real event, supplying the material of his imagery. If the book be dated from the Neronian persecution, there is an incident that will obviously fit into this place. The two witnesses, slain by the Beast, whose carcass lies 'in the street of the great city which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt' (xi 10), will be the Apostles Peter and Paul, whose martyrdom at Rome had just seemed to indicate the coming of the last days. But to suppose the details of the vision a close description of the actual event, or to interpret them literally as expressing the hopes of the seer, would be to misunderstand the scope of his prophecy. The conspicuous martyrdom of the two great leaders afforded him material for a figure ; but the meaning of the figure must be sought deeper. It is the conception of the Christian witness that calls for examination.

It is needless to insist on the prominence of the idea of *witness* in the Johannine writings. I think it is now becoming equally needless to insist on the connexion of those writings. The exact relation of the Apocalypse to the Gospel and the Epistles I do not mean to discuss ; it is sufficient for my purpose that they belong to the same section of early Christianity, issue from the same group, and contain, in spite of remarkable differences, many ideas in common. I turn to the other Johannine books, to search in them for something that may throw light upon this mystery of the Two Witnesses.

Why are they two ? There is a possible answer in the Fourth Gospel, where the Pharisees cavil against our Lord in the true legalist temper ; 'Thou bearest witness about thyself, thy witness is not true' (viii 13). The reply is a repudiation of the legal narrowness : Though I bear

witness about myself, my witness is true' (viii 14); but there is almost immediately an acceptance of the legalist standpoint on its positive side: 'It is written in your law, that the testimony of two men is true' (viii 17). It seems to be allowed as a concession to prejudice: if men will not believe except on legal evidence, they shall have such evidence. But the particular duality invoked is startling: 'I am one that bear witness about myself, and the Father that sent me beareth witness about me' (viii 18).

Thence I turn to another passage of the Gospel where there is some insistence on a twofold witness. It is in the last discourse on the night of betrayal: 'When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father, he shall bear witness about me: and bear ye witness also, because ye have been with me from the beginning' (xv 26). Here is an obvious parallel to the duality already noted. The Son bears witness about Himself: so those who have been with Him from the beginning are to bear witness about Him; their testimony is a continuation of His own. On the other side, the Father which sent Him bears witness: so too the Spirit proceeding from the Father is to bear witness, continuing that testimony. Into the meaning of the witness of the Father I will look presently; it is sufficient for the moment that two testimonies are conjoined, which may be described as earthly and heavenly. The Son on earth bears witness about Himself, and afterwards, when the time is come for Him to depart out of this world and go to the Father, He leaves behind Him chosen witnesses on earth. The Father in heaven bears witness, and afterwards sends forth the Spirit to testify.¹

The conception of the Apostles as witnesses, though characteristically Johannine, is not peculiar to the Johannine writings; it is, of course, prominent in the opening chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. Moreover this precise duality is found in the speech of Peter at the meeting of the Apostles and Elders described in Acts xv, where also the outpouring of the Holy Ghost is identified as the witness of God: 'Ye know how that a good while ago God made choice among you that by my mouth the Gentiles should hear the word of the gospel and believe. And God, which knoweth the heart, bare them witness, giving them the Holy Ghost, even as he did unto us' (Acts xv 8).

What is meant by the witness of God? First, there is an obvious sense—obvious, at least, to the thought of the time. The Scriptures of the Old Testament bear witness to Jesus as the Christ, and this is God's direct testimony. The assertion in John v 37, 'The Father

¹ The passage in John v 31-36 seems to shew the pressure on the writer's mind of the idea of twofold witness, but it is concerned with a different set of circumstances.

which sent me, he hath borne witness of me', is immediately explicated by the words, 'Ye search the Scriptures, because ye think that in them ye have eternal life; and these are they which bear witness of me.' The same idea is familiar in other writers. St Paul (Rom. iii 21) speaks of the righteousness which is through faith in Jesus Christ as 'witnessed by the law and the prophets'. St Peter, in Acts x 43, says 'To him bear all the prophets witness'. In the Epistle to the Hebrews (x 15) is a phrase yet more germane to my subject—'The Holy Ghost also beareth witness to us'—introducing a quotation from Jeremiah.

But this obvious interpretation is very far from exhausting the sense of the witness of God. In Acts xx 23 are attributed to St Paul the words: 'The Holy Ghost testifieth unto me in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me.' That is clearly a reference to inspired utterances like that of Agabus at Caesarea. In Hebrews ii 4 is found a similar use of the word, which brings us back sharply to the double witness. Speaking of the message of salvation, 'which having at the first been spoken through the Lord, was confirmed unto us by them that heard'—here is the witness of our Lord Himself and of the Apostles—the writer continues, 'God also bearing witness with them, both by signs and wonders, and by manifold powers, and by gifts of the Holy Ghost' (Heb. ii 4). Here is what we may call the living witness of God, as distinguished from the past witness of the same kind enshrined in the letter of Scripture.

If now we return to the Johannine writings we find this witness of the Spirit treated as more ordinary and as more intimate. I refer especially to the First Epistle. In the Apocalypse the message of the Spirit to the Churches seems to be a prophetic message of the old kind; and this is still recognized in the Epistle, if only in the warning against false prophets, and the spirit of the antichrist; but there is here a wider conception of general inspiration. 'Ye have an anointing from the Holy One, and ye know all things' (ii 20). 'The anointing which ye received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any one teach you' (ii 27). I need not dwell on the question whether these words imply, as I think they do, a general practice of unction at or after baptism; the point is that such unction, if practised, was considered symbolic of an inner enlightenment of the Spirit shared by all the faithful, an ordinary endowment of the disciple. We are far away here from any special charisma of prophecy. The same thought reappears towards the end of the epistle, bringing back the particular phrase that we are examining: (v 9) 'The witness of God is this, that he hath borne witness concerning his Son. He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself.' I do not hesitate to read *αὐτῷ* with Westcott and Hort, though the Revisers fell back upon

the αἰτῶ of Tischendorf and Tregelles. It is an interior witness of the Spirit common to all believers. He has just before said 'It is the Spirit that beareth witness' (v 6).

But we must look also at what there is in the Epistle about the twofold witness. The Apostolic witness is nowhere more definitely asserted than in the prologue to the Epistle: 'That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you also'; and the purpose of it is defined: 'that ye also may have fellowship with us.' The assertion is repeated in iv 14: 'We have beheld and bear witness that the Father hath sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world.' The acceptance of this witness is intimately connected with the possession of the inner witness of the Spirit, for it is immediately added: 'Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God abideth in him, and he in God' (iv 15). It will not be doubted that δμολογεῖν signifies that open and public profession of faith that is implied in having fellowship with the Apostolic witnesses. This dependence upon the external witness, the witness of men, seems hardly consistent with the words, 'Ye need not that any one teach you' (ii 27), and the repeated words, 'I write unto you because ye know' (ii 21); but the two ideas must evidently be co-ordinated, and a synthesis will be found in the thought that believers in the external witness of the Gospel pass on to the witness of the Spirit, which confirms it and renders them independent of further corroboration. That thought is summarized in the words: 'If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater' (v 9).

It is necessary to look at the immediately preceding words: 'There are three who bear witness, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood' (v 8). At first sight this threefold witness seems to stand in contrast with the twofold witness elsewhere proposed; but on looking closer we find that the witness is still twofold. 'The water and the blood', taken together, stand for Jesus Christ. 'This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ: not in the water only, but in the water and in the blood' (v 6). I need not stop to ask the meaning of this remarkable mysticism: the fact stands out clearly enough that the witness of the water and the blood is the witness of Jesus Christ Himself, as distinguished from the witness of the Spirit: therefore also, I cannot doubt, it is the witness of the Apostles. The abrupt expression 'There are three who bear witness' I take to be the flashing out of a sudden thought that the twofold witness is even threefold, and therefore the stronger, since one of the two witnesses appears to be mystically duplicated.

Thus there runs through the whole web of the Epistle the idea of a twofold witness which appears elsewhere in the Johannine writings. The idea is coherent. On the one hand there is the witness of men

on earth, the witness of our Lord Himself, and of the Apostles whom He sent. On the other hand is the witness of God, given first by the Spirit of prophecy in the ancient Scriptures, given secondly by the Spirit of prophecy in the preachers of the Gospel, given in the third place by the Spirit abiding in every faithful believer. Is there any suggestion that the witness of men is confined to the Apostles themselves? I think not, any more than it is suggested that the enlightenment of the indwelling Spirit was a gift exclusively to the first generation of believers. This last is treated as the ordinary endowment of Christians as such: the witness of men is set over against it as equally ordinary. It is the witnessing of a continuing fellowship. We may illustrate this, if we will, from the Prologue of St Luke's Gospel, where the writer evidently regards himself as continuing the testimony of those who 'from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word'. To pass to modern language, the Apostolic witness is the witness of the Church, the Christian fellowship. But even this is not very modern, if we may so interpret—and I think we must—the saying of 1 Tim. iii 15 about the Church or household of God, which is 'the pillar and stay of the truth'.

We may therefore infer that the ordinary equipment of Christianity includes a twofold witness to the Gospel: the witness of men, which is for us the tradition of the Christian Church, and the witness of the Spirit dwelling in the hearts of believers. I suggest that this is the meaning of the two witnesses of the Apocalypse, who prophesy for the mystical period of twelve hundred and sixty days, which I will not venture to expound, any more than I will speculate on the meaning of the death and revival of the witnesses. I am concerned only with the Johannine conception of Christian evidences, which seems to be different from that commonly current in our day.

But there still remains one thing to be considered—the relation of the two witnesses to each other. This also is clearly conceived in the Epistle. I have remarked that the witness of men, when once received, seems to be in a sense superseded by the witness of God, so that, as the writer says, 'Ye need not that any one teach you' (ii 27). The witness of God is greater than the witness of man. But on the other hand, the witness of the Spirit, or what seems to be such, is to be tested. 'Believe not every spirit' it is said (iv.1), 'but prove the spirits, whether they are of God.' This seems to be said in particular of prophetic manifestations, a warning against false prophets; but it can hardly be restricted to such a sense. There is equal need for testing what seems to be the inner enlightenment of the Spirit. But how shall those who are taught by the Spirit sit in judgement on the Spirit? And how shall those who are moved, as they think, by the Spirit of

God distinguish between this and the impulse of the spirit of the antichrist? This witness is to be tested by comparison with the other witness. The writer proposes a specific test to those whom he is addressing: 'Hereby know we the Spirit of God: every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God: and every spirit which confesseth not Jesus is not of God' (iv 2). He can hardly mean that the open profession of one abstract truth is the only test of divine inspiration: still less can he propose this as a test for all time. His real meaning appears below. 'We are of God: he that heareth God heareth us; he who is not of God heareth us not. By this we know the spirit of truth and the spirit of error' (iv 6). It is a tremendous claim made without hesitation. The Apostolic witness told that Jesus Christ was come in the flesh: that testimony was evidently being impugned; it was, for the moment, the *articulus stantis aut cadentis*; he who accepted it accepted the Apostolic witness, he who rejected it rejected that witness. But no man could be moved by the Spirit of God to reject that witness, for the two witnesses must agree. That is evidently the argument. The interpretation is borne out by another passage (ii 19): 'They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have continued with us; but they went out, that they might be made manifest, that not all are of us.' Abandonment of the fellowship is proof of misleading. The result is striking. If the witness of God is greater than the witness of man, it is none the less the witness of man by which what seems to be the witness of God is to be tested. In modern phrase, a movement of the Spirit is to be judged by its conformity to the tradition of the Church. St Paul said that 'the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets' (1 Cor. xiv 32): you are not to let yourself be carried away by spiritual emotion. The Johannine mysticism is subject to a still more objective control: the believer is not to let himself be carried away by spiritual emotion from Christian fellowship and tradition. There is a presupposition here which must not be lost sight of: it is presumed that the witness of men, the Apostolic witness, is more easily and more securely discerned than the witness of the Spirit. But over against this must be set the presupposition running throughout the Johannine writings, that the external witness of the Church can become effective only when corroborated by the internal witness of the Spirit. The two witnesses interact, and only by their interaction can true belief be generated.

T. A. LACEY.

THE OLDEST MS OF ST JUSTIN'S MARTYRDOM.

THE Cambridge University Library acquired last August from the daughters of the late Dr Scrivener some vellum fragments, certain of which have proved on examination to be of interest to hagiological students. It is not known from what source Dr Scrivener acquired them, but it is a reasonable conjecture that they may have been given him by the late Baroness Burdett-Coutts from her Janina collection.¹ The fragments consisted of (1) the remains of what must once have been a very handsome copy of Barlaam and Josaphat, of about the twelfth century, with miniatures, now sadly decayed; (2) a couple of leaves of a Catena or Commentary on St Matthew, containing the well-known quotation from 'Apollinarius' which gives the extract from Papias about the end of Judas Iscariot; and (3) the sixteen detached leaves, which form the subject of this Notice.

These sixteen leaves once formed part of a Martyrology for May, June and July, written in sloping uncials of not the latest style—say about 800 A.D.—in two columns of thirty-nine lines, the size of each leaf having once been about 16 x 10 inches (or a little more). It was turned into a palimpsest of half the size in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, the later writing being a Gospel Lectionary. Unfortunately by this process the conjugate leaves were cut apart, and the remains of the older MS could only be reconstituted by the slow process of reading and identifying the texts themselves. The remaining contents are as follows :—

fol.

1 Christopher (May 9)	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> i pp. 125-128
2 "	" " pp. 131-134
3 "	" " pp. 134-136
4 "	" " pp. 140-143
5 Christopher <i>ends</i>	" " pp. 147-end
Isidore <i>begins</i> (May 14)	Vat. Gr. 2033 ¹⁹ (in <i>Cat. Codd. Hagiogr. Boll.</i>)
6 Isidore <i>ends</i>	" "
Constantine and Helena (<i>Note for</i> May 21)	
Hermias <i>begins</i>	<i>Bibl. Hagiogr. Gr.</i> p. 53
7 Constantine and Helena <i>ends</i>	" " " p. 29 (=B 2)

¹ See Scrivener's *Intr.* (ed. 4) i 253; *Adversaria Critica Sacra* xxi.

End of May

- 8 *June begins*
 Justin, Hypothesis (June 1) [? new]
 „ Martyrdom *begins* *Bibl. Hagiogr. Gr.* p. 68
- 9 Justin *ends* „ „ „ „
 Marcianus, Nicander (Ten
 Egyptians) *begins* (June 2) „ „ „ p. 86
- 10 Marcianus, Nicander *ends* „ „ „ „
 Theophanes and Pansemne *complete* (June 5) [? new]
 Nicander and Marcianus
begins (June 8) *Bibl. Hagiogr. Gr.* p. 95
- 11 Barnabas ([June 11]) *Bonnet* 296-299
- 12 Peter and Paul *ends* ([June
 29]) *Lipsius* 218-222
 St John Chrysostom's Encomium *begins*
- 13 Hyacinthus Cubicularius
 ([July 1]) (cf. *Acta SS.* Jul. i 633)
- 14 Cosmas and Damianus in
 Pherma (*sic*) (cf. *Acta SS.* Sep. vii 477)
- 15 Procopius Dux ([July 8]) *Bibl. Hagiogr. Gr.* p. 115 (= B 1)
- 16 „ „ „ „ „ „

Of these leaves 7 v is blank, as is also the second column of 7 r. It might be supposed that this was the last leaf of the whole volume; but I venture to think it more likely to have been the last leaf appropriated to the May commemorations, as there is no colophon. This also is suggested by the Note on 6 v, which runs (I insert accents, &c., where illegible):—

Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κ̄α· εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ἐλένης· ζή(τ)ει εἰς τέ(λο)ς τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός·:

The leaf numbered 14 is only a half-leaf. I have assigned it conjecturally to July 1, but perhaps it belongs to Sept. 27 or Nov. 1. It contained the story of the man who swallowed a serpent, followed by that of Malchus and his wife. The name of the burial-place of Cosmas and Damianus is said to be Pherma (ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ φερμά).

The full text of *Hyacinthus* appears to be otherwise unknown. It tells the same story as is indicated in the *Acta SS.* for July 1, p. 633, viz. that Hyacinthus, a chamberlain of Trajan, on becoming a Christian refused to eat meats offered to idols; whereupon he was starved to death in prison by Trajan after thirty-eight days' fast.

The story of Theophanes and Pansemne (June 5), here preserved in an epitome, differs from the colourless account that survives in the Greek printed *Menaea* for June 10. It may be a relic of the

Christianization of some pagan cult at Antioch, and has some interest from its points of contact with the story of Pelagia (see Usener's *Pelagia*, p. xv; also *Acta SS.* for June 10, p. 275).

The text runs as follows :—

Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔ· ὑπόθεσις συντομος τοῦ βίου καὶ ἐγκώμιον τῶν ἀγίων Θεοφάνους καὶ Πανσέμνης·

Τὴν τῆς ἀσεβείας παλαιστραὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἡσπάσαντο καὶ ἐπαλειφόμενοι¹ τῷ πνὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ, τὸν Σατανᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας κατέκβαλλον· ἐν ᾗ καὶ Θεοφάνης διέλαμψεν· πόλεως Ἀντιοχείας ὁρμώμενος· καὶ ἐξ ἐλλήνων² γονέων φύς· ᾧ μία ἦν καὶ γυνή³, καὶ τῷ τρίτῳ χρόνῳ ταύτην ἀποβαλλόμενος ἀμφιέννυται τὸν μονήρη βίον ἐν κελλίῳ⁴ ἡσυχάζων· τοσόνδε ἔπρεψεν, ὥστε καὶ ἰάσεις δι' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. Πανσέμνη δέ τις ὀνόματι ἑταίρις⁵ καὶ τῷ ἦθει καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ⁶ ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει· περὶ⁷ ᾗ αὐκούσας καὶ μνησθεὶς τοῦ ἀδελφοθέου Ἰακώβου· ὁ ἐπιστρέψας ἁμαρτωλὸν ἐκ πλάνης ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ σώσει ψυχὴν ἐκ θανάτου καὶ καλύψει πληθὺς ἁμαρτιῶν, ἐξέπτη τῆς κέλλης καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς ἀπεληλυθὼς⁸ ἀμφιέννυται ἐνδύματα σηρικὰ⁹, λαβὼν καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ θέλων τὴν πόρνην σώσαι, ἀπέρχεται¹⁰ πρὸς αὐτήν· αὕτη τοῦτον δέχεται ὥς τοὺς πολλοὺς, μάλιστα¹¹ ὅτι καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἐπὶ χεῖρας εἶχεν, καὶ βουλομένη¹² πορνικῶς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι πείθεται παρ' αὐτοῦ νομίμως αὐτῷ ζευχθῆναι· βαπτίζεται οὖν θεῖᾳ δυνάμει¹³ αὐτίκα· μεταφέρει αὐτὴν πλησίον τοῦ κελλίου αὐτοῦ· πείθει αὐτὴν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πτωχοῖς διαδοῦναι· κατακλείει αὐτὴν ἐν σεμνείῳ¹⁴· οὕτως σεμνύνεται¹⁵ τοῦ βίου· καὶ μετὰ χρόνον τινὰ ἄμφω πρὸς κῦ ἐπεδήμυσαν¹⁶. καὶ περιάγοντες δὲ τῷ βίῳ καὶ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν ζωὴν ἀπεληλυθόντες¹⁷ ἰάσεις διαφόρους ἐργάζονται¹⁸. χάριτι τοῦ κυ ἡμῶν ἰω χυ· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν·

By a fortunate chance the Acts of St Justin's Martyrdom are preserved entire in the Cambridge fragments. They are preceded by an epitome, which, so far as I know, is unprinted, and is certainly of some value as shewing what points in these ancient Christian Acts were found interesting in the early Byzantine period. It is noteworthy that the epitome distinctly attests ἐκπληρώσεως in § 5, in agreement with the actual text of the Acts in these fragments and with the Vatican MS from Grotta Ferrata, while the true reading (viz. ἐκπυρώσεως) is preserved in the Jerusalem MS as well as in the more eccentric Paris MS.

¹ -φάμενοι C.

⁴ κελίω C.

⁷ περ C.

¹¹ μαλλιστα C.

¹⁵ -ετε C.

² ἐλλήνων C.

⁵ ἑτερις C.

⁸ ἀπελλιλυθὼς C.

¹² βουλομενι C.

¹⁶ -μυσαν C.

³ ὡ μία ἦσεν καὶ γυνεὶ C (sic).

⁶ το ἦθος καὶ το τρόπω C.

⁹ σιρηκα C.

¹³ δυναμι C.

¹⁷ ἀπελληλυθωντες C.

¹⁰ ἀπέρχετε C.

¹⁴ σεμνιω C.

¹⁸ -ζωνται C.

The epitome runs as follows :—

[*Ornament*]

ΜΗΝ ἸΟΥΝΙΟC.

Μηνὶ ἰουνίῳ ᾧ. ὑπόθεσις σύντομος τοῦ μάρτυρος καὶ ἐγκώμιον Ἰουστίνου φιλοσόφου.

Ἰουστίνος ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ καὶ φιλόσοφος καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐφάμμελλος χώρας ἀμείβων¹ ἐκήρυττεν τὸν εὐαγγελικὸν λόγον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Εὐσέβιος· λέγει γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκ Συρίας ὀρμηθέντα² ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἐλθεῖν. ὅστις ζήλω θείῳ κινήσει κηρύττων τὴν ἡμῶν πίστιν ἐλέγχων δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας Ἀντωνίνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τότε κρατοῦντος παρέστη, ἀντιμαχῶν μὲν τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θρησκείᾳ ὑπερμαχῶν δὲ τῇ τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστει. φθονηθεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ τινος Ἑλλήνου³ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λόγῳ λεσχούντος παρὰ Ῥουστικού⁴ ἐπάρχου ἀρπάζεται, καὶ κατὰ πένσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν συμβάλλοντες⁵ ἀλλήλοις διελέγοντο. καὶ ὁ ἑπαρχος εἶπεν· ἐὰν μαστιγωθείς ἢ ἀποκεφαλισθεὶς πέπεισαι⁶ ὅτι μέλλεις ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὸν οὐνόν; Ἰουστίνος εἶπεν· ἐλπίζω, οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι πᾶσιν τοῖς οὕτω βιοῦσιν παραμένει τὸ θεῖον χάρισμα μέχρι τῆς ἐκπληρώσεως τοῦ κόσμου. αὐθις⁷ ὁ ἑπαρχος εἶπεν· ὑπονοεῖς οὖν ὅτι ἀναβήσεις εἰς τοὺς οὐνοὺς, ἀμοιβὰς τῶν πόνων ἀποληψόμενος⁸; Ἰουστίνος εἶπεν· οὐχ ὑπονοῶ, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς πιστεύω καὶ πεπληροφόρημαι⁹. οὕτως σὺν ἑτέροις μάρτυσιν, Χαρίτων¹⁰, Εὐέλπιστῳ¹¹, Ἰέρακι, Παίονι¹², καὶ Λιβεριανῷ, παρεδόθη¹³ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθῆναι.

The Acts of Martyrdom follow : I give a collation with the text as edited by Dr Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri in *Studi e Tesi* 8 (Rome, 1902), this being the only edition of the Acts based on a collation of MSS, i. e.

H(ierosolymitanus) S. Sepulcri 6, *saec.* ix-x,

P(arisinus) 1470, *anno* 890,

V(aticanus) 1667, *saec.* x ;

to which we can now add

C(antabrigiensis), *saec.* viii-ix.

Tit. μαρτύρων *om.* C παίωνος C (= V) *ad fin.*] + κε εὖ C

§ I. 4 ὑπερμαχῶν C 5 κατὰ πόλιν καὶ χώραν C (*sic*)¹⁴ 6 σπέν-
δειν] σπευδειν C 7 οἱ μ. ᾱ.] ἄγιοι ἄνδρες C (= H V*) 8 ρουστικὸν
C (= H V).

§ II. 9 τοῦ] *om.* C (= H) ρουστικὸς ἑπαρχος C (= H)
9, 10 εἶπεν πρὸς ἰουστίνον C (= H V) 10 πείθητι C 13 μετα-
χειρίζει C 14 ἐπιραθεν C 15 ψευδοδοξίος C (= H V) ἑπαρχος]

¹ ἀμβων C.

² ὀρμηθέντα C.

³ ἑλλινος C.

⁴ ρουστικὸς, ρουστικού, &c., C *semper* (non ρουστικός).

⁵ συμβαλοντες C.

⁶ πεπεισε C.

⁷ αὐθις C.

⁸ -ψόμενος C.

⁹ -φόρημαι C.

¹⁰ χριτων C.

¹¹ C *sic*, *hoc accentu*.

¹² παιωνι C.

¹³ παρεδόθη C.

¹⁴ The MSS are surely right here : translate 'in town and country'.

om. C 16 οὖν] om. C = H V σοι] συ C 17 αὐτοὺς C
 (= V) εστιν C (= H) δωγμα C p. 34, 1 πασις C
 2 αἰράτου C κύριον] om. C (= H) 3 προκεκηρυγται C
 μελλον C 4 μαθημάτων] C (sic = P) 5 μηκρα C 6 ὅτι]
 C (= H P) ἔφη νῦν C 7 ἴσθι] C (= P) 8 γεναμένης
 C (= H).

§ III. 15 ἐγὼ ἐπανω μενο (sic) τινοσ μαρτίουν· τοῦ τιμωπτινου C
 (= H V) 16 βαλανίου C (= H V) παρὰ] ῥ. καὶ C (= H V)
 ὅν] τοῦτον C (= H V) 16, 17 ἐπεδήμησα δὲ τῇ ῥω. πόλει τοῦτο
 δεῦτερον καὶ οὐ γινώσκω ἄλλην C (= H V fere) 17 ἐκεῖ] ἐκείνου C
 (= H V) καὶ εἰ] καει C 18 αὐτῷ] αὐτο C 19 λοιπὸν]
 om. C (= H P).

§ IV. 21 Χαρίτωνι] ῥ. τῷ C (= H V) 23 δὲ] om. C (= H V)
 Χαριτοῖ] Χαριτῶ C (= H V) p. 35, 1 ἔπαρχος] om. C (= H V)
 εἶπεν τῷ εὐελπίστῳ C (= H V) 2 Εὐέλπιστε] om. C (= P V) ἀπε-
 κρίνατο] ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει C 3 μετέχω C (= H V) 4 χάρητι C
 τῷ ἱερακι C (= H V) 5 σέβω τε] C (= H) 7 ἔκπαλαι] om.
 C (= H V) παίων δὲ ἑστῶς C 10 τὸν λόγον C 11 παρει-
 λιφα C 13 ἔπαρχος] τῷ C (= H V) 15 ἐπιγιοι C 18 εὐσεβῶς
 C (cf. P) 19 ἀλιθηνον C.

§ V. 20 λέγει προσ ἰουστίνον C (= H V) 21 αποκεφαλισθεῖς C
 23 δώματα] δώγματα C (= δόγματα H V) οἶδα ὅτι καὶ C (om. δὲ)
 ὀρθῶς] οὕτω C (= H V) p. 36, 1 ἐκπυρώσεως (H P)] ἐκπληρώσεως C
 (= V) 3 χριστὰς C (= H) ἀπολυψόμενος C 5 τὸ αναγκαῖον καὶ
 κατεπείγων C 6 συνελθόντες C ὁμοθυμαδὸν C 8 πείθεσθαι C
 τιμωριθήσεσθαι C 6 διὰ χν τὸν κν ἡμῶν C (= H); om. P 10 τι-
 μωριθ- C 12 ὡσαντοσ C ἡμῖς C 13 καὶ] om. C θύωμεν C
 15 μαστιγωθέντες C (= H V).

§ VI. 17 ἐξελθόντες C 18 αὐτῶν τὴν μαρτυρίαν C (= H V)
 19 λαθρέωσ C 19, 20 τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν C 20 λαβόντες
 κατέθεντω C ἐπιτηδῖω C συνεργησάσεις C 21 ᾧ ἡ δόξα] add.
 καὶ τὸ κράτος τῷ πρι καὶ τῷ ὡ καὶ τῷ ἀγῶ πνι νῦν καὶ C.

It is quite clear that our four MSS divide themselves into two families, P on the one hand and C H V on the other. Consequently an agreement of either C or H or V with P must represent the oldest transmitted text. The obvious example is ἐκπυρώσεως in § 5, supported as it is by Justin *Apol.* i § 60 and other passages. Here C V have ἐκπληρώσεως, shewing that V is akin to C. On the other hand C agrees with P in § 2 in having μαθημάτων, where H V have μαθητῶν. C has a few mistakes of its own, notably σπεύδειν in § 1 for σπένδειν.

The real difficulty arises when the two families are divided. P is not unfrequently right against CHV, especially in the omission of one or two theological phrases. For instance, it is no doubt right in beginning the dialogue between Rusticus and St Justin by 'What sort of life do you lead?' 'One that is blameless and not to be found fault with by any one.' Then Rusticus goes on to ask about the Christians' doctrines, and here again P gives a better text. To Rusticus's question 'What sort of notions (δόγμα) do you hold?', Justin replies according to P: 'The pious veneration we have for the Christians' God whom we hold to be from the beginning the One Demiurge of these things, of the making (I mean) of the whole world, and God's Son Jesus Christ who also was heralded by the prophets as about to come to the race of men to be a herald of salvation and a teacher of excellent doctrines.' The latter part of this agrees with the common text, but the first part in the other MSS (including C) has been altered in the direction of the stereotyped formulae of the Creeds.¹

To return to C, our new MS leaves us where we were before as to the place of Justin's School or Meeting-house, reading like H and V Ἐγὼ ἐπάνω μένο [i. e. μένω] τινοσ Μαρτίνου τοῦ τιμοσίνου, where P has Μυρτίνου for the last four words. In § 5 C reads δόγματα, i. e. it virtually supports the δόγματα of H V and the older editions. Otto suggested δόματα and von Gebhardt δώματα, while P omits the clause. I venture to suggest that the obscurity of Justin's answer may be due to the form of the judge's question. Rusticus asks whether Justin, if he has his head cut off, expects to go up to heaven. Now this Justin could not answer with a simple 'yes', for we see from *Trypho* 80 that he was definitely opposed to those who thought they would go to heaven as soon as they died (ἅμα τῷ ἀποθνήσκειν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν). Such an opinion, in fact, was one of those δόγματα which the True Word did not manifest as right (*Apol.* ii § 9). Consequently he tells the judge that he *hopes* for something (δόγματα, δόματα, δώματα, or whatever the true text may be), but he *knows* that for those who endure there remains the divine *charisma*. The slight obscurity in Justin's reply is one of those 'undesigned coincidences' that illustrate, rather than demonstrate, the historical character of these famous Acts, to the vulgate text of which the newly discovered fragments bear such ancient testimony.

F. C. BURKITT.

¹ I quote the Greek of P, extracting it from the notes in Dr Franchi de' Cavalieri's excellent apparatus. 'Ιουστίνος εἶπεν· ὕπερ εὐσεβοῦμεν εἰς τὸν τῶν Χριστιανῶν θεόν, ὃν ἡγοῦμεθα ἓνα τούτων ἐξ ἀρχῆς δημιουργόν, τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου ποιήσεως, καὶ θεοῦ παῖδα Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ὅς κτλ. The common text has in the second clause 'whom we hold to be from the beginning this One Maker and Demiurge of all the creation, visible and invisible'.

LITURGICAL COMMENTS AND MEMORANDA.

III

THE review in the September number of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (pp. 624-625) of Mr W. E. Crum's 'Greek [= Egyptian] Diptych of the seventh century' printed in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, December 1908, pp. 255-265, has just come under my notice. As this ivory is the oldest known specimen of an eastern ecclesiastical diptych, and its liturgical features have not to my knowledge been up to now discussed, I feel impelled to say something on the subject, especially as its interest on this side does not lie on the surface of the document but has to be sought for a little particularly, and what has to be said happens to be in some measure a continuation or appendix of No. II of these Comments.

The following is the text of the portion of the diptych to be commented on:—

. . . . [τοῦ] μακαριωτάτου ἡμῶν πατριάρχου τὸ εὐχαριστήριον: καὶ ἀπα
[= Abba] Περσυνθίου τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπου τὸ εὐχαριστήριον:
καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ εὐσταθείας παντὸς τοῦ περιεστῶτος εὐαγεστάτου
κλήρου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ φιλοχρίστου λαοῦ: καὶ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ ὑγιείας τῶν
προσηνεγκάντων τοῦδε καὶ τῆσδε καὶ προσηνεγκόντων τὰ δῶρα αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ
σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ: καὶ πάντων καὶ πασῶν προσφερόντων.

This text can be approximately dated, viz. between A. D. 623 and 662 (*Proceedings* p. 258).

The following were the observations that suggested themselves to me on examination of this little ivory.

1. The first item that occurs for consideration is a slight matter—the word *εὐχαριστήριον* which, as a Christian or ecclesiastical term does not appear to have entered into the glossaries, &c., general and particular. It seems peculiar to the Liturgy of 'St Mark' where it occurs twice in the passage of the Intercession relating to 'offerers' (Br. 129. 20, 30). This passage is enough to suggest that *εὐχαριστήριον* was the early technical term in use at Alexandria to designate the bread and wine at one time offered by the people for the sacrifice. And the use of the word in the diptych is proper to confirm this notion. In the seventh century, however, we are in presence, as the wording of the diptych shews, of a different state of things. In the Markan

Intercession it is still used for the actual offerings of the 'offerers', the people; whilst in the diptych it is reserved for the patriarch of Alexandria and the local bishop. At what time the offering of the bread and wine by the people to be used in the mass ceased at Alexandria, there is no specific and indubitable evidence to shew. There is, I think, some indication that the practice may have been discarded there already as early as about the middle of the fourth century, and at Antioch by the time of St Chrysostom.

The idea underlying the use of *εὐχαριστήριον* in this diptych of the seventh century seems to indicate the existence of a practice at that date of conventionally assigning a particular offering or host as that of the patriarch and another as that of the local bishop, the living heads of the Christian community, such appropriation being expressive of ecclesiastical communion with these absent hierarchs and spiritual pastors, who are thus honoured with something more than mere mention by name. This would be quite in accordance with the usual style of developement in such things, from plain matter-of-fact practice to fictive or ideal refinements.

2. The part of the diptych-text (from *καὶ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας* to the end) which concerns 'offerers' is more interesting as raising questions the answers to which may carry with them all sorts of consequences. If we are to understand this passage of the diptych it is necessary to go back first to the corresponding passage of the Intercession in the Liturgy of 'St Mark' (Br. 129. 20-32) and endeavour to understand what is the real character of this latter, to which (to the exclusion of the passage of the diptych) our attention for the moment is to be directed. In the July number of *J. T. S.* (pp. 597-598) I pointed out how the text of the Markan Intercession as to 'offerers' had at some time undergone modification under the influence of the Hierosolymitan Liturgy of 'St James'. The case as to this prayer for 'offerers' in 'St Mark' is really more complex than was there formally stated.

To make clear, if possible, the matter to be dealt with, we must first have a table with the texts concerned set out in parallel columns.

3. The first observation that occurs on the following table is this: that the 'altar' in the first two columns (liturgy of Jerusalem) is a different thing, a different conception, from the 'altar' in columns 3 and 4 (liturgy of Alexandria). In the former case it is just a matter-of-fact object, the wooden table or stone erection that the people have before their eyes in the church building; in the latter it is the same (presumably) as that mysterious 'sublime altare tuum in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae' that we know so well, and find so hard to define, in the Roman mass-canon; in the one case, at Jerusalem, the idea of the 'altar' is earthly, material; in the other, at Alexandria,

Greek 'St James' (Br. 56. 16-19)	Syriac 'James' (Br. 91. 26-34)	Greek 'St Mark' (Br. 129. 20-30)	Coptic 'St Cyril' (Br. 170. 37-171. 8).
"Ετι μνησθήναι καταξί- ωσαν Κύριε καὶ τῶν τὰς προσφορὰς προσευγεμένων	Remember also, O Lord, those who have offered the offerings	Τῶν προσφερόντων τὰς θυσίας, τὰς προσ- φορὰς, τὰ εὐχαριστήρια	The sacrifices, the oblations, the thank- offerings of them that offer honour and glory to Thy holy name,
ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ τὸ ἅγιόν σου	at Thine holy	πρόσδεξι δέ Θεός εἰς τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐκπύραν σου	receive upon Thy reasonable heavenly
θυσιαστήριον καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἑκαστος προσηνέγκει	altar and those for whom each has offered	εἰς τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ὀφεισθῶν διὰ τῆς ἀρχαγγελικῆς λειτουργίας,	altar for a sweet smelling savour, into Thy vastnesses in heaven, through the ministry of Thine holy angels and arch- angels: like as Thou didst accept [here mention of sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, and two mites of widow], so also accept the thankofferings of Thy servants, those of the great and the small, the hidden and the open, of them that will to offer and have not wherewithal,
ἢ κατὰ δυνάμιν ἔχει καὶ τῶν ἀρτίων σου ἀνεγνωσμένων	and those who have wished to offer and could not and those who are in any one's mind and those who are now mentioned by name	τῶν τὸ πολὺ καὶ ὀλίγον, κρῖνα καὶ παρησία, βουλόμενων καὶ οὐκ ἐχόντων	and of them that have offered Thee gifts <i>this day.</i>
		καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ τὰς προσφοράς προσευγεμάτων, ὡς προσέειπεν τὰ ὄρατα [&c. of Abel, Abraham, Zachary, Cornelius, widow with two mites] πρόσδεξι καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ εὐχαριστήρια, καὶ ἀντίδοσι αὐτοῖς κτλ.	Give them things, &c.

mystic, spiritual, heavenly. Whatever, then, be the superficial resemblances of wording or idea in these corresponding passages of 'James' and 'Mark', in this central idea that gives the tone, character, and meaning to the whole they are fundamentally different and further than the poles asunder. This (in part, at least) is what I had in mind to indicate in saying (*J. T. S.* for July, p. 599 n. 1) that the prayer for 'offerers' in the Markan Intercession shews late and unskilled compilation, what is really proper for the consecrated gifts being made to apply to the offerings of the people (of whatever nature these may have been). An imported text different in conception, that of Jerusalem, has been superimposed on, mixed up with, the ancient and genuine Alexandrian elements; but still not in such a way, I think, as to make it impossible to disentangle these latter well enough for practical purposes.

4. Two expressions in the Markan Intercession for 'offerers', that (as I think) belong to the borrowed material, now call for attention. These are (see table) *ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ* in relation to actual 'offerers'; and *βουλομένων καὶ οὐκ ἐχόντων* in relation to those who fain would offer but have not wherewithal. Of these two expressions the former is found in this connexion in the Greek 'James' (Br. 56. 17), but not in the Syriac; whilst the latter is found in the Syriac 'James' (Br. 90. 30-31), but not in the Greek. Moreover, these expressions occur in such connexion, so far as I see, in no other liturgy.¹

Seeing that 'Mark' has both clauses, and Greek and Syriac 'James' each but one, it would seem at the first blush that here 'Mark' should be the 'source' for the other two. And yet I doubt if this be so; indeed decidedly consider it is not so, if it were only on the ground that I find the text of 'Mark' penetrated with elements clearly original in and proper to 'James', but have failed to detect in the same way 'Mark' in 'James'. If pressed to say how the exercise of such influence of 'James' on 'Mark' could have come about, I should suggest how the hurrying to and fro and agitations between and in Syria and Egypt on behalf of the great and passioning Monophysite cause in the later part of the fifth century and in the sixth would be proper enough to open the way for liturgical changes and assimilations in Egypt; whilst it is precisely the Liturgy of St James that, historically considered, is the Liturgy *par excellence* of the Monophysites.

But then a further question would arise. The texts shew that it must have been the Greek 'James' from which the revisers of 'Mark' drew their novelties. How comes it that only one of the expressions we are concerned with is found in our present Greek text of 'James' whilst the other is found only in the Syriac? Is this a trace of a textual

¹ Of course the numerous liturgies in Renaudot ii come under the 'James' category as later derivatives more or less directly from 'James'.

change at some time? Does the *βουλομένων καὶ οὐκ ἐχόντων* refer to the offering not of bread and wine but to money offerings? and is it only a late addition in 'James', or Syriac 'James', consequent on change in practice? As we go through the collection of liturgies of the Monophysites in the second volume of Renaudot's Collection we can see how the early Christian idea of the 'offertory', the people with eye fixed on what is about to take place, and concerned with offering the matter, bread and wine, for the sacrifice, becomes a substantial question of this world's goods, tithes and the like.

It will be said that this is merely asking questions; but it must be also said that there are so many questions we may usefully raise the answer to which we do not know.

5. I now come to the minutiae of the diptych itself; and the following are the suggestions they call forth.

(a) If I be right (as I believe to be the case) in regard to changes made on the text of 'Mark' by use of 'James', then, seeing that this Egyptian diptych has already one of the two foreign importations mentioned above in § 4, viz. *ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ* (cf. *J. T. S.* July, p. 597), and seeing that the diptych dates from 623-662, this would be documentary confirmation of what might be considered antecedently probable as to the date of these textual changes; namely, that they took place in the sixth century or late in the fifth.

(b) The particular combinations in the diptych, *ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ εὐσταθείας* and *ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ ὑγιείας*, do not occur in any Greek mass formulae so far as I can find, though each of the elements is found in other and recurring combinations. And, so far, it looks as if the person responsible for the phrasing of the diptych had, out of the stock of commonplace terms, made his own combinations here.

(c) Such idea of personal eclecticism is countenanced by other parts of the diptych-text: its *καὶ πάντων καὶ πασῶν προσφερόντων*, and its *φιλοχρίστου λαοῦ*. I do not find *καὶ πάντων καὶ πασῶν* in any other liturgical text that can with reasonable certainty be fixed as earlier than our diptych than a deacon's address to the people towards the close of the canon of 'St James'¹; the address concludes thus: *καὶ ὑπὲρ*

¹ In Dr Swainson's four texts (pp. 302-303; cf. p. 298 l. 24, the Messina Roll); not in the eighth-century text edited by Cozza-Luzzi; but seeing that in this latter text the diptychs in full appear as an integral part of the anaphora and are assigned to be said by the priest, I do not think that this absence of the deacon's address would be any valid argument against the antiquity of the address itself; especially as the deacon's 'Catholica' at the same place, peculiar to Syriac 'St James', reads as if a large amplification in detail of the brief deacon's address of the Greek. At a later period the words *καὶ πάντων καὶ πασῶν* are said by the deacon as a usual termination of diptychs. See the Jerusalem diptychs of c. 1166, Br. 503. 12, and the Byzantine diptych of 1427-1439, Br. 552. 24-25, by which date borrowing and

τοῦ περιεστῶτος λαοῦ καὶ πάντων καὶ πασῶν, and the people repeat καὶ πάντων καὶ πασῶν (Br. 57. 28-32); and it is thus probable that the writer of the diptych had this passage of 'St James' before him. In the liturgy, it may be remarked in passing, the words have simply the general meaning they express; in the diptych-text their meaning is completely changed (with the introduction, I fancy, of a touch of absurdity) by the addition of the word προσφερόντων; whilst the περιεστῶτος λαοῦ is varied by substituting the adjective φιλοχρίστου λαοῦ.¹

(d) What commends itself to me as the most interesting feature of this diptych is the τοῦδε καὶ τῇσδε. Hitherto there has been no positive evidence in the East of what I have elsewhere called the parochial use of diptychs for mere commonplace persons which is so well attested in the West. With this diptych in hand we have now documentary evidence of such use, at all events for Egypt. It is true that the diptych now in the Mayer Collection at Liverpool is of this 'parochial' character; but then it is Sicilian, and the mention of Pope Adrian shews that it has Latin affinities, so that it is hard to be sure in this case that Greek ways and usages remain pure and uncontaminated by western ecclesiasticism.

(e) To sum up in a few words the result of my examination of the precious, though certainly not elegant, little ivory published by Mr Crum, fusion of texts of various liturgies had long been the order of the day in the East no less than in the West, so that nothing can be concluded from this as to early Byzantine practice; cf. the modern texts of 'Basil' and 'Chrysostom', Br. 409. 7-8, 389. 24.

¹ This epithet, it would seem, was originally proper to 'St James'. The case is as follows. It is the word used in the Intercession of 'St James' in reference to the sovereigns, and is, therefore, indubitably early; the corresponding Byzantine term in 'Basil' is εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ πιστοτάτου (Br. 333. 5); in the (later) 'Chrysostom' πιστότατος is used for the emperor and φιλόχριστος for the empress (Br. 333. 1-2); φιλόχριστος is not a word used in the Byzantine litanies. For reasons stated elsewhere, I think that the litanies in 'St James' (in which φιλοχρίστου λαοῦ occurs more than once) cannot be safely referred to in illustration of a document of so early a date as our diptych; the same remark would apply to the litanies on 'St Mark' (for φιλόχρ. see Br. 120. 8-9, and cf. the Coptic 159. 17-18; 128. 33-34, not in the Coptic; also a priest's prayer, Br. 120. 7, which, however, runs differently in the Coptic); although it is thus shewn as an epithet favoured in 'James' and 'Mark' circles as distinguished from Byzantine. The prayer for the emperor in the Intercession of St Mark runs: τοῦ δούλου σου τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου καὶ φιλοχρίστου ἡμῶν βασιλέως (Br. 128. 9-10); but it has been pointed out (J. T. S. for July p. 597) how this prayer for the emperor is a piece of patch-work, with materials drawn from 'St James' among others; a little further on (ll. 17-19) in a piece derived from 'St Basil', this Markan redactor, in his familiar way of embroidering, makes of 'Basil's' παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ, π. τ. φιλοχρίστου λ. When all the cases of use of the word are examined, it seems to me that it was an originally characteristic word of 'James'.

I should say (1) that (unlike the Sicilian diptych which for its prefatory matter simply copies the text of 'St James') the text of this Egyptian diptych, with its threefold commemoration of offerers in the space of as many lines, was not taken from an actual liturgy, but was an independent and personal composition; and (2) that it shews evidence of the influence—may we not say the Monophysite, Jacobite, influence?—of the Liturgy of 'St James'.

EDMUND BISHOP.

THE FESTIVALS OF ST JAMES AND ST JOHN IN THE MOZARABIC KALENDAR.

A WORD may be added to Dr Feltoe's note on the festivals of St James and St John the Apostles.¹

The Kalendar contained in the current Mozarabic Missal is not Mozarabic at all, but that of the Toledan Roman Missal. The Kalendar in the Breviary is Mozarabic, but has been somewhat modified to fit in to some extent with the Missal.

A true Mozarabic Kalendar of the eleventh century was printed by Dom G. Morin in *Liber Comicus* (Maredsous, 1893); and this was reprinted by Dom Férotin, along with five other Kalendars, all of the eleventh century, and with notes from a very peculiar tenth-century Kalendar of Cordoba, at the end of his *Liber Ordinum* (Paris, 1904). The last is partially Romanized; but all the Kalendars agree in the following list of saints' days for Christmas week.

Dec. 26 St Stephen

„ 27 St Eugenia and her companions

„ 28 St James the Lord's brother

„ 29 St John the Evangelist

„ 30 St James the brother of John

„ 31 St Columba Virgin.

But in the *Orationale Gothicum* (in *Liturgia hispanica gothica* Rome 1746), the oldest extant Mozarabic service-book, an earlier stage in the development of the ecclesiastical year is represented. The book contains no Kalendar, but the services of the successive days are arranged in order. And here there is no service for either St James the Lord's brother or St James the brother of St John; that is to say, Dec. 28 and 30 have no commemorations. Consequently these festivals appear to have been added to the Mozarabic Kalendar at some date between the seventh or eighth century and the eleventh. Where did they come from?

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¹ See *Journal of Theological Studies* vol. x, July 1909, p. 589.

THE DEUTERONOMIC JUDGEMENTS OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH.

How shall we account for the apparently arbitrary way in which the Deuteronomists characterized the kings of Judah? That they should have passed unfavourable judgements upon the kings of North Israel is what might have been expected, for that kingdom in their eyes had been guilty of national schism : it had ruthlessly and impiously torn itself from Judah. This was enough, quite apart from any change in ritual, to bring its kings under the severe censure of the Deuteronomic School ; but in their sight such schism was all the more heinous, because it seemed a departure from the faith of their fathers, to say nothing of Yahvism as they understood it, and because it seemed to stand in the way of religious centralization. They believed that they had separated themselves from the God of their people's past in establishing a king in Samaria ; and they saw no way of reuniting their people in their own time save as they had one common civic centre. Thus in retrospect the position of North Israel seemed alarming ; and they could not regard the various dynasties which had ruled in Samaria favourably. Their kings had been impious, false to their God and false to the traditions and institutions of their fathers. To mention them was to denounce them. The severest censures were none too severe. Under them the very tribes which had been most prominent in the early time had become and had remained schismatics. All this we can understand because it is so easy here to get their point of view. But why did the Deuteronomists mete out their blame and their praise as they did, in ways that must seem to us arbitrary and unjust, because based on insufficient data, as they mentioned the kings of Judah? In asking this question I hasten to say that in common with most critical scholars I look upon the Deuteronomists as men who lived and played their part as civic and religious reformers long after most, if not all, the kings of Judah had been gathered to their fathers. Indeed I see no valid reason against supposing them to have flourished as a school in the exilic period.

Upon what were the deuteronomic judgements based? Did the Deuteronomists have anything more than the fragmentary records, or brief chronicles, of the reigns of the kings of Judah which we now find in the Hebrew Books of the Kings? We come upon frequent

mention of 'the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel' (ספר דברי הימים למלכי ישראל) and of 'the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah' (ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהודה). While it may be surmised that the compilers, who made use of these two works, did not use all the material they contained, it seems unreasonable to suppose that, especially if they were Deuteronomists, they omitted anything that appeared to them to be noteworthy, as, for example, material upon which their judgements were based. The Deuteronomists are supposed to have been the compilers who brought together the old material and who at the time and also later edited the Books of the Kings, adding to them as they saw fit. The judgements in which we are specially interested, it is true, have generally been supposed to be somewhat later than their time, although written by one imbued with their distinctive ideas and sentiments. This supposition, which I seriously question, may be granted; but we are still forced to speak of the judgements as 'deuteronomic judgements'; and the question as to the data upon which they were based remains an open one. Arbitrary as many of these judgements must seem, they may be accounted for without premising that those who formed them had voluminous historical records; for it should be evident to all scholars that none of the deuteronomic judgements can have been more unfair than those which unhesitatingly bestowed praise upon certain kings; for religious practices which were abhorrent to these ardent ethical monotheists were the rule down to the time of the exile. Moreover, that any of these kings, whom they refer to as reformers (except Josiah, and there is serious question even as to this king), really did seek to purify worship and to centralize religious institutions in Jerusalem, we cannot believe. Words of commendation for such supposed efforts must be taken with other words of praise; and the real reasons for the commendation must be sought in their peculiar way of interpreting the meagre records that have been passed on to us. Difficult as it may be to discover these data, it may be done, tentatively, at least; and it may be considered legitimate to do this because the judgements themselves are so late.

Leaving the kings of Judah subsequent to Josiah out of consideration, and beginning with the unfortunate Rehoboam who lost that part of his domain which in the time of both his father and his grandfather cannot have been conspicuous for its loyalty to a Southern capital and a Southern dynasty, we find there were, leaving out Athaliah, seven kings of Judah who were severely denounced in these deuteronomic judgements and eight who were most characteristically praised. We seek first for data upon which the adverse judgements may have been based.

Rehoboam and his son were severely censured, the former not separately, as became the custom of the Deuteronomists, but in connexion with the latter (1 Kings xv 3). Though it may be presumed that the bonds which bound North Israel to Judah in the days of David and Solomon had never been especially strong, we can easily appreciate the sentiments and aspirations of those ardent deuteronomic seers and patriots who laboured in or near the exilic time to make Jerusalem free and great as the seat of their exalted Yahvism. To them the disruption had been the greatest calamity in their people's past prior to their overthrow and deportation, and, however severely they may have censured Solomon as the remote cause of it, they could not have regarded his son Rehoboam, under the early years of whose reign the revolt occurred, dispassionately. Then the story of the expedition of Shishak and his despoiling of the king's palace and the house of Yahveh (1 Kings xiv 25 ff) was very likely one that caused the Deuteronomists to regard this king with disfavour. It is a curious fact that the Priestly Chroniclers speak well of Rehoboam until after this expedition (2 Chron. xii 5 ff). As they looked back over the centuries they passed condemnation upon this king, it would seem, because he and his people had easily fallen a prey to a strong neighbouring power. So the Deuteronomists may have done. The fact that the records asserted that his mother was an Ammonitess (1 Kings xiv 31) may of itself have had something to do with their attitude towards him; for their hostility to foreign marriages, as we know, was most pronounced. Nothing good in their thought could have been expected of such a mother's son. Was the name of the king, Rehoboam (רְחֹבָם, 'he who enlarges the people'), one that was likely to have prejudiced them? The mere absence of יה, the divine name which so often appeared in the names of kings of Judah who followed Rehoboam, may have attracted their attention; and they may at the same time have associated the fact of its absence with the thought that his mother was of foreign extraction. Moreover, it is probable that the covert sarcasm of the name would be felt by them, if, indeed, they did not suppose it to have been given him in derision when he was well on in his career as an ancient Hebrew Lackland. We may admit all this and yet may feel that the judgement was arbitrary and unjust. Weak he must have been, a king who lost the greater and wealthier part of his domain and became, so far as the remainder of it was concerned, little better than a vassal of Shishak; but that he deserved reprobation for doing what in worship was the common practice of the kings of Judah from the days of David down to the fall of Jerusalem and what, moreover, was not contrary to the highest religious ideals of his time, we cannot believe.

Of Abijam, the son and successor of Rehoboam, little was said in the old records which had been preserved. His reign was brief, a mere interlude between that of Rehoboam and that of Asa. So brief was it that the narrative seems to have left the Deuteronomists little if any clue; nevertheless they could not fail to be prejudiced against him because he was a son of Rehoboam and, perchance, because he did not endeavour to cripple North Israel, a thing he was wise to refrain from attempting. His name had no religious significance, though in the hands of the late Priestly Chroniclers it was so changed as to be given such meaning. It is surprising that he should have been known to his time as Abijam (אביים, 'the father of the sea'), a name which seems like a humorous echo of that of his father, who, it may be presumed, named him in the days of his grandfather Solomon when territorial expansion was considered a more burning topic than Yahvism. At all events the names borne by father and son must ever have seemed pathetically suggestive of the national reverses which they suffered.

The next two kings who were recalled by the Deuteronomists with loathing and censure were closely allied to the house of Omri of North Israel. Joram, or Jehoram, is said to have married Athaliah, a daughter of Ahab and the notorious Jezebel. As husband of a woman who left behind her, like her mother, a most unsavoury reputation, as masculine, self-willed, cruel, and even murderous, he could not have been looked back upon by the Deuteronomists in other than an unfavourable light. Their indictment of the man reveals as much (2 Kings viii 18 f). The responsibility for this alliance with North Israel must have rested largely with the father of the king; but the Deuteronomists seem to have overlooked this fact. Then, too, the Deuteronomists can hardly have appreciated the circumstances as they actually existed. Living when they did they could not have grasped the situation in the earlier time, when Judah, though it contained the city they so revered, was altogether inferior to North Israel in wealth and power. The very existence of the Southern Kingdom depended upon cultivating a friendly alliance with the Northern, or upon a league against it with some foreign power, as Assyria. The story of an alliance of Joram with the house of Omri which, though it implied some considerable measure of vassalage, was nevertheless decidedly to the advantage of Judah, they could not appreciate. They were unable to see that his contemporaries regarded this marriage as a most auspicious alliance, one which would tend to establish the king and increase his prestige, especially as they had the story of the unhappy sequel, to say nothing of the fact that their late Puritanic ideals had been shockingly disregarded.

The fact that Moab, Edom, and Libnah, the first being more directly

tributary to North Israel, the latter two being subject to Judah, revolted and practically gained their independence at this time, according to the records, could not have been overlooked by the Deuteronomists. This alone may have led them to believe that he had been a weak king whom Yahveh had not succoured. His name, Joram, or Jehoram, (יהורם, 'whom Yahveh exalts'), must have seemed to them like mockery, although it had been reverently bestowed by his father, with high hopes for the prince's future.

Ahaziah, the son of Jehoram and Athaliah, succeeded to the throne; but his reign was very brief. Its brevity must have seemed to the late editors of the Books of the Kings to indicate some disfavour on the part of Yahveh; but the chief reason for their censure must have been owing to the statement that 'he was son-in-law of the house of Ahab' (2 Kings viii 27). Short as was his reign, he is said to have joined Joram of North Israel in a campaign against Hazael, King of Syria (2 Kings viii 28); and he is also said to have gone down to Jezreel to visit Joram when he was suffering from the wounds he had received in the above-mentioned campaign (ix 16). The narrative of this visit, which, perhaps, ought not to have been separated from the statement as to the earlier visit, tells us that he witnessed the violent death of Joram, at the hands of Jehu; and that it was not until he had seen it that he fled, only to be overtaken and slain by the servants of Jehu. Incidentally it should be noted that Jehu apparently felt that he could not securely occupy the throne of North Israel if Ahaziah, as one who had been connected with the house of Ahab, was allowed to live. It would seem that already he had his eyes upon Judah as virtually a part of his prospective domain. This at least seems true, that the story of Ahaziah's visit and consequent death had something to do with prejudicing the Deuteronomists against this king. As in the case of his father the fact of his having a name of peculiar religious significance, Ahaziah (אחזיה, 'whom Yahveh holds,' or possibly, 'whom Yahveh takes by the hand') did not lead them to look back upon him with favour.

After four kings who are commended by the Deuteronomists we come upon Ahaz who is strongly censured. His reign seems to have been a troublous one. Against him came Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of North Israel, these kings having been drawn together because of their common fear of Assyria which was now in position to carry their territories. They wasted Judaea, its smaller towns and cities falling into their hands, and invested Jerusalem (2 Kings xvi 5 ff; cf. 2 Chron. xxviii 5 ff). Elath now passed out from under the hands of Ahaz after having been subject to Judaea from the time of his valiant grandfather half a century before. In

his extremity, as his only hope of deliverance, Ahaz sent to Tiglath-Pileser (Pul), King of Assyria, despatching as a bribe or tribute the treasure of his palace and of the house of Yahveh. Virtually this was the end of Judæan independency, or of the shadow of it, which was about all the kingdom had known from the days of Rehoboam onwards. It is not strange that the story of this reign should have roused the Deuteronomists; more especially as, coupled with the story of the visit of Ahaz to Damascus, upon the summons of his Assyrian overlord, there is an allusion to his securing plans for an altar which he afterwards built and upon which, in accordance with immemorial custom, he offered sacrifices. Even from our point of view there is much that seems mean and petty about his conduct. It was as though a continental king of our time should meekly give over his imperial authority at some peace conference and take home with him a cartload of *bric-à-brac*. The name of this king had no religious significance. If Ahaz (אחז, 'he who seizes or possesses') was the real name, and not one given in derision during his reign, it surely could not have commended him to the Deuteronomists. It is true that they may have purposely pictured his reign in somewhat sombre colours as a sort of background for their presentation of his son Hezekiah. Elsewhere we shall have occasion to note that they were capable of doing this. But at the best, as we can see, they were bound from their point of view to cast discredit upon him and blacken his name.

Manasseh, the grandson of Ahaz, fared even more severely at the hands of the Deuteronomists. Although he is said to have reigned for over half a century, the narrative of his reign is exasperatingly brief; and nothing especially disparaging appears in the old records. That his practices were those common to all kings of Judah from Solomon down, and that he lived near enough to the time of the Deuteronomists to be known to them through oral tradition seems likely; but this alone does not account for the treatment he received at their hands. The words which allude to prophetic opposition to him are manifestly late (2 Kings xxi 10 ff). The Priestly Chroniclers spoke of an Assyrian expedition and of Manasseh's deportation (2 Chron. xxxiii 11). It is likely that Asarhaddon or Assurbanipal did send a force against Jerusalem; but it is doubtful whether Manasseh was deported. However that may be, his name was one of fateful significance, Manasseh (מְנַשֶּׁה, 'who causes to forget'). That it was not his original name seems probable; though why it was bestowed, unless the Deuteronomists themselves substituted it for his real name, we cannot say. It surely fits in most curiously with their conception of the man. It must be confessed that their arraignment of this king seems heinously arbitrary, even from their own point of view. Here again we are warranted in raising

the question whether the Deuteronomists, in drawing a radiant picture of a deuteronomic reformation under Josiah, did not feel the need of a dark background. Their writings reveal a noble humanitarianism, many high ethical ideals, and many sublime religious conceptions; but at the same time they are seen to have been thrown together with no little literary skill. Just here they may not have received the attention which should have been given them. That their picture of the reign of Manasseh was purely imaginary I am far from asserting; but that there was considerable artistic deepening of the colours would seem apparent.

Amon (אֲמֹן), his son, had a name without religious significance. His reign was so brief that he may be passed over without further notice than the remark that the Deuteronomists, upon our supposition that they wished a dark background for their picture of the reign of Josiah, could not have done otherwise than treat him as they did.

Thus, as we have seen, there were seven kings of Judah, who for various reasons were judged by the late Deuteronomists, or editors imbued with their ideas and sentiments, most unfavourably. It must be confessed that, though we find reasons here and there for most of their judgements, these seem on the whole, even when looked at from their point of view, as we examine them critically, extremely haphazard and arbitrary. We now pass on to examine less minutely the judgements pronounced upon the eight kings whose records seem to have proved gratifying to the Deuteronomists.

Of the eight kings of Judah between Rehoboam and Josiah, including the latter, who were judged favourably by the Deuteronomists, two seem to have been special favourites. Both, it is interesting to note, came to the throne early. The first was crowned in his seventh year; the second in his eighth. One is tempted to remark that in the eyes of the Deuteronomists those had been the best kings who had ruled the least, who were so young upon coming to the throne that things were left necessarily, during the larger part of their reigns, to the priests. As I have elsewhere called attention to the wonderful parallel between these stories of Joash and Josiah as suggesting a possible common imaginative element for which the Deuteronomists themselves were responsible,¹ I need not dwell upon it here further than to remark that, inasmuch as both records revealed that the said kings were crowned as boys, they seemed to furnish excellent opportunities to exalt the priesthood and to shew what splendid reform work kings who were under the tutelage of priests were capable of doing. In Josiah's case there was the additional fact that he had died as a patriot king at

¹ See paper on 'The Promulgation of Deuteronomy', in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1902.

Megiddo and so had won such peculiar sanctity in the eyes of later generations as to lead the Deuteronomists to regard him with favour. It is true that there was nothing that could have seemed reprehensible in the meagre records of their reigns. The statement that he despoiled the house of Yahveh and his own palace to buy off Hazael of Syria, and that he died by a violent death at the hands of assassins, could not prevent their placing Joash's name in the list of good kings; any more than the story of Josiah's defeat and death at Megiddo could have affected their judgement of him. Certainly the name of each was such as to attract favourable attention; Jehoash (יהואש, 'whom Yahveh bestows') and Josiah (יושע, 'whom Yahveh supports or sustains') were both inspiring names.

Asa and his son Jehoshaphat, to go back to those who followed the unhappy Rehoboam and his son, the Deuteronomists speak of with commendation; yet the records of their reigns are very meagre. The father was given credit, surprising as it must seem, for quite a deuteronomic reformation. In resisting successfully the efforts of Baasha to establish himself in Judaeen territory, though in so doing he was forced to become a vassal of Ben Hadad, Asa must have done what appealed to the Deuteronomists; for by them resistance to the schismatics of the North was always regarded as specially praiseworthy. The fact that he had gout in his old age does not seem to have disturbed them as it did the Priestly Chroniclers (1 Kings xv 23; 2 Chron. xvi 12). There was nothing to attract them particularly to his name (מנחם), unless it may have suggested to them the thought that he was the healer or physician of the state, which is extremely doubtful.

That Jehoshaphat was on very friendly terms with the house of Omri, that he was really the vassal of Ahab, as his father had been of Ben Hadad, may have been overlooked. It may be that the partiality of Jehoshaphat for the prophet Micaiah prejudiced the Deuteronomists in his favour (1 Kings xxii 8 ff). Then, too, his escape from slaughter may have impressed them with the thought that Yahveh had been with him, for unlike Ahab he did not meet a violent death. His friendly attitude toward Elisha in a later campaign against Moab was noteworthy, although here again he appeared as a vassal king (2 Kings iii 14).

The three kings, Amaziah, Uzziah (or Azariah), and Jotham, descendants of and successors to Joash, won the heartiest praises of the Deuteronomists. Naturally they would be disposed to regard with favour Amaziah as the son of their beloved Joash. Having slain the murderers of his father and having been successful in a campaign against Syria he left a record most pleasing to them; but the one

thing that must have proved specially noteworthy, though it revealed a want of prudence on his part, was his defiance of North Israel and his efforts to assert his independence. The fact that conspirators drove him from Jerusalem and slew him does not seem to have prejudiced them any more than his father's violent death did (2 Kings xiv 19). Here again the name was one of good omen, Amaziah (אֲמַצִּיָּה, 'whom Yahveh strengthens').

Azariah (or Uzziah), though his record did not specially stir them, was placed among their good kings by the Deuteronomists. He is said to have had some measure of success against Edom and to have restored Elath (2 Kings xiv 22). The statement that he was smitten with leprosy and remained until death in a private infirmary (בֵּית הַחֲפָשִׁית, 2 Kings xv 5) does not seem to have concerned them any more than Asa's gout. They left it to the Priestly historians to handle him severely (2 Chron. xxvi 16 ff).

Jotham had the distinction of reigning for some years while his father still lived. Little is said concerning his reign, perhaps because it was an untroubled one. The stele of Mesha has revealed that the house of Omri did not continue to lord it over Moab. It would seem that, as the power of the Northern Kingdom waned, that of the Southern for a century became dominant among its neighbours. That Jotham deserved some credit for the recorded successes of his father, and that the general quietness of his reign revealed Yahveh's delight in him, the Deuteronomists may have felt. Finding nothing to warrant an unfavourable judgement they commended him. His name, we know, could not have rendered them suspicious, for Jotham (יֹחָזָבָב, 'Yahveh is perfect' or 'whom Yahveh makes whole or perfect') was a good one for a good king to bear.

If it pleased the Deuteronomists to picture King Asa as a deuteronomic reformer of the first power and Joash as one of the second, then Hezekiah must be looked upon as one of the third, in their eyes falling behind none save the great deuteronomic king, Josiah. In the early years of his reign Samaria fell before the might of the Assyrian arms, and the Northern Kingdom, after over two troublous centuries, ceased to exist as a separate power. Under Hezekiah the Kingdom of Judaea continued its existence, although only as tributary to Assyria. Finally, the army of Sennacherib came against and overran Judaea, taking its fortified cities and desolating the country. Jerusalem escaped only by the payment of an enormous ransom. During this or a later invasion, the Assyrian host seems to have suffered by reason of a plague. The fact that the Southern Kingdom escaped annihilation when the Northern fell and that Jerusalem survived the siege must have prejudiced the Deuteronomists in favour of Hezekiah. It is remarkable

how little these reformers were disturbed by stories of the despoiling of the house of Yahveh in the pre-exilic time; nor did such stories lead them to think ill of a king under whom such indignities were suffered. To us there seems to have been little cause for satisfaction in the dependent position occupied by Hezekiah. His name, it should be noticed, was propitious, Hezekiah (חִזְקִיָּה, 'whom Yahveh strengthens').

The great deuteronomic king was Josiah; and his work as imaginatively presented by the Deuteronomists left that of Hezekiah far behind. So improbable is the story of his drastic reformation that scholars have slowly whittled it down into what has seemed to them more reasonable dimensions. I need not here dwell upon my contention that the story is an imaginative one on the part of the Deuteronomists, even to the narrative of the finding of their law book in the temple, designed as a fiction to give credence to the said book and to exalt them and their sublime ideals in the eyes of the post-exilic Jews, the *golah*, the men of the captivity scattered throughout the then known world.

This paper does not aim at being exhaustive; but it calls attention to the arbitrary and misleading deuteronomic judgements of the kings of Judah. Necessarily it is tentative in character. Nevertheless at the back of it is the firm conviction of the writer that too much dependence has been placed upon much of the deuteronomic editorial work of the Books of the Kings, and that, as yet, not enough serious thought has been given to the place and influence of these same teachers whose lofty Yahvism was behind the literary prophecy of Israel, all of which was probably later than most critical scholars have been wont to suppose. It is likely that many will feel that too much has been made of the significance of proper names. It is the writer's conviction that the time has come for an exhaustive study and a deeper appreciation of these names. When one stops to note that a queen wife and mother who figures prominently in the narratives having to do with several Judaeen kings bore, according to story, the name of Athaliah (אֶתְלִיָּה, 'whom Yahveh afflicts'), he will have to admit that the deuteronomic editorial work in the Books of the Kings needs far more attention than it receives in this paper.

EDWARD DAY.

REVIEWS

THE MYSTICAL ELEMENT OF RELIGION.

The Mystical Element of Religion as studied in Saint Catherine of Genoa and her Friends. By BARON FRIEDRICH VON HÜGEL. (Macmillan & Co., London and New York, 1908.)

COLERIDGE in *The Friend* set the example of illustrating philosophical reflexion by biography; and in the volumes before us Baron von Hügel has studied 'the mystical element of religion' not only in general but in particular, as displayed in the life of St Catherine of Genoa. It must be admitted that this plan, while possessing some great advantages, has made the book a difficult one to read. One has a sense of being suddenly switched off, so to speak, from the line of theological speculation on to that of minute historical investigation and back again, and the shock of the change from the one to the other takes one's breath away; nor can one all at once adjust oneself successively to such different kinds of motion. Carlyle indeed in his *Past and Present*, with its deep vein of political philosophy and its vivid portraiture of Abbot Sampson, has shewn how something of the sort can be done with great success; but it is given to very few writers to wield their instrument in the masterly fashion of Carlyle; and with Baron von Hügel it is not to be denied that the peculiarities of style to which a note accompanying the Second Impression pleads guilty—'Germanisms', as his note says, 'strange on the part of the son of a pure Scotchwoman, resident in England for some thirty-six years and more'—have added somewhat to the difficulty perhaps inseparable from the scheme of this very important and interesting work, which, in the author's words, 'embodies wellnigh all that the writer has been able to learn and to test, in the matter of religion, during now some thirty years of adult life'.

In the preface, Baron von Hügel tells us how 'the specifically post-Tridentine type of Catholicism, with its regimental Seminarism, its predominantly controversial spirit, its suspiciousness and timidity, persisted, however inevitable some of it may be, to win' his 'love', and how he was drawn rather towards the religion of the 'early and as yet truly Christian' Renaissance, 'with its large-souled pre-Protestant, post-Medieval Catholics', such as the philosopher-cardinal Nicholas of Coes, 'the most truly comprehensive and Christian representative' of the movement 'at its best', Sir Thomas More, Cardinal Ximenes, and (through the influence of Newman's *Dream of Gerontius*, the purgatorial doctrine of which was much affected by her teaching) the Genoese

mystic Catherine Fiesca Adorna, whom he has chosen as the especial subject of his affectionate study. In the course of the many years' labour which our author has bestowed upon the life, character, and teaching of this holy woman, he has come (as one may often do with a loving friend) to form an estimate of her gifts which may well be a juster one than those with less close knowledge could form, although the evidence of it cannot be so stated as completely to convince them of its truth. And so we may reasonably take it on trust from Baron von Hügel that St Catherine of Genoa was greater than one would gather from merely reading over what he has told us concerning her. But it must be admitted that while we are often assured that she was great although 'psychophysically *maladive*', yet the latter characteristic is made more apparent than the former. In the same way the influence of Catherine on her friend Ettore Vernazza must no doubt have been great; but, if we look at the details of what we are told of him, a special obligation to her is, on the evidence given, quite conjectural in each case, unless perhaps it be in respect of the interest shewn by his will in the institutions with which she was connected. The present writer owes to Baron von Hügel's pages his acquaintance with Ettore Vernazza. He is in some ways a more attractive figure than his 'saint-friend' herself—notwithstanding the ingenious lie recorded of him on p. 336 of vol. i; which is perhaps only more barefaced, not more really unprincipled, than those with which we meet every day among sincere promoters of philanthropic enterprises. Nothing in the historical portion of Baron von Hügel's work is more interesting than the account of the causes to which it was due that Catherine was canonized, while Vernazza was not. The 'popular devotion' which is required as a condition precedent of saintly honours was paid to Catherine and not to Vernazza. But why? Not because of her mystical doctrine, not because her works of mercy were more than his, but because of the 'psychophysical peculiarities' of her life and 'the more or less complete incorruption of her body'. These two things, as Baron von Hügel adds, have neither of them 'any necessary connexion with that faithful and heroic use of free-will and that spirit and grace of God in which the whole substance of sanctity consists'. 'The point raised', he says, 'concerns simply the psychology of popular devotion'; but does it not concern also the value of the system by which the highest ecclesiastical authority makes itself, in acts invested with the utmost solemnity, the mere interpreter of a popular devotion, which is affected so far more by the outwardly portentous than by the morally excellent? It is not, of course, to be forgotten that moral excellence, or what is judged to be such, is always recognized or supposed to be present where canonization is decreed, and that it

is only because the outwardly extraordinary is (however wrongly) taken as testifying to inward sanctity that it is held to support a claim to a place in the calendar of saints.

The daughter of this Ettore Vernazza, the Venerable Battista, was the goddaughter of St Catherine (whom she survived seventy-seven years) and composed (as our author contends) a Dialogue between St Catherine's Soul, Body, and Self-love, Baron von Hügel's careful analysis of which shews it to be an interesting example of the way in which the picture of a departed teacher or friend comes to be, as it were, unconsciously refashioned in retrospect after the image of the disciple's own later ideal. But, as Battista Vernazza was only thirteen at the time of St Catherine's death, she could at that tender age have known but little of the secrets of her godmother's inner life, and it was perhaps rather with her father Ettore's stories of his friend than with her own reminiscences that she started.

The most important contribution of St Catherine of Genoa to mystical theology was her doctrine of Purgatory, to the influence of which on Newman reference has already been made. Perhaps here again Baron von Hügel leads us to expect more than we actually find in his account of it; it gives him occasion, however, to discuss the subject with which it deals, at length, and in a most interesting manner, in the chapter of the second volume called 'After-Life Problems and Doctrines'. It is almost with a shock that in the last sentence of this chapter we find it called 'a study of her Eschatology', for she has long since disappeared from view behind other and more famous teachers; but she has become, as we have seen, so much the spiritual companion and guide of our author's thoughts, that he tends to associate with her all the results to which, 'following the argument whithersoever it may carry him', he has been led on from the starting-point of her sayings. For my own part, I am inclined, with the lamented Father Tyrrell, in his interesting review of *The Mystical Element of Religion* in the *Hibbert Journal*, to prefer to St Catherine of Genoa our English mystic Mother Juliana of Norwich (whom Baron von Hügel compares with his own heroine on p. 318 of Vol. ii), though not perhaps on the same ground, on the ground, namely, that St Catherine does not equally exhibit the spirit of historical Christianity. Baron von Hügel, however, considers that Mother Juliana, though 'entirely orthodox', is inferior to St Catherine in that she weakens too much the truth involved in the doctrine of eternal punishment. He holds that the final restitution of all things as taught by Clement of Alexandria and Origen is incompatible with the 'whole drift, philosophy, and tone' of Christ's teaching, which demand some such 'doctrine of abiding consequences' as finds popular expression in

the traditional belief in hell; and, while he does not deny the presence in St Catherine's writings (although he is prepared to attribute them in whole or in part to 'sermonizing scribes'), of passages which seem to teach that 'God can and does, as it were, catch souls unawares, calling them away and finally deciding their fate on occasion of any and every *de facto* volitional condition at the instant of death', yet he would even justify a 'hortatory attitude' which should recognize in this form the real, if rare, occurrence of single acts or series of acts fully representative of character and so decisive of the future. He speculates on 'mitigations of the sufferings of the lost' and suggests, not indeed a 'conditional immortality', but a lowered level of life and consciousness in impenitent souls; although this debars him from availing himself of the attempt which he notes Newman and Tyrrell as making, to find in the denial of a sense of succession in the future life a way of escape from the horror of imagining a state of punishment endlessly prolonged. For from a '*totum-simul* sense of consciousness' the lost, he thinks, must surely be further removed than we, when at our best in the earthly life. It is not without real gratitude to Baron von Hügel for giving us upon this matter the meditations of a nature at once so philosophical and so deeply religious as his, that I still venture to doubt whether in his statement and discussion of the question the influence of traditional mythology upon his mind is not still too strong. The whole conception of a future life for individual souls is difficult enough; but, if an attempt be made to frame something of the kind, the formulas of 'eternal punishment' and of 'final restitution' will surely alike be found too simple to work with. Yet both have a representative value, as embodying ethical convictions, the one that of the profound seriousness of the moral life, the other that of the universality of the divine love: and, perhaps, in saying that, we are not after all far from the thought of Baron von Hügel himself.

The eschatology of St Catherine of Genoa becomes in our author's hands a text for the discussion of her attitude and that of other mystics towards the great questions of morality and evil, of divine immanence and of personality in man and in God, a discussion always suggestive and often illuminating, which will be found singularly rich alike in variety of learning and in originality of thought. One of the most interesting passages of all is that which deals with the *via negativa* and 'the Mystic's apparent Agnosticism'. A difficulty may be raised as to the conclusion on this point reached on p. 290 of Vol. ii. 'We shall reject', says Baron von Hügel, 'any absolute qualitative difference between the soul's deepest possibilities and ideals, and God; and shall, in its stead, maintain an absolute difference between God and all our

downward inclinations, acts and habits, and an indefinite difference, in worth and dignity, between God and the very best that, with His help, we can aim at and become.' But suppose we take the case of a possible superhuman being, such as angels are imagined to be. If an angel were disposed to do something which would be permissible to a man, but not to an angel (as things which would be sinful in a man are not sinful in a beast), how could there be an *absolute* difference between God and *this* inclination or act in the case of the angel and not in the case of a man, into whose higher life it might be capable of entering? Perhaps Baron von Hügel would set the *absolute* difference between the *directions* which we call 'upward' and 'downward' on the moral scale, and not between the acts or inclinations which occur upon the scale. But if so, this should, I think, have been more clearly stated.

The chief literary sources of St Catherine's ideas—St Paul, the author of the Fourth Gospel, the pseudo-Dionysius, and Jacopone da Todi are discussed, and the difference of St Catherine's own mind from those of her authorities pointed out. An interesting and curious question is raised, but not settled, as to the medium through which certain Platonic doctrines affected her beliefs respecting the future life. The careful account of her conversion, with its two stages, in the first of which she was penetrated with a sense of *God's* goodness and of her own sins, and in the second had a vision (her first and last vision, in the proper sense of the word) of *Christ* shedding His blood for love's sake, should be studied in connexion with other histories of sudden conversion. The importance alike to the theologian and to the psychologist of a comparative study of such experience has come of late to be fully recognized.

Especially suggestive and interesting is the last chapter of the whole work, which deals with 'The Scientific Habit and Mysticism', and which one feels to be to a great extent autobiographical. Here Baron von Hügel insists that physical science with its ideal of universal mechanism and the pessimism to which this is apt to give occasion, has succeeded in the spiritual life of our time to the office discharged in the early days of Christianity by the belief in an approaching end of the world, and afterwards by the gloomy view of the earthly prospects of our race which were encouraged by teaching such as St Augustine's concerning the fall of Adam and its legacy of 'original sin'. By dwarfing our individual and even our social concerns in presence of the immensities of space and time, as those older beliefs dwarfed them in the presence of the 'last things', it makes, in Baron von Hügel's view, for the detachment and 'other-worldliness' required by the Christian religion. This 'truly spiritual function and fruitful-

ness of Deterministic Science' is brought out in the pantheistic philosophy with which—as pre-eminently in Spinoza himself—it has so often been associated. 'For only if Man deeply requires a profound desubjectivizing, a great shifting of the centre of his interest, away from the petty, claimful, animal self, with its "I against all the world", to a great kingdom of souls, in which Man gains his larger, spiritual, unique personality, with its "I as part of, and for all the world", by accepting to be but one amongst thousands of similar constituents in a system expressive of the thoughts of God; and only if Mathematico-Physical Science is specially fitted to provide such a bath, and hence is so taken, with all its apparently ruinous Determinism and seeming Godlessness; is such Science really safe from apologetic emasculation; or from running, a mere unrelated dilettantism, alongside of the deepest interests of the soul; or from, in its turn, crushing or at least hampering the deepest, the spiritual life of man. Hence all the greater Partial Mystics have got a something about them which indicates that they have indeed passed through fire and water, that their poor selfishness has been purified in a bath of painfully-bracing spiritual air and light, through which they have emerged into a larger, fuller life'. Baron von Hügel adds that 'Nicolas of Coes, Pascal, Malebranche are but three men out of many whose Mysticism and whose Mathematico-Physical Science thus interstimulated each other and jointly deepened their souls'. Nor is it only of physical science with its 'seemingly fatalistic mechanism' and its indifference to our desires and feelings that this can be said; the same result may be obtained from an historical science with its 'apparently chance contingencies' and its revelation of the unexpectedly humble and unbeautiful beginnings of our most sacred institutions. It is principally in the pursuit of such a science, in that of Biblical criticism—taken up in no 'easy, dilettante fashion'—that Baron von Hügel avails himself of this opportunity for 'discipline and ascetism'. It would have been welcome, if, besides throwing out the striking thought which we have mentioned—a thought deserving of the most careful consideration—he had pursued the theme somewhat further and dwelt more in detail on particular difficulties which beset the attempt to unite the scientific and the religious views of the world. No doubt there are not a few references to the theories now in vogue which would make physical science mainly *descriptive* (though we think Baron von Hügel does not himself use the word), and to the philosophy of M. Bergson—but these do not indemnify us for answers of our author's own to questions which we should like to ask him, as arising (in Parliamentary phrase) out of what he has already told us.

M. Bergson's discussions of the nature of *Time* in particular, have

exercised a great influence on Baron von Hügel's thought. He observes that 'a careful study of Kant's critique of the two categories of Space and Time' (Kant, of course, does not reckon them as *categories* in the strict sense)—which treats them on the same level as alike 'forms of perception'—'suffices to convince us of the indefinitely richer content, and more ultimate reality, of the latter'; and he follows M. Bergson in his distinction of 'duration' in which 'our deeper human experiences take place' from 'mathematical uniform clock-time' and its quite automatic and necessary simplification and misrepresentation of the experience of duration 'by its imaginary projection on to space'. There is no doubt a difficulty in any view which—though decidedly not intended to be sceptical—yet makes a *misrepresentation* to be *necessary*. The same difficulty is inseparable from the Kantian contrast between what we *must think* and what we *think must be*.

With the tendency now so common, which finds expression in the doctrine, to which reference has already been made, that physical science is merely descriptive—the tendency to contrast reflexion with the primary experience upon which it works as something in which there is loss rather than gain, which substitutes for the living concrete whole something partial, abstract and dead—with this tendency Baron von Hügel has a discriminating sympathy. Probably his readers will not agree together as to the success of his attempt to frame a theory which shall adopt what is best in this tendency without unduly disparaging reflexion. The attempt is made in reference to the relation of Christ's teaching as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels to the teaching of St Catherine of Genoa and of the four theologians who, as we have seen, especially influenced her though their writings—St Paul, the authors of the Fourth Gospel and of the pseudo-Dionysian treatises, and Jacopone da Todi. 'All five are', says our author, 'indefinitely closer to each other than any one of them is to the still richer, more complete, and more entirely balanced though less articulated, Synoptic teaching, which enfolds all that is abiding in those other five, whilst they, even if united, do not approximately exhaust the substance of that teaching.' 'It is the Synoptic, the pre-Pauline tradition which contains the fuller arsenal of the spiritual forces which have transfigured and which still inspire the world of souls.' 'This, of course,' he continues, 'does not mean that the Pauline-Joannine developments were not necessary, or are not abiding elements towards the understanding of the Christian spirit . . . that the reflective penetration and reapplication of the original more spontaneous message was, from the very nature of the case, inferior to the first less articulated announcement of the Good Tidings. But it merely signifies that this necessary process

of reflection could only be applied to parts of the original, immensely rich and varied, because utterly living, divinely spiritual, whole ; and that, thus, the special balance and tension which characterized the original, complete spirit and temper, could, however profoundly, be reproduced only in part. For the time being this later penetration and resetting of some elements from among the whole of Our Lord's divinely rich and simple life and teaching, necessarily and rightly, yet none the less most really, ignored, or put for the time into some other context, certain other sides and aspects of that primitive treasure of inexhaustible experience. Only the full, equable, and simultaneous unfolding of all the petals could have realized the promise and content of the bud, whereas the bud, holding enfolded within itself such various elements and combinations of truth, could not expand its petals otherwise than successively, hence at any one moment somewhat onesidedly and partially. Each and all of these unfoldings bring some further insight into, and articulation of, the original spiritual organism, and that they are not more, but less, than the totality of that primitive experience and revelation, does not prove that such reflective work is wrong or even simply dispensable—for, on the contrary, in some degree or form it was and ever is necessary to the soul's apprehension of that life and truth—but simply implies the immensity of the spiritual light and impulsion given by Our Lord, and the relative smallness of even the greatest of His followers.' These passages should be considered in connexion with Father Tyrrell's criticism of M. Loisy in *Between Scylla and Charybdis*, in which he qualifies a doctrine of dogmatic developement which would regard the first stage of a religion as a mere germ of what it is to be, by the recognition of a normal or classical character in that first stage which may be expressed by calling it a 'revelation' which has afterwards to be gradually interpreted. A thoroughgoing recognition of developement in theology must not forget that the inspiration of great prophets has an abiding value, like that of great poets and artists, so that their followers must turn back to it again and again, as students of mathematical and physical science do not need to turn back to the superseded teaching of the pioneers in their departments of inquiry.

The supreme example of this superiority of an original inspiration to partial interpretations of it by subsequent reflexion Baron von Hügel finds in the life and teaching of Christ as compared with those of Christian saints and doctors, whether within or without the New Testament Canon. He finds 'a most legitimate ground for consolation to a Catholic' in the fact 'that Catholicism has ever refused to do more than include the Pauline and Joannine theologies amongst its earliest and most normative stimulations and expressions';

so that it has emphasized less than Protestantism the novelty of Christianity, the breach made in it with all that was before or is outside it, on which St Paul and St John in different ways insist, and thus finds less difficulty where modern life and science bring out that continuity and community between the Christian and the pre-Christian and extra-Christian religions, the sense of which is preserved in the Synoptic Gospels. For they, in Baron von Hügel's opinion, present 'Our Lord's attitude towards the Jewish Church of His time, as one, even at its keenest, analogous to that of Savonarola, and not to that of a Luther, still less of a Calvin, towards the Christian Church of their day'. With these observations should be compared the very excellent and balanced discussion, in the section on 'the Dualistic Attitude towards the Body', of asceticism and the attitude towards it of the Synoptic Christ and of the Catholic Church, on pp. 121 foll. of vol. ii. The remark in the last paragraph of this section on those whom Mr Leonard Hobhouse in his recent book on *Morals in Evolution* has called 'the horrible Fathers of the Desert' is not to be overlooked.

In defence of Baron von Hügel's contention that the Roman Catholic Church has remained more faithful to the type of Christ's teaching as found in the Synoptic Gospels than the Christian communities which have over-emphasized the Pauline or Johannine elements in the theological tradition, there is no doubt much to be said. It is a less lovely characteristic of Roman Catholicism that is expressed by the phrase 'bound to hold' thrice used on p. 242 of vol. ii—in an interesting discussion of the doctrine of Purgatory. It is quite possible to rate more lightly than did the late Auguste Sabatier those institutions which link the worship and government of the Catholic Church of to-day not only with the traditions of the earliest Christian community, but with those of the religions out of which and in the midst of which Christianity arose, and yet to agree unreservedly with the view of *authority* defended in his posthumous work, *Les Religions de l'Autorité et la Religion de l'Esprit*.

Our last quotations will shew that Baron von Hügel is very far removed from such an 'impossible simplification concerning philosophy' in its relation to religion as he criticizes in the case of Professor Wilhelm Hermann, from whose extraordinary statements as to the worthlessness of all non-Christian experience of God he truly says that it is 'not an indifferentist blindness to the profound differences, in their degree of truth, between the religions of the world' that makes the mind revolt. Not only the 'Panchristism' of this theologian, but other forms of Ritschlianism are discussed in a most interesting manner in chap. xiii; and we are grateful also for the admirable passage quoted on p. 261 from an article by Professor Troeltsch in *Kantstudien* on that

depreciation of mysticism by Kant which has been developed by the Ritschlians into a one-sided insistence on historical Christianity with which Kant would most certainly have had no sympathy at all.

The warm appreciation with which Baron von Hügel welcomes all serious effort after religious truth, in whatever quarter he finds it, is a most attractive feature of his book. This is not limited only to the work of the writers—themselves a group of men belonging to very various confessions and schools of thought and with very various sympathies—the author's debt to whom is expressly recognized in the preface, but to others with whose general attitude he has few points of agreement, such as Dr Schiller, whose article in *Humanism* on 'Activity and Substance' is justly praised, and Professor A. E. Taylor, of whose *Problem of Conduct* it is well observed that it 'contains a very vigorous and suggestive study of the similarities and differences between Morality and Religion, marred though it is by paradox and impatience'. One is sometimes disposed to think that this desire to say the best that can be said of all fellow workers has carried Baron von Hügel too far—as when he observes of Professor H. Joly's *Psychology of the Saints* that there are in it 'many most useful facts and reflexions' without any warning as to the highly unsatisfactory character of that disappointing work on a deeply interesting subject. On the subject of ancient philosophy in general Baron von Hügel follows Zeller closely, sometimes perhaps—as on the treatment of Universal and Particular in Aristotle—a little too closely. To one or two statements about Aristotle it is possible to demur. Thus the 'virtues' in *Eth. Nic.* III and IV are taken too seriously. Baron von Hügel overlooks the facts that they are only introduced to illustrate the generalization about the 'mean'; that this generalization is not extended to the 'intellectual virtues'; and that consequently the philosopher, whose manner of life Aristotle certainly regarded as the most excellent of all, does not appear at all in his gallery of 'characters'. From p. 195 of vol. ii a hasty reader might gather that Aristotle attributed immortality to the 'dialectic faculty' as well as to the *νοῦς*; and the description of the life of *θεωρία* as a 'non-actively contemplative life' is certainly misleading, and suggests a not unfrequent misinterpretation of the philosopher's meaning; though, when we find on the next page that Baron von Hügel would translate *ἐνέργεια* by 'action' and leave 'activity' to translate (I suppose) *πρᾶξις*, we see that it is not intended to suggest anything of the sort.

It remains to apologize both to Baron von Hügel and to my readers for presenting these random observations on points suggested by the book before us as a review of a work of whose contents it would perhaps have been better by means of a summary to have given such

a foretaste that those interested in the philosophy of religion would have been helped to turn at once to exploration on their own account. For it must be remembered we have here, in a form as unlike as possible to an ordinary systematic treatment of the subject, the author's philosophy of religion; and, as the author is one to whom religion is the supreme interest of life, the shape, strange as it may seem, into which his thoughts have been thrown, is expressive of his individual genius, and must not be left out of account in estimating the thoughts themselves. No one who cares enough for the theme of the work to give it, undeterred by the difficult manner of presentation, the patient and sympathetic study which it deserves, will miss an abundant reward for his pains.

There are some misprints in the book besides those corrected in the slip of Errata circulated with the Second Impression, but most of these will be readily corrected at sight. What, by the way, can be meant (at p. 156 of vol. i) by the reference to a King of Sardinia in 1164?

CLEMENT C. J. WEBB.

AUGUSTINE'S RELIGIOUS DEVELOPEMENT.

Augustin : Studien zu seiner geistigen Entwicklung, von Lic. Dr HANS BECKER, Leipzig. (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1908.)

DR BECKER's volume, with its array of carefully selected passages from Augustine's writings, should prove a welcome help to those who desire to trace the progressive developement of Augustine's religious thought. The term *geistig* is often a stumbling-block to the translator, who is apt to hesitate between the renderings 'mental' and 'spiritual', for in German usage now the one idea, now the other predominates. Here, however, it should occasion no difficulty, for in Augustine's case mental and spiritual developement kept pace with one another in a remarkable degree. During the whole of his mature life he was an ardent seeker after truth to satisfy his intellect, but in an equal degree a searcher after spiritual peace, for to him the two were inseparably connected.

In the present volume Dr Becker confines himself to the works written before the year 400. In a subsequent volume he proposes to deal with Augustine's later thinking on history, religion, and philosophy contained in the *De Civitate Dei* and other works.

The chief problem which arises out of the writings under review in the present volume is to determine the exact period in his life when Augustine ceased to be a sympathetic philosophical enquirer, and became a positive believer and a Catholic Christian. According to the

narrative in the *Confessions*, after the famous scene in the garden at Milan, in the year 386, a complete change came over him which altered not only his moral life but all his tastes and pursuits. He resigned his professorship of rhetoric, for he would not longer fill a Chair of Lies, and he retired to a quiet country house where he spent his time in reading the scriptures and in penitential prayer in preparation for baptism. We possess, however, four treatises written by Augustine during his retreat at Cassiciacum : *Contra Academicos*, *De Beata Vita*, *De Ordine*, and the *Soliloquia*, which exhibit his mood and his avocations in an entirely different light. He is surrounded by a group of cheerful, sympathetic friends, and he and they are keenly interested in literature and especially in philosophy. Augustine himself lavishes praises on the life of the philosopher, and when writing to his friend Romanianus, to whom one of the treatises is dedicated, he almost seems to speak as if philosophy was the sole pathway to truth and blessedness. Of preparation for baptism we do not hear a word.

So striking is the contrast between the two accounts that M. Gourdon, in his *Essai sur la conversion de Saint Augustin*, comes to the conclusion that the narrative in the *Confessions* must be set aside in favour of the contemporary writings which prove that at Cassiciacum Augustine was no Christian but a Neo-Platonic philosopher. Augustine's own words are, however, a refutation of this extreme view, for in the *Contra Academicos* he names himself a disciple of Christ, from whose authority, he adds, he will never depart ; but his references to Christianity and to scripture are, it must be admitted, singularly few when compared with the large space given to philosophy. The following is Dr Becker's judgement on this vexed question (p. 56) :—

'It has been the custom to place the final developement of Augustine with respect to Christianity in the wrong place. It has been looked for in the period associated with the three names, Rome, Milan, Cassiciacum. In a certain respect this is right. Augustine learned during this period to value Christianity afresh—but for the sake of the Neo-Platonic philosophy. The time when he was to require no philosophical authority in order to prize Christianity aright lay in the distance. This time, when he arrived at the conviction that the Christian religion—to use an expression of Goethe's—is in itself a mighty entity, far exalted above philosophy, and requiring no support, lies in the years 387–389.'

I doubt the justice of Dr Becker's remark that Augustine valued Christianity for the sake of the Neo-Platonic philosophy. I should be disposed to put it the other way, and to say that for the sake of Christianity he put a high value on the Neo-Platonic philosophy by means of which he hoped to interpret and to vindicate the Christian

system to himself and others. By his experiences in Milan his heart had been drawn towards Christianity, but he felt the need of help to justify his faith in a world which was still largely hostile to it ; perhaps also to justify it to himself.

A comparison of the narrative in the *Confessions* with the *Dialogues* makes it difficult to acquit Augustine of having given a one-sided, not to say a misleading, account of his life and pursuits at Cassiciacum. But at the time he wrote the *Confessions* he was alienated from his former philosophic self ; he had therefore no desire to inspire his readers with a love for philosophy ; he wrote for their edification, and one writing for edification has seldom much scruple in omitting whatever does not serve the immediate purpose which he has in view.

The second portion of Dr Becker's book is devoted to an examination of Augustine's knowledge and use of the writers of classical antiquity. His mind was so saturated with their thoughts and words that he could hardly open his mouth without betraying his familiarity with, and in many cases his love for, his ancient teachers. As he got older his admiration becomes colder, and is often mingled with sharp censure. It was one of the tragedies in the lives of cultivated Christians in the Patristic Church that the authors to whom they owed their education, and whom they had learned to love well, were the representatives of a hostile faith against which they had to contend. As ecclesiastical feeling grew stronger the alienation became more marked, as we see in the writings of Gregory the Great, whose opinions determined the attitude of the mediaeval Church.

But Augustine never altogether lost his admiration for the teachers of his youth and early manhood. Dr Becker writes (p. 155) :—‘ Although he did not spare “heathenism” and antiquity in his polemics, what is best in antiquity remained with him as a lasting heritage, viz. the idealism, the enthusiasm for investigation and for knowledge, the open eye, and an interest for all the world and for the questions relating to human life : in short the *καλὸν καγαθόν* of classicism. After he became a Christian, with that consistency which was native to his character, he placed everything in the light of the Gospel in which he had found peace for his soul. Although we find in his writings—and the older he became the more frequent they are—a number of unfavourable judgements on the spiritual world of antiquity, which envired him, nevertheless, to the end of his life, he represented not only an outward but an inward relation between Christianity and culture, and embodied in his own personality the truth of the word of scripture, which was so often forgotten by the Church in later times : πάντα ἡμῶν, ὑμεῖς δὲ Χριστοῦ, Χριστὸς δὲ θεοῦ.’

JOHN GIBB.

PHILO'S EXEGESIS.

Philon, Commentaire allégorique des saintes lois après l'œuvre des six jours. Texte grec ; traduction française, introduction et index par ÉMILE BRÉHIER (A. Picard et fils, Paris, 1909).

PROFESSOR BRÉHIER has followed up his exposition of Philo's philosophical and religious ideas with an edition of his three books *de legum allegoriis*. To the honour of the super-editors, MM. Hemmer and Lejay, it is included in their series of 'Textes et Documents pour l'étude historique du Christianisme'. No other non-Christian author is as yet represented in their list, but the inclusion of Philo indicates a sagacious catholicity of outlook which may do more to correct the artificial isolation of Christianity from its 'profane' or pagan background.

The value of Philo for the student of Christianity is implied by St Jerome, who reckons this Jew as one of those who built or adorned the Christian Church. St Jerome's reasons are invalid, but there is good reason for such recognition. In Philo's exegesis of the Old Testament Scriptures the great Christian commentators—especially and directly the Alexandrines—found their inspiration and their guide. Origen applies the Philonian rules of exegesis to the books of the New Testament, and Ambrose borrows wholesale from Philo's extant works. Apart from this obvious indebtedness on the part of the Christian Fathers, the student of Christianity must go to Philo if he would appreciate the religion from which Christianity sprang. An old man eloquent and didactic, he has written out the principles and the applications of the principles which he received. Maker of tracts as he is, he has matter for the historian. He is a philosopher—taking things easily, because all comes from God's good hand—and yet he insists upon obedience to the letter of the Law and denounces dependence upon medical assistance (for example) as impiety.

The books, which Professor Bréhier has edited and translated, cover Genesis ii 1 to iii 19 with the exception of iii 2-7. The Commentary treats the Scripture as allegorical, and it is illustrated and enforced by passages taken from the Pentateuch generally and interpreted in the same way. Aaron is Speech and Miriam Sensation. When it is said that Jacob 'crossed this Jordan with his rod', the meaning is that the ascetic mind crosses the descents of corruptible nature by means of education. Every text that is quoted is full of such edification. Moses the prophet becomes a preacher and a spiritual director. The particular incidents of his narrative are displayed as big with universal truths. And so the treatise deals with such topics as the ideal world, which is apprehended not by the senses but by the mind,

the virtues, the origin of language, passion and sensation, the knowledge of God, repentance, and so forth.

The Greek text and the French version confront one another page by page. The text deviates only occasionally from that of Cohn and Wendland—and then (it appears) in deference to the criticisms of Professor Nestle whose main concern is with the text of the Septuagint. The version seems to be at once accurate and intelligible in itself. Footnotes (all too few) cite parallels from Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, Seneca, Plato, and the like. A short introduction deals with the life of Philo and the contents of the treatise. There is also an index of proper names, rare words, and philosophical terms.

It remains for directors of theological students to set the *de legum allegoriis* thus edited for any examinations which they are able to control.

J. H. A. HART.

THE WISDOM OF AHIKAR.

Histoire et Sagesse d'Ahiakar l'Assyrien, traduction des versions syriaques avec les principales différences des versions arabes, arménienne, grecque, néo-syriaque, slave et roumaine, par F. NAU. (*Documents pour l'étude de la Bible*, Letouzey et Ané, Paris, 1909.)

THE curious literary problem of the story of Ahikar is one on which great advance has recently been made, and it has for some time been recognized that it is not an invention founded upon the allusion to Ahikar in the book of Tobit, but is derived from a Hebrew or Aramaic original older than that book; and this conclusion has now been strikingly confirmed by the discovery of the story in a Jewish Aramaic papyrus of the end of the fifth century B. C. at Elephantine: but to this discovery M. Nau can only allude in an appendix, and, until the text has been published, his conclusions can of course be only provisional. There can be little doubt that of the published versions the Syriac is the oldest, and all others seem to be directly or indirectly derived from a Syriac original older than our existing texts. Two of these texts were published by Dr Rendel Harris in 1898; but M. Nau has examined several other manuscripts, and, though the rules of the series in which his work appears seem to preclude him from printing the text, he has given us a translation of a Berlin MS, which, though late, is interesting in that it correctly makes Esarhaddon son, not father, of Sennacherib, and in this agrees with a MS from Turkestan of which M. Nau has obtained a copy. To this translation is appended a translation of the

sayings of Ahikar in other versions which are not found in the Syriac. With regard to the connexion between the versions it is hard to see how M. Nau can think that the Slavonic is a direct translation from the Syriac, for there can never have been any one capable of making such a translation. The Slavonic version must surely have been made from Greek; and the fact that it agrees with the Syriac rather than with the existing Greek text is of no moment, for in that text the story is transferred to Aesop, whereas from the allusions in Strabo and Diogenes Laertius it is clear that the Greeks knew the name of Ahikar, and must therefore have had an older version.

M. Nau, accepting the works of Democritus cited by Clement and Stobaeus as genuine, would throw back the original Aramaic document to the sixth century, and even maintains that it is substantially historical and may be based upon a composition of Ahikar himself; but, even if we concede the date assumed, we are still 150 years from the time of Esarhaddon, and a romance of this kind is little historical evidence for facts dated 150 years before. There is one point connected with the work which M. Nau has treated in a somewhat insufficient manner, and that is its relation to Judaism. Ahikar at the beginning prays to the gods for a son, and, failing to receive an answer, turns to the God of Israel and is told that in consequence of his having had recourse to idols his prayer will not be granted: but this has no bearing upon the story, and, though the sayings are in monotheistic form, there is no further reference to Judaism until the last two chapters, which the citations of Psalms and Proverbs shew to contain late additions. There therefore seems to be more than M. Nau will admit in favour of the theory that the story is of heathen origin; and this theory is confirmed by Clement's statement that Democritus got it from Babylon and his description of it as τὴν Ἀκικάρου στήλην, which M. Nau explains as a Babylonian tablet. It is also very difficult to believe either that a Jew would make his hero pray to the Assyrian gods, or that a purely Jewish story would have been so widely diffused over the Greek world. But, even if we do not accept all M. Nau's conclusions, his researches are throughout interesting and suggestive, and, as the work also contains an excellent summary of the literature of the subject, it cannot be neglected by any one who wishes to study this difficult problem.

E. W. BROOKS.

COPTIC MANUSCRIPTS.

Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the collection of the John Rylands Library at Manchester. By W. E. CRUM. Manchester University Press and London: Bernard Quaritch, Sherratt & Hughes, 1909. Large 4to, pp. xii + 274 + 12 plates.

THE manuscripts here catalogued by the foremost of our Coptic scholars were acquired, with one unimportant exception, from the Earl of Crawford in 1901 by Mr Rylands. The nucleus of the collection seems to have been derived from Archdeacon Tattam's library; a second important section, including all the papyri, was purchased in 1898 by Lord Crawford from dealers at Gizeh. It now consists of 467 items: the majority of these, as usual, are non-literary.

It is needless to say that Mr Crum's work is admirably done, and that its outward presentation is all that could be desired. The catalogue is a stately and beautiful volume, the type excellent, and the plates (which comprise fifty-one facsimiles) very satisfactory. The very full indexes of names and words are preceded by a useful table of the approximate dates of the manuscripts. Among the facsimiles, that of no. 7, a leaf of a tiny copy of Proverbs on vellum (cent. vi-vii?) seems specially noteworthy.

The arrangement of the catalogue is as follows: nos. 1-410 are Sa'idic, of which 1-18 are Biblical, 19-61 Liturgical, 62-83 Homilies, Epistles, &c., 84-99 Narratives, Acts, Martyrdoms, 100-111 Magic and Medicine, 112-114 Miscellaneous, 115-460 Non-literary. Nos. 411-415 are Middle Egyptian, two of them literary. 416-466 are Bohairic: of these 416-423 Biblical, 424, 425 Lectionaries, 426-435 Liturgical, 436, 437 Homilies, 438-449 Narratives, &c., 450-459 Philological works, 460-466 Non-literary, 467 Arabic.

The Sa'idic portion contains no complete volumes. Among the Biblical fragments two are assigned to cent. iv-v (nos. 2 Psalter and 16 Hebrews). The bulk of the Liturgical matter is of cent. x-xi. Among the Homilies no. 62 has three leaves of a discourse attributed in a Curzon MS to Athanasius, but not certainly identified: 67-70 are by Shenoute. The section *Narratives*, &c., yields a few apocryphal fragments: of these, 84 is from some form of the apocalypse of Moses or Life of Adam; 85 has a text relating to Solomon and Thabor, king of the Gentiles (*ἔθνος*). This does not correspond to our present texts of the Testament of Solomon, but there may be a faint echo of it in a magical prayer which exists in Ethiopic, and has been translated by R. Basset (*Les Apocryphes Éthiopiens* vii pp. 28 sqq.). This prayer

tells of Solomon's struggles with the king of the smiths, whose name appears to be Taamrinā. 86 (of cent. vii-viii) is a leaf containing an address of Christ to the Apostles. It may prove to be connected with the narrative described but not yet published by C. Schmidt (Berlin, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1895), of which a fragment has recently been found by Bick in Latin in a Vienna palimpsest (Vienna, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1908).

88 has a small bit of a legend in which Jesus and John occur. One sentence runs as follows: 'But Jesus sat down (?) by the caldron . . . took three girths of wool and drew them through (?) the caldron; and the teacher looked.' This recalls (dimly enough) the miracle of Jesus and the dyer in the Gospel of Thomas.

Of the letters, one group (268-276) is of cent. iv-v; 311, 313, 396 are of similar date.

The Bohairic MSS are mostly of later date. The most important of the New Testament texts have been described and used by Mr Horner, and the few apocryphal fragments by Forbes Robinson.

These notes are designed to draw attention to the points likely to be of special interest to readers of this JOURNAL. It is obvious that the volume contains linguistic and lexical matter of the highest value to Coptic scholars, but of this I am not competent to form an estimate.

M. R. JAMES.

DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.

A History of the Doctrine of the Eucharist. By DARWELL STONE.
2 vols. (Longmans, London, 1909.)

THE author tells us that the present work arose out of his custom of forming lists of passages intended to illustrate the teaching of representative men and periods with a view to lectures on Christian doctrine. Many of the materials thus accumulated have already appeared in the writer's articles on the Eucharist in the *Church Quarterly Review*, and in a briefer form in the volume on *The Holy Communion* in the *Oxford Library of Practical Theology*. In the present work these materials have been supplemented and arranged. The result is a most complete *thesaurus* of passages bearing upon the history of the doctrine of the Eucharist from the period of the New Testament to the present day. The passages are given in English, and the task of translating them must have sorely tested the powers of the writer. If at times his renderings are open to question, the care and labour bestowed upon the task are deserving of all praise. Mr Stone expresses a justifiable dislike of scanty quotations. His own quotations are given at great length, and this fact, while it adds to the completeness of his book, makes it difficult to read, and does

not allow sufficient scope for adequate discussion of the passages given. The grouping of the passages, in the earlier part of the work, according to the characteristic conceptions exhibited in them, supplies indeed some valuable guidance, and the summaries at the end of each important section help to gather up their teaching. In the mediaeval and later period, however, there is less attempt to sort and arrange the quotations, and the result is somewhat bewildering to the ordinary reader. The desire of the writer to let his authorities speak for themselves stands rather in the way of his task as a historian. As a collection of materials for a history of the doctrine of the Eucharist the present work is invaluable. But it can scarcely be called a history in the fullest sense of the word. The writer frequently does not come to sufficiently close quarters with the evidence which he handles; the sifting and critical analysis of the materials needs to be carried much further; lastly, a fuller comparison and criticism of the conceptions of different writers and periods seems needed before a judgement can be formed upon the worth and importance of the developments exhibited in the course of the history of the doctrine.

In his treatment of the accounts of the Institution in the synoptic gospels Mr Stone leaves on one side many of the important critical questions which have been raised with regard to them and their relation to the account given by St Paul in 1 Corinthians. He maintains the literal interpretation of the words 'This is My Body', 'This is My Blood', and the sacrificial sense of the words *ποιεῖν* and *ἀνάμνησις*. But neither here nor in his discussion of the prayers in the *Didache* and the language of Ignatius does he add much to previous discussions. Of more importance and value is his presentation of the divergent types of eucharistic doctrine current in the ante-Nicene Church. He illustrates at great length the use of the terms 'figure' and 'symbol' applied to the elements by many writers, and shews with what qualifications this language must be accepted as expressing their real view. In parts of the teaching of Clement of Alexandria and Origen he admits that there are 'affinities with the later opinions of some mystics and even of the Quakers' (i 54). The two types of eucharistic teaching exhibited in Augustine and Ambrose, and their influence on later Western teaching, are clearly shewn, and the treatment of Ratramn and Berengar is marked by judgement and reserve. Side by side with this developement of doctrine on the subject of the eucharistic gift, the sacrificial conceptions associated with the Eucharist are indicated, though perhaps hardly with the same analytical treatment.

Mr Stone writes sympathetically of the teaching of the schoolmen, to whose contributions to the doctrine of the Eucharist justice has not always been done by modern writers. He indicates the reserve

exhibited in the language of the decree of the Lateran Council of 1215, in that while the word *transubstantiare* is used 'there is no explicit definition as to the change of substance or as to the retention of the accidents' (i 313). There is something more to be said for a less rigorous interpretation of this decree than has commonly been allowed, though it must be admitted that the stricter interpretation of *transubstantiare* became current from the thirteenth century onwards, and any other view was sternly repressed.

A history of the *cultus* which gathered around the Sacrament of the Eucharist in the Middle Ages has still to be written (a beginning has been made in Dr F. Pijper's *Middeleeuwsch Christendom: de vereering der H. hostie; de gods-ordeelen*. Leyden, 1907). Its records are contained not so much in the works of schoolmen as in the hymns, popular manuals of instruction and devotion, local histories, popular stories of miracles, and contemporary general literature. It is this influence of popular religion, alike in the patristic and mediaeval period which needs to be dealt with before the history of the doctrine of the Eucharist can be adequately written. In this respect Mr Stone's treatment leaves something to be desired.

In his summary of mediaeval doctrine Mr Stone expresses his strong dissent from the view that 'the Eucharistic doctrine of the mediaeval Western Church was wholly or mainly mechanical and carnal' (i 397). He has a right to protest against much of the language that is commonly used upon the subject. But his own view of the matter is too favourable, and here again he scarcely allows sufficient weight to the influence of popular conceptions and practices on a period when religion was one of the most living interests of Western Europe. In some cases, as in his treatment of the statement drawn up by Cardinal Humbert in 1059, and of the language used by Lanfranc, he seems to minimize or tone down the crudity of the expressions used. Elsewhere he fails to take into account features of mediaeval practice which tend to diminish our respect for mediaeval religion. Such are the growth of the abuses arising from the chantry system, the popular conception of the application of the benefits of Masses apart from the moral condition of the worshipper, and the exaggerated language used with regard to the benefits of hearing Mass apart from Communion (see e.g. the *Lay Folk's Mass Book* 596f 'We pray this Messe us stand in stede of shrift and als of housel brede', cf. Lydgate *Merita Missae* 123f). The work of the schoolmen in formulating a doctrine of the Eucharist was hampered by the fact that they inherited from the later patristic period and the early middle ages a system of belief and practice in which the cruder elements of popular religion had largely obtruded themselves.

Mr Stone's second volume begins with the period of the Reformation, and carries down the history to the present time, including some notice of the treatment of the doctrine of the Eucharist by Modernist writers. In arrangement and method the second volume is inferior to the former, but it is a mine of information upon the later period.

Mr Stone's book will be indispensable to future students of the subject, and it is to be hoped that it may stimulate some competent scholar to utilize, and supplement from less direct sources, the materials which it contains, with a view to the production of a critical and constructive history of the doctrine with which it deals.

J. H. SRAWLEY.

PROFESSOR F. J. HALL has issued two more volumes of his 'Dogmatic Theology' (Longmans, Green & Co., 1908, 1909). The title of volume II is *Authority Ecclesiastical and Biblical*. The principle from which Dr Hall works is that ecclesiastical as well as biblical authority is derivative from Christ, divinely guaranteed, and therefore infallible within its appointed range. The Church defines her dogmas through the episcopate, which in practice has meant through councils; but the decrees of councils are valid only in so far as the whole Church comes to accept them. Dr Hall seems to be unaware of the serious difficulties of this position. He tells us, for instance, that as there is a presumption that general councils will be guided by the Holy Spirit their decisions must not be rejected on mere private judgement, or till it becomes clear that the Church herself does not accept them. But how is the Church to accept or reject them save through the exercise of the private judgement of the individuals who compose the Church? Dr Hall seems to try to abstract the Church in an impossible way from its individual members, and so to demand the subjection of the individual's judgement to that of the Church, though elsewhere he implicitly asserts the necessity for dogmas agreed upon by bishops or councils to be ratified by the agreement of the Church, which must in this instance represent the opinions of the aggregate or the majority of the individuals composing the Church. The view which Dr Hall accepts, that a council is not to be held as ecumenical till its decisions are generally received, evacuates the principle of a living infallible voice of any use for practical religion. And one would like to ask whether he would say that the statement of the union of the two natures in Christ's Person, drawn up at Chalcedon and accepted afterwards, is incapable of revision now, when it is well known that many of our ablest theologians feel more and more the difficulty of that definition. Can the ecumenical Council of Chalcedon cease to be ecumenical now? If not, then indeed are we most stringently tied down to the heritage of the methods

of thought of the past. I am inclined too to think that Dr Hall over-estimates the value of 'docility' in the believer. He has some wise remarks on Biblical authority: while strongly asserting Christ's infallibility, he does not think that He intended to pronounce on questions of literary and scientific criticism.

Dr Hall's third volume is entitled *The Being and Attributes of God*, and much learning and knowledge of metaphysics is displayed in it. He brings out clearly the difference between demonstrative and moral certainty, and refuses to be terrified into surrendering the cosmological, teleological, and ontological arguments. No argument for the existence of God has escaped his notice, and any one who reads his book must feel that Christian theists have no cause to be ashamed of the intellectual case they can present.

PROFESSOR W. N. CLARKE has written on the same subject (*The Christian Doctrine of God*, T. & T. Clark, 1909, International Theological Library), but his book differs widely from Dr Hall's. Dr Hall's book bristles with foot-notes: not one is to be found in Dr Clarke's volume. The metaphysical and speculative interest which is patent in Dr Hall finds no echo here. Dr Clarke's object is to set forth 'The Christian Doctrine of God', and this he does in four parts, treating of 'God', 'God and Man', 'God and the Universe', and the 'Evidence'. There is a Ritschlian ring about much that he says, and his doctrine of the Trinity would hardly pass as orthodox; indeed it is as nearly Sabellian as a Trinitarian doctrine well can be to-day. Jesus is too much the first Christian in his pages, the supreme Example rather than the object of faith. But whenever Dr Clarke touches moral reality he is excellent. In his treatment of God's love and holiness, which, as he shews, are not incompatible with one another, he points out how holiness must react against sin, and must have a place for the element of retribution. It is satisfactory also to find one who insists as strongly as Dr Clarke does on the fatherhood of God, insisting that a God who is called Father has exigent claims on His children, and is not a mere easy-going, indulgent deity, and that it is right and necessary to think of the holy wrath of God against sin. His discussion of the possibility of miracles under the head of 'Providence' is illuminating, even though he does not state his own final opinion: he does well, I think, to urge that a miracle must be thought of as a 'direct act of God outside the course of nature', if the essence of miracle is to be preserved. While I cannot regard his Christology as satisfactory, yet he is right in his argument that the Church inferred the divinity of the Saviour from the divineness of the Salvation, and that this method, the experimental one, is right in order. No less penetrating are his remarks on 'Transcendence' and

'Immanence' ; while making much of the latter idea he shews that the former is original and greater, that 'the transcendence gives the immanence its meaning and its reality too'. His discussion of the divine foreknowledge, or, as he would prefer to say, the divine knowledge in its relation to human free-will, is as satisfactory as any religious discussion of the matter with which I am acquainted. The end of the book—on the question whether the Christian doctrine is true—is perhaps not quite so good as the earlier parts, but Dr Clarke says much that is well worth saying, and, as always, says it very well. He ranges over the evidence from the Rational and from the Spiritual, and meets objections springing from the apparent impersonality of the world, from suffering, and from sin. The whole book is worthy of Dr Clarke's great reputation.

DR G. C. FOLEY'S Bohlen Lectures on *Anselm's Theory of the Atonement* are now published (Longmans, Green & Co., 1909). Dr Foley writes from the modern standpoint which abhors all juridical ideas and substitutes the Incarnation for the Atonement as the centre of gravity in Christian doctrine. Dr Foley traces the doctrine of Atonement through the Fathers up to Anselm and beyond, in the scholastic of the Reformation divines. Certainly there is much that is quite inadequate in Anselm: the idea of disrespect done to God's private honour by sin, though natural at the time, rightly does not content us, nor do conceptions of quantitative equivalent satisfaction. It is also true that too little stress has been laid on Christ's active obedience, and not sufficient value attached to the fact that God's love was the motive cause of His redeeming action. But Dr Foley is carried very much too far in his reaction from juridical categories ; he does his best to eliminate from the Greek Fathers, especially from Athanasius, all idea of 'penalty', his method being to warn us not to read later ideas into the great Greek Fathers. I think that any one who reads what, e. g., Athanasius says, and Dr Foley's efforts to explain his statements away, will come to the conclusion that it is by Dr Foley, and not by the upholders of so-called juridical views, that violence is done to that great thinker. The heart of the case for an objective, and, in some sense, substitutionary, Atonement is to be looked for not in legal categories but in the demands of the moral sense with its burden of guilt. As Dr Forsyth, among others, has shewn, the blood of Christ signifies the complete surrender of His will, the will which is man's 'ownest own', in obedience even unto death. Doubtless there have been tendencies to hypostatize such qualities in God as justice and mercy, and oppose them to one another : but it is still true that the merciful God is also the just and holy God, who, even while forgiving the sinner, must settle accounts with sin, which He did

once for all in the Cross of Christ. What we particularly need at present is a work which, while definitely discarding conceptions which are not central for the truth of the Atonement, yet conserves the original objectivity of Christ's work, a work objective in reference both to God and man. Dr Foley has written an interesting book and supplied a long *catena* of authorities who, in some degree or other, have broken away from Anselm's theory : but there is real danger lest along his lines the heart of the Atonement, and no mere incidental theory, should be sacrificed.

J. K. MOZLEY.

It is late in the day to review any of the works of Dr Maclear, however well he served his own generation ; and though his *Introduction to the Articles of the Church of England* was one of his latest (it was first published in 1895, a year before Dr Gibson's edition), its merits are doubtless well known, and it has, I believe, been extensively used by candidates for ordination. My concern is only with the 'revised edition' just published (Macmillan & Co., 1909), for which Mr Watkin W. Williams is responsible. Without the waste of much time in collating the second with this, the third, edition of the book, I could not say how far the term 'revised edition' is justified ; but I am constrained to say that, if a fresh revision was to be undertaken at all, it ought to have been carried through much more thoroughly than it has been. The book retains, of course, whatever of permanent value it had at first ; and many of the references to old books might, equally of course, as well stand to-day as fifteen years ago ; but it retains also far too many statements which would have been corrected by any one who had taken the pains to refer to more recent authorities on special subjects, and it is not in the interests of sound learning among the clergy of the Church of England—never a greater *desideratum* than it is at the present day—that a book on the Articles should be offered them in 1909 which is so far from being 'up to date'. Nor can I find in the book much fulfilment of the promise, which Mr Williams makes in his Preface, to treat the subject from the point of view of 'a philosophy which is no narrower than life' (though I must confess that I am not sure what that means). The candidate for Holy Orders who finds his conscience sorely burdened by the apparent contrast between some of the statements in the Articles, to which he is required to assent, and the best teaching of scholars and divines to-day, will not, it seems to me, derive much help or comfort from this new edition.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

THE BIBLE FOR ENGLISH READERS.

SEPARATE parts of *The Modern Reader's Bible*, edited by Prof. R. G. Moulton of Chicago, have been issued to the public at intervals during the last twelve years. It is now published (Macmillan & Co., 1907) in a single volume, the various books arranged in the order in which, in the editor's judgement, they may best be 'felt to draw together with a connectedness like the unity of a dramatic plot'. Anything which tends to promote the more intelligent study of the Bible as a whole, as a great literature in itself, apart from all vexed questions connected with it, must be heartily welcomed, and there can be no doubt that Dr Moulton's arrangement of the books and his literary introductions and notes will be found most useful by 'the general reader' for this purpose. More serious and painstaking, if less 'literary', students will welcome no less warmly *A Commentary on the Holy Bible* by various writers, edited by the Rev. J. R. Dummelow, complete in one volume (Macmillan & Co., 1909). Mr Dummelow has enlisted the help of forty-two contributors, many of them scholars of wide reputation, whose aim has been to incorporate 'the most assured results of modern scholarship, whilst avoiding opinions of an extreme or precarious kind'. There are excellent short introductions to all the canonical books, with concise commentaries on them chapter by chapter, and general articles which deal with such topics as the Creation story and Science, Genesis and the Babylonian inscriptions, the history, literature, and religious development of the Jews in the period between the Testaments, the synoptic problem, the Person of Jesus Christ, Miracle, the Resurrection, Inspiration, and Bible antiquities. The phrase 'the most assured results of modern scholarship' is itself significant; and many would give it a wider interpretation than most of the writers in this volume would allow, at least on some of these subjects; but they do avoid opinions of an extreme kind in either direction, so far as I have been able to test the articles and commentaries, while giving an extraordinary amount of information and guidance to progressive study in a short space. The fact that the book is, at least as regards the New Testament, predominantly conservative, and representative of what is commonly called a 'sane and reverent criticism', fits it admirably for the use of readers who would be misled rather than helped by a less cautious treatment of traditional views.

The Prayer Book Psalter, by J. G. Carleton, D.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1909), is designed to meet the needs of Church people

who wish to be able to 'sing with the understanding'. The Psalms are printed from the Prayer Book version with headings summarizing the contents, historical situation, and mystical interpretation of them, and side by side in parallel columns with the text explanatory notes and corrections. There is also an excellent short introduction to the study of the Psalter as a whole, and a useful table of proper and special psalms for various occasions, in compiling which the American and the Irish as well as the English Prayer Book have been utilized. The book fulfils its purpose admirably: it is on a larger scale than Mr G. H. S. Walpole's *The People's Psalter*, and goes somewhat beyond it in its aims, and a large circulation is to be wished for the later work without any diminution of the popularity of its excellent predecessor, to which rather strangely Dr Carleton makes no reference.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND.

A History of the Church of England. By M. W. PATTERSON.
(London, Longmans, 1909.)

MR PATTERSON has undertaken a very useful work in writing a compact history of our Church on such a scale as to be of use to theological students, and has performed the first half of his task with remarkable success. For the period up to and including the reign of Elizabeth the work is admirable, especially on the constitutional side. Yet it is a pity that an author interested in the way in which institutions work should have little or nothing to say of archdeacons and rural deans, and that in some cases the abuse rather than the normal working of the mediaeval machinery should have been illustrated. Perhaps Mr Patterson is a little disposed to be severe towards the regular clergy; in regard to the Friars he does not point out the difficulty which excuses, so far as it is excusable, their unhappy zeal for the collection of money, that though they were unendowed they had incurred the cost of maintaining magnificent churches and services. It is inexact to say that most of the Cistercian houses were in the north of England, nor were they the only regulars who exploited the wool trade. Dunstable was not a Cistercian monastery, yet the reader of its annals becomes very familiar with wool grown in the Peak and sold in Bedfordshire. However, the Cistercian lay-brothers (a class which, as Mr Patterson might have told us, was particularly numerous in that Order) no doubt found useful employment in grubbing Yorkshire copses and so extending the acreage of their sheepwalks. As to the decline of the monasteries, for the credit of our ancestors Mr Patterson should have pointed out that

it was accompanied by a steadily increasing interest in the parish churches; a reflexion upon the monastic system almost as emphatic as was its ultimate suppression. But, as we have said, this part of the work is admirable, and excels that of the author's obvious rival, Mr Wakeman, who died a little too early to profit by recent advances in knowledge. In regard to the Reformation period as much may be said, and the fact that Mr Patterson's sympathies are not with Mr Wakeman's school of thought, will make his book in some cases a welcome substitute for, in some a useful complement to, the other.

Unfortunately from the time of Charles I onwards we find an increasing slightness of treatment which ends in the abandonment of the historian's task towards the end of the period. The account, for instance, of what happened under the Commonwealth is so brief as to be seriously misleading. If Mr Patterson had remembered such a case as that of Fuller of the *Worthies* he would have written very differently. And when we come to the eighteenth century we can only speak with regret of a lost opportunity. To mention only one or two points, the great scholars in sacred literature are altogether omitted; yet they are a symptom which must check the too prevalent tendency to depreciate the religion of that age. Mr Patterson has not risen superior to that tendency, and makes no attempt to trace the sequence of thought in a period which is important in proportion to its nearness to ourselves. Nor does he do it justice. He does not state the difficulties which rendered it practically impossible for the authorities of the Church to work with the Methodists, nor does he explain what 'enthusiasm' meant in that day, though the evidence is abundant and illustrations might be given from so recent a writer as Sir Walter Scott. In regard to the very important Calvinist controversy he merely says that for want of space it is impossible for him to touch upon the quarrel between Wesley and Whitefield. Yet that quarrel probably had as much to do with the separation of the Arminians from the Church as the coldness of some of the bishops; and in any case history, like sculpture, is a matter of proportion, and the plea of compulsory silence is a confession of failure. In regard to another immemorial reproach, the denial of the episcopate to America, he should have told us that the dread of prelacy was one of the motives for rebellion, and that archbishops in confidential communication with ministers must have felt it impossible to grant a favour to a minority which would have irritated the majority. It would have been worth while also to give the date when the Roman communion in that country first received bishops. Nor do we learn anything about the Unitarian movement which had grave consequences within the Church as well as among Dissenters; and to turn to the constitutional matters in which

Mr Patterson, in the earlier periods, is seen at his best, we are not told of the actual working of Queen Anne's Bounty, while the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Commission and the measures which accompanied it are not even mentioned. It will be easy for Mr Patterson in a second edition to supply these defects. Till they are supplied, his work cannot fulfil the function of a practical textbook for which it has been designed, and which it is, in spirit and learning, well fitted to perform. We must hope that before long he will be able to turn his promising venture into what it may easily become, the best manual of the history of our Church.

E. W. WATSON.

L'Angleterre chrétienne avant les Normands, par DOM FERNAND CABROL
(Librairie Victor Lecoffre, Paris, 1909).

THIS book forms part of the excellent 'Bibliothèque de l'enseignement de l'histoire ecclésiastique'; but it cannot be said to attain the generally high level of that collection. It consists of little more than a series of rather fragmentary biographies of Anglo-Saxon churchmen. Its best features are first, the bibliography, which is fairly complete, though it has some serious omissions, of which Dr Liebermann's *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* is the most strange; and secondly, the appendix on the Anglo-Saxon Liturgy: the greater part of this—e.g. the whole of pp. 291–310—is, however, merely reprinted from the article 'Grande Bretagne', in Dom Cabrol's own *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*. In the body of the work there are a number of serious mistakes in political history and geography, of which a few instances must suffice. On p. 97 the kingdom of Northumbria is described as consisting 'à peu près' of the present county of Yorkshire; yet on p. 101 we find Peterborough situated in it; later on, however, that town is back in Mercia. In p. 104 Oswy appears as the son of Oswald. On p. 127 the 'privileges' of Pope Agatho to the Abbey of Peterborough are accepted practically without question: yet the document has been shewn to be spurious by Haddan and Stubbs. Nor is there any historical authority for the foundation of Westminster by Ethelbert. Of some portions of the book I must confess I can make nothing. On pp. 76 and 77 'Pusey et les Anglicains' would appear to be advocates of the restoration of Pelagianism; and on p. 280 we learn, in connexion with William the Conqueror's claim to the English crown, that 'Aucun roi ne se considérait comme tout-à-fait légitime, s'il n'avait reçu l'approbation de Rome'. Dom Cabrol's complete detachment from the realities of his own age may be gathered from the introduction to and the conclusion of his book. The following sentence comments on itself: 'Il' (the

supposed 'religious anarchy' of modern England) 'est une des causes les plus redoutables des progrès du scepticisme dans toutes les classes de la société anglaise, et peut-être, dans l'avenir, aura-t-il pour conséquence de porter gravement atteinte à l'unité nationale de l'Angleterre.'

G. BASKERVILLE.

CHRONICLE

OLD TESTAMENT.

La Religion des Primitifs. By Mgr A. LE ROY. (Beauchesne, Paris, 1909.)

THIS, the first of a series of studies on the History of Religions, is by one whose long residence in Southern Central Africa gives him every right to describe the religion and custom of the natives. It will be especially welcomed by students of comparative religion and of anthropology, to whom the publication of trustworthy material is more important than the framing of hypotheses. Herein lies the chief value of a work which is at the same time a sturdy piece of apologetics. Faced by the fact that the lowest and highest religions share numerous features, the serious theologian cannot ignore the necessity of an unprejudiced comparison of the relation in which his own religion stands to others. Mgr le Roy not only knows the Bantus, and appreciates them; he also knows the works of those who are building up modern comparative research, and to these he is perhaps less sympathetic. Like most travellers who have worked afield, he is a little ready to be disdainful to those who stay at home and criticize them, and he is haunted, rather unreasonably, with the feeling that the tendency of some exponents of comparative religion is not passively neutral, but actively anti-Christian. The book will be read with profit and with pleasure, and though he tilts courteously enough at some of the anthropologists, the more careful reader will perceive that the point at issue often arises from the ambiguity of terminology to which the science of comparative religion is compelled. An interesting specimen of the cross-purposes of the author and his opponents—which has already been singled out (and misunderstood) by a leading Roman Catholic journal—is perhaps worth noticing. The traveller who has read about comparative religion sees the tree in the African village with its offerings and libations, and makes a note in his pocket-book ‘dendrolâtrie, religion des Noirs de tel village’. M. le Roy at once proceeds to disabuse his mind. This innocent shrub was planted when the village was founded, a sacrifice was offered, and the ashes of dead ancestors were mingled with the soil. ‘Et voilà pourquoi cet arbuste est sacré, voilà pourquoi on lui rend un culte, voilà pourquoi ces gens, à qui ne les regarde qu’à la surface, paraissent “dendrolâtres”’ (p. 266 sq.). The difference is between the worship of an actual tree and a form of

cult where the tree (as one knows from other instances) is intimately associated with the life and well-being of the village. Call it tree-cult and M. le Roy should be satisfied : it is certainly not so innocent as he appears to believe. There is no less ambiguity attaching to sacred stones, relics, and images ; no less intelligible is the conflict of opinion regarding their place in the official or popular religion. Against 'des théories philosophiques et des affirmations aprioristiques' the author maintains his conviction of an original divine revelation, which, like one explanation of the presence of closely related myths all the world over, favours the assumption of a common human possession from the dawn of the human race and its dispersion (pp. 487-491). One may suppose that the great antiquity of the human race and the relative brevity of the period known to history makes premature any theory of the course of religious development, and so far as concerns the interpretation of the present accessible evidence it will be prudent to distinguish between the facts which Mgr Le Roy has so carefully presented and the particular conclusions which he draws from them in his synthesis. It is interesting to observe, in this connexion, that over some important aspects of comparative religion he differs from Abbé Bros of Meaux who has also inaugurated a series of equally popular monographs relating to the history of religions.

Old Testament Theology and Modern Ideas. By R. B. GIRDLESTONE, M.A. *Comparative Religion.* By W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL, D.D. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1909.)

THE two books belong to the Anglican Church Handbooks, edited by the Rev. Griffith Thomas. Canon Girdlestone furnishes a brief and elementary survey of the teaching of the Old Testament. Its sincerity and earnestness will commend it to many devout minds, though it is hardly a useful guide to any modern ambitious student. The book is quite unhampered by any consideration of the internal biblical problems or of the ancient ideas current when the Old Testament was written, and gives an unreal impression of Israelite history. Dr Tisdall's handbook is an estimate of Christianity in the light of comparative religion. It is always difficult to hold the balance fairly between the one extreme which isolates Christianity from all other religions, and the other which tends to confuse it with them, and to some readers it will appear that the book, regarded as a piece of apologetics, takes up positions which lay it open to attack. It does not strike one so forcibly as F. B. Jevons's *Introduction to the Study of Comparative Religion* (expressly intended for Christian missionaries in foreign fields), and it has not the grasp of J. A. MacCulloch's *Comparative Theology*. Though brief, the argu-

ments are clearly stated and lead to the conclusion that in Christianity 'the truths that lie half-buried and wholly deformed in the ethnic religions are . . . without the errors which elsewhere render them potent for evil' (p. vii).

Israel's Hope of Immortality. By the Rev. C. F. BURNEY, M.A., D.Litt. (Clarendon Press, 1909.)

DR BURNEY here issues to a wider public four lectures written for the Vacation Term for Biblical Study for Women held at Durham in 1906, and published in *The Interpreter*, 1907. He deals with the ideas of Sheol and the future life, the early rudiments of a doctrine of immortality, the development of religious individualism and man's relationship to God, the problem of suffering, &c., and covers the apocalyptic as well as the biblical literature. The subject is handled popularly but in scholarly manner; on theological rather than on historical and comparative lines. In the circumstances a somewhat narrow treatment was inevitable, and a more detailed study of the problems would be welcome. If, indeed, the belief in immortality fills 'a more prominent place in the hearts and hopes of uncivilized than of civilized men' (Jevons), and if the Babylonian evidence suggests that a belief in the resurrection of the body goes back to 2000 B.C. (Lagrange), there are features in Israelite religion which provoke a fuller enquiry than Dr Burney's space has allowed. This popular study will serve as a useful introduction to the more critical and elaborate monograph by Dr Paul Torge (*Seelenglaube und Unsterblichkeitshoffnung im alten Testament*).

La Lutte de Yahvé avec Jacob et avec Moïse. By M. A. J. REINACH. (Geuthner, Paris, 1908.)

THIS is a reprint from the *Revue des Études ethnographiques et sociologiques* (June-July 1908), and consists of a study, in the light of comparative custom and religion, of the wrestling of Jacob with the divine being who fears the dawn and hesitates to reveal his name, and of the remarkable interview between Moses and Yahweh which culminates in the rite of circumcision. His learned investigation of the circles of ideas associated with the narratives is extremely suggestive, and appeals more particularly to those who sympathize with endeavours to understand that background of thought upon which the religion of Israel was placed. It is one of the several recent efforts to reconsider the 'primitive' traits in the Old Testament and their significance for the development of ancient religion; and the value of all these lies not so much in the particular hypotheses which are put forth as in the preparation for the advance from the literary-critical hypotheses to their

application to biblical religion and history. M. Reinach's essay is replete with much interesting evidence, and his data are generally convincing. Although he reaches a conclusion regarding the origin of circumcision which strikes me (at least) as being only a possible theory, one must acknowledge one's indebtedness to a thoughtful study, which, if it emphasizes ever more forcibly the gap between biblical and popular Palestinian thought, is nevertheless quite in accordance with the results of external research in other directions.

Modern Research as illustrating the Bible. By the Rev. S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Litt.D., Fellow of the British Academy. (Oxford University Press, 1909.)

THE book contains the three lectures delivered under the Schweich Trust which is administered by the British Academy for the furtherance of research in ancient civilization with reference to biblical study. In inaugurating the first series of 'The Schweich Lectures' Dr Driver begins with some account of the progress made during the last century in the principal branches of biblical research—archaeology, art, history, language, and literature—summarizing briefly the new knowledge gained partly from the discovery of inscriptions or in the course of excavation, and partly from the equally important employment of scientific methods of treating the material. His rapid survey is sufficient to shew how extensive the field of modern critical biblical study has become, and how needful is a preliminary training on the part of those who enter the field; and as he enumerates the more prominent landmarks in the course of the last century, it is impossible not to realize how very recent the most imposing and valuable discoveries really are. In these lectures Dr Driver describes ancient Palestine as we now know it, the excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Gezer being specially laid under contribution. It is the first English publication of its kind; for although there is little that is quite new, the wealth of information in the book has hitherto been scattered in numerous reports, periodicals, and technical volumes. It is obvious that with the advance of knowledge there is the greater need for more thorough equipment on the part of those who utilize the evidence of a branch of research outside their own, and confusion has sometimes been caused in the past when trained archaeologists have ventured upon fields with which they were less perfectly acquainted. Dr Driver, for his part, acknowledges his entire dependence upon the work of archaeologists, but he has throughout used his own sound judgement, with the result that he consistently avoids purely hypothetical views or attractive combinations of evidence which mean far more

than the archaeological material really allows. Archaeology, as he shews, has made the Hebrew an Oriental people severed from their neighbours especially in religion ; but the latter was built upon the same material foundation as those of other Oriental peoples, yet it succeeded in rising immeasurably above them (p. 90). To obscure or deny this relationship, which is sometimes embarrassingly close, is to kick against the facts ; to ignore the vital differences is contrary to scholarly enquiry. This book adds to the many debts which English students of the Old Testament owe to Dr Driver ; it is noteworthy as much for its accumulation of solid evidence and wealth of illustrations as for its moderate price, and it will be valued for its clear and accurate statement of archaeological results as also for its recognition of the present limitations of purely archaeological study.

Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testamente. Edited by
Dr HUGO GRESSMANN. (Mohr, Tübingen, 1909.)

DR GRESSMANN, who has already done good service in Old Testament religion and archaeology, is to be congratulated upon this work, which may be cordially recommended to readers of German. The first volume contains an excellent selection of non-biblical texts which in one way or another bear upon the Old Testament. For the Old Testament is only a fragment of the ancient literature of Palestine, and it behoves the serious student to acquire some knowledge of the contemporary literature of the surrounding lands. Thus we have first a large series of Babylonian and Assyrian texts translated by Dr Ungnad. Here are myths and epics, hymns, psalms, and other religious literature (i 1-101); various historical texts relating mainly to Palestine and Syria ; the whole of the famous code of laws promulgated by Khammurabi, and a few supplementary records of a legal character (pp. 134-171). The same scholar also provides translations of a few non-cuneiform inscriptions, e. g. the Moabite stone, Phoenician sacrificial tablets, two of the Elephantine papyri, &c. Dr Hermann Ranke is responsible for the Egyptological department, which includes specimens of prophecy, proverbs, romance, and a good selection of historical texts (pp. 180-253). In the second volume Dr Gressmann himself has collected 274 illustrations, each with a brief description and with any necessary references to the preceding volume. They are taken from monuments, inscriptions, seals, gems, the results of excavation, &c., and although many have hitherto been scattered about in standard works, a few are published for the first time. The great majority of them are of religious interest (places, objects, and forms of cult ; deities and their symbols ; demons, amulets, myths, &c.), but there is a very good collection of

ethnic types, representations of historical events in Palestine, and of the heroes of history (e. g. Ramses II, Sennacherib).

This work is naturally fuller than the Rev. C. J. Ball's *Light from the East* (1899), which is still the best book for English readers, and it is so thorough that it is unreasonable to lament the few lacunae which strike one here and there. Nevertheless, one must regret the scanty treatment of the material for the reigns of Asurbanipal (p. 124) and Ramses II (p. 248). It is a great gain to have in such handy compass a miniature library of the external evidence bearing upon the Old Testament, and it is safe to say that few who turn over these pages will have realized previously the wonderful advance, in less than a generation, of our knowledge of Bible-lands. Every care has been taken to make the work objective and trustworthy. It supplies the 'raw material' for the intelligent reader to draw his own conclusions, and it appeals to all who take 'an historical interest in the Old Testament, and in the relationship between Israelite religion and literature and the mental life of the Ancient East' (p. v).

Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought. By W. G. JORDAN, B.A., D.D. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1909.)

THIS work, by the Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, is written for ministers and intelligent laymen who may not have realized the place of the Old Testament in the life of to-day. It is devoted partly to a general review of the modern outlook of its problems and partly to an explanation of the manner in which it may be expounded by modern critical theologians. The book will reassure those who had perhaps been inclined to lend too ready an ear to various recent apologetic and conservative writers, and its energetic and virile criticism of those who, however well meaning and sincere, mislead their readers, is not too strong. As Dr Jordan points out, it is open for other scholars to propose an alternative position to that of the great majority of Old Testament critics, but this has not yet been done. Elsewhere the present writer has had occasion to comment upon the different features of this book (*Rev. of Theol. and Philos.*, August 1909), and to his remarks he would only add a word on the useful bibliographical information in the appended notes, which include matter quite as important as that in the text itself.

Outlines of Introduction to the Hebrew Bible. By A. S. GEDEN, M.A., D.D., Tutor in Hebrew and Biblical Literature at the Wesleyan College, Richmond. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1909.)

AN adequate treatment of this subject has long been needed, and Dr Geden's book will prove useful to students and teachers alike. It

deals with the language, text, and canon of the Old Testament (pp. 1-152), the principal versions (pp. 153-253), and concludes with a lengthy chapter on the Pentateuch and its literary criticism (pp. 254-354). There are fourteen illustrations of interesting MSS and printed editions, and indexes of the subject-matter and of biblical passages elucidated or explained. Much care has evidently been taken in the preparation of the book, and although it makes no pretence to be complete or exhaustive, it is likely to be of value for some time to come. Dr Geden does not appear to be acquainted with the useful *History of the Text of the Old Testament* by T. H. Weir, or the valuable article 'Text and Versions' in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* by F. C. Burkitt, and I miss references to B. Pick's studies (*Hebraica*, viii sq.) supplementary to the remarks on the vowel-points and printed editions. There is an absence of clearness in Dr Geden's remarks on Aramaic, which is said to be 'at least as old' as Hebrew (p. 3); he confuses its script with old Hebrew (p. 42), and instead of the reference to Euting's collection of Nabataean inscriptions (p. 19) the reader should have been directed to the great Corpus of Semitic inscriptions which the French Academy are publishing. There is more serious incompleteness in the account of the 'Nash papyrus', which is *not* 'in a private library' (p. 57), but in that of the University of Cambridge; the author reproduces the first prepared photograph, and not the later successful facsimile, and he ignores subsequent discussions, in particular the monograph of Norbert Peters.¹ One would like to have the authority for the Punic translation of parts of the Bible (p. 23); and, in the rather unequal treatment of the versions, more space should surely have been devoted to Lucian's recension (p. 204) and the important problems of 1 Esdras (p. 181 sq.). Instead of a much needed chapter on textual criticism, Dr Geden provides a disproportionately long excursus on the Pentateuch where he differs chiefly from the standpoint of current criticism in contending that Deuteronomy, though found in Josiah's reign, really dates from the time of David or Solomon (p. 330 sq.), and that the Yahwist and Elohist sources should be dated nearer the Mosaic age (p. 342). This astonishing effort to reconcile criticism and tradition is followed by the very proper insistence upon the necessity of sympathy with Oriental modes of thought (p. 352), but the author has quite ignored the fact that the increasing knowledge of ancient Palestine not only supports the late origin of the sources of the Pentateuch, but has tended to be distinctly more detrimental to the traditional position. This last chapter hardly answers to the needs of

¹ Moreover he proposes to read 'the deep' for 'the sea' in Ex. xx. 11, and retains my הַחֹמָה (v. 17), whereas the photographs now shew that הַחֹמָה (originally recognized by Prof. Burkitt) is correct. See my statement in *P.S.B.A.*, 1903, p. 43.

modern students and might well have been more in accordance with modern research.

An Independent Examination of the Assuan and Elephantine Aramaic Papyri. By L. BELLELI, Dr. Phil. (Florence). (Luzac, London, 1909.)

THIS book is an attempt to prove that the famous papyri of the Jews of the fifth century B. C. in Elephantine are impudent and worthless forgeries. Dr Belleli does not state his view for the first time; it has been the cause of unpleasant controversy and recrimination which the tone of this book will not allay. The author gives some very good reproductions of the Aramaic texts, and has many elaborate chronological tables, which, in his opinion, disprove the authenticity of the dated papyri. That the chronological questions are difficult and confusing nobody will deny; and an interesting story cited on p. 81 shews that the problems of the calendar caused no less hot discussions even among the Rabbis of the second century of this era. The presence of problems does not prove forgery, and no weight can be laid upon the author's objections based upon the occurrence of Persian words (p. 99 sq.), of Hebrew and non-Aramaic terms (p. 133), or upon the various palaeographical features (pp. 100, 110, 113), and the difficulties of translation or interpretation (pp. 119, 135). On his own theory we have to recognize a very profound plot organized by one who possesses, not merely 'a certain amount of Semitic learning' (p. 136), but the best equipped mind of the day—some one who has followed the work of the decipherers, manufactured papyri, partly in support of their views (pp. 107, 122), and has introduced evidence which it has taken the best Babylonian, Persian, and Hebrew scholarship to explain. With these clues the author should have no difficulty in locating 'the factory of this spurious literature'—if he is on the right track; but his arguments do not prove his ingenious contention, and much stronger evidence must be produced before he can justify an opinion which has not as yet been favourably received by scholars equally unprejudiced and more competent to form an estimate.

Manassewitsch's Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache. New edition by Dr BERNHARD TEMPLER. (Hartleben, Vienna, 1909.)

THIS is an entire remodelling of the older edition. Its best features are the numerous good reading-exercises drawn up in accordance with the desire to make the book suitable for self-taught students. This being the aim, greater care should have been taken to secure accuracy, completeness, and clearness. Thus, the *mappik* point in *he* is often

omitted or inserted incorrectly (pp. 30 sq., 97); the rules for the article, the prefixed prepositions, the Hithpael and the verbal suffixes are incomplete. The student must worry out for himself the vowel-changes in the construct stage, and although six pages of heterogeneous examples, alphabetically arranged, illustrate the intricacies, there are many forms quite unknown in biblical Hebrew. These are serious blemishes in an otherwise handy little book.

STANLEY A. COOK.

NEW TESTAMENT.

THE need of a good lexicon to the New Testament and other early Christian literature has long been felt, and Dr E. PREUSCHEN'S *Vollständiges griechisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur* (A. Töpelmann, Giessen, 1908-), five parts of which (α—ὁμολογία) have already been published, will be warmly welcomed in this country as in his own.

The science of textual criticism may perhaps be simplified for generations of students yet unborn by the new groupings, the new notation of MSS, and the new theories which Prof. VON SODEN and Dr C. R. GREGORY are putting forward (*Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1908); but the immediate result of their enterprise is to add to the complications of the study. Meanwhile we have from Prof. K. Lake a careful description and an acute criticism of von Soden's work, in a pamphlet reprinted from the *Review of Theology and Philosophy* (*Professor H. von Soden's Treatment of the Text of the Gospels*, O. Schulze & Co., Edinburgh, 1908), and a fourth edition of his own handbook (*The Text of the New Testament*, Rivingtons, 1908) with an appendix giving a summary account of the new positions. In the pamphlet in particular he propounds a working hypothesis as an alternative to von Soden's theory, to the effect that in the second and third centuries there existed various local texts of the Gospels and that all the existing Greek MSS represent, not various editions diverging from a common original text on which they were all based, but 'the first attempts to standardize the text, and to produce—what had never previously existed—a recognized universal text of the fourfold Gospel, which should supersede the various local texts'.

A smaller piece of work by Dr C. R. GREGORY, which appeals to a larger circle of readers, is *Das Freer-Logion* (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1908).

As the result of a minute examination of the language and ideas of the 'logion', Dr Gregory comes to the conclusion that it is neither a genuine saying of our Lord, nor an original part of the conclusion of Mark. It was probably inserted in it early in the second century, and its thoroughly Pauline character shews how strongly Pauline conceptions had influenced the Christianity of those early times.

A high place of honour must be given in this Chronicle to the English translation, in three stately volumes, of the third German edition of Dr THEODOR ZAHN'S *Introduction to the New Testament* (T. & T. Clark, 1909), by some half-dozen Fellows of Hartford Theological Seminary under the direction of Professors Jacobus and Thayer. The translation seems to be well done and for the most part reads quite easily, though one occasionally finds such curiously un-English expressions as 'belongs in' and 'presupposes on'. Dr Zahn's conservative position and his attitude to many modern critical theories are well known: he does not hesitate to describe some of the arguments of famous scholars as 'trivial'. In his English preface to this edition he thankfully recognizes the beginnings of a 'trend towards betterment' in the literary criticism of the New Testament and of the 'development of the historical sense among theologians'. Should these tendencies become more clearly marked than they are at present, Dr Zahn's book, with its easy command of the vast literature of the subject, is likely to be still more highly valued in the future as an almost inexhaustible mine of learning and collection of the evidence on which a 'correct judgement' can be formed. However this may be, meanwhile any one who would undertake the arduous task of digesting the contents of these three volumes would be in a far better position to estimate the merits of much modern literature on the New Testament, including, I venture to say, some of the books most recently issued by the cosmopolitan firm of publishers who have done so much to make the best foreign theological works accessible to English readers and have now made the study of Dr Zahn's great book so much easier than it has been hitherto.

As a mouse to a mountain is *The Origin of the New Testament*, by the late Dr W. WREDE (Harper & Brothers, 1909), to Dr Zahn's *Introduction*. The little book was originally composed in the form of popular lectures to an educated lay audience, and the translator, the Rev. J. S. Hill, B.D. (London), fairly describes it as a brief and crisp treatise on its subject from the standpoint of the 'advanced' school. He also says, less fairly, that Dr Wrede 'nowhere dogmatically decides where something like certainty is not obtainable'. On the contrary,

the terse crisp sentences in which the book abounds, and its necessarily summary statements, constantly convey the impression of dogmatic certainty in cases where much qualification, to say the least, is needed. For example: the Apostle John 'cannot possibly be' the author of the Fourth Gospel. I do not suppose he was; but it is unfair to claim 'the whole of the scientifically impartial theological world' on that side, and Mr Hill's preface is likely to mislead the lay readers of the book to whom he commends it in the terms I have quoted. (On p. 61 'Mark' is printed once instead of 'Luke'.)

With books on the Gospels and the synoptic problem it is difficult for a chronicler to keep pace, and I can do little more than mention some which have not already been reviewed in the JOURNAL.

Dr HARNACK'S *Die Sprüche Jesu* was reviewed in this JOURNAL on its publication (vol. viii no. 31 pp. 454 f), and attention was called to the very precarious character of the reconstruction of Q which Dr Harnack suggests. Dom Chapman's article in our last number gives further reasons for distrusting some of his conclusions; but the English translation (by the Rev. J. R. Wilkinson) of a book which is in many respects valuable and suggestive will be generally welcome (*The Sayings of Jesus*, Williams & Norgate, 1908).

The Four Gospels in the earliest Church History, by T. NICOL, D.D. (W. Blackwood & Sons, 1908), is concerned with the external evidence, which the writer describes as the first line of defence in regard to the credibility of the Gospel history. Dr Nicol makes out, I think, as good a case as can be made out on these lines, but they are not the lines on which the question can be decided. And in his presentation of the evidence he maintains some very disputable theses and cannot quite let go others which he seems to admit to be generally regarded as untenable. 'Let it once be shewn', he writes, 'that the Four Gospels are contemporary records and contain a sober and consistent history of the life, teaching, and work of Christ, and many questions now in dispute will be brought nearer to a settlement, if not finally answered.' But the thesis proposed is just what cannot be shewn.

The author's aim in *The Gospels in the light of modern research* (by the Rev. J. R. COHU: J. Parker & Co., Oxford, 1909) is to give 'a practical working knowledge of the present position of the critical enquiry into the Gospel-story, and to record the main results achieved by Biblical scholarship'. Mr. Cohu writes on broad lines with full acceptance of modern methods of study, and he leaves open many of the questions which literary and historical research raises, though

he usually seems to indicate the orthodox answer as at least a natural conclusion of the long chains of evidence and reasoning which he follows. Sometimes when he commits himself to a definite view of the synoptic problem, as, for example, in the statement that 'nineteenths of the original document (Q) apparently consisted entirely of "sayings" or discourses', he forgets some of the excellent principles which he lays down as guides to research in this subject. The last word has certainly not yet been said as to the contents of Q; when it has been said, I doubt whether Mr Cohu will be able to retain the 'almost implicit trust' which he says he places in the 'broad, unbiassed judgement' of Dr Harnack. It is indeed very dangerous, as Mr Cohu really knows, to put any kind of implicit trust in any solution of the problems with which he deals; and we may yet find that Q was as much a Gospel as St Mark is. But the book seems to be so useful as a general presentation of its subject, which any one can follow, that I wish only to commend it warmly to the circle of readers for whom it is designed, without attempting criticisms in detail.

In *St John: apostle, evangelist, and prophet* (James Nisbet & Co., 1909) Dr C. E. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF endeavours to shew 'that the objections alleged against St John as the author of the works traditionally ascribed to him are far from conclusive'. The writer's aim, thus modestly stated, is, I think, fairly achieved, and it is no doubt all that the apologist of to-day can venture to claim—that the case against the authorship of the son of Zebedee is not demonstrated. I cannot, however, feel that Dr Scott-Moncrieff really sets at rest any of the doubts as to the historical character of the Gospel which every student of it has to face. He says that to many, with whom he appears to range himself, the position taken up by Wernle, Jülicher, Schmiedel, and even Harnack 'is all but unintelligible'. In reply it must be said that the first task for an apologist is to learn to understand his opponent's position. I think Dr Scott-Moncrieff fails to do justice to its natural strength and therefore fails to undermine it effectively.

In an earlier work, *St Mark and the triple tradition* (J. Nisbet & Co., 1907), notice of which in the JOURNAL is somewhat belated, Dr SCOTT-MONCRIEFF has collected from various sources the chief statistics as to the relations between the three Synoptic Gospels. He gives us also an excellent analysis of the Christology of the Marcan tradition and of the evidence for the life of St Mark and his connexion with St Peter, and his book is a useful *résumé* of much industrious work. His own special contribution to the matter is the suggestion that different imperfect transcripts of the original Mark were the sources of the triple

tradition as found in the first and third Gospels respectively, and that 'the tendencies manifested are not those of the writers of these Gospels, but of the transcribers whose work they used'. Nothing seems to be gained by this new form of the hypothesis of different editorial *strata* in our St Mark, which steals from St Matthew and St Luke some of their recognized characteristics simply in order to bestow them on two imaginary and unknowable transcribers; and though Dr Scott-Moncrieff brings out clearly some of the secondary elements in Mark as well as in Matthew and Luke, he is often prevented by his theory from assigning them to their true cause. There are also notable inconsistencies in parts of his argument.

Mr F. W. WORSLEY is bolder than Dr Scott-Moncrieff and attacks the subject of the Fourth Gospel (*The Fourth Gospel and the Synoptists*, T. & T. Clark, 1909) with the positive aim of claiming it definitely as St John's and shewing its relation to the other Gospels. In his own words, he writes to prove 'that the author, taking St Mark in the main as the basis of operations, probably because it embodied most succinctly the synoptic tradition, omits all reference to matters satisfactorily detailed by the synoptists, though he makes occasional slight references to these, as though he would say, "for further details see the other accounts"; only repeats incidents already recounted by the others when he wishes to make deliberate corrections, or to supplement the narratives by introducing points, which the writer considers were essential to a proper understanding of the events': and further that 'the main purpose of the author is to lay special stress upon the Lord's self-manifestation to His disciples'. In the first part of this thesis there is not much that is new, though Mr Worsley sets out the points clearly and well; and he draws the inference that only one who was an eyewitness and an apostle could have presumed to set himself such a task or been able to carry it through. But the author of the Fourth Gospel tells us plainly what his purpose was, and many of the hardest sayings in which 'the Lord's self-manifestation' is embodied are represented as uttered publicly and even, as some affirm, provocatively; and it is useless for Mr Worsley (if I adopted his own style, I should have to say 'ridiculous') to 'maintain that there is nothing added in degree to the conception of the Divine Sonship present in the Synoptic account', and worse than useless to say that if the author 'gives us the gist of what was said by Christ in a phraseology of his own . . . the Fourth Gospel has little or no claim to be recognized as historical'. The path to the true understanding, and therefore the true defence, of the Fourth Gospel does not lie this way.

Written also with an eye to the historical study of the Gospels is *The Creed in the Epistles*, by WILFRID RICHMOND (Methuen & Co., 1909). Here we have a survey of the beliefs of the Thessalonian, Corinthian, Galatian, and Roman Christians which underlie St Paul's letters and are assumed in his argument and general teaching to them. Mr Richmond has carried out admirably a piece of work which all teachers of the Epistles have done, no doubt, partially for themselves, and his book will be widely welcomed. He has special regard to the apparent contrast between St Paul's constant assumption, that the main characteristic of the new religion is the sense of the Divine Indwelling, that it is 'the religion which lives in the faith that God has given Himself to dwell in man', and the almost complete silence of the Gospels on this particular element of religious experience; and that, too, although 'the Gospels come to us as documents written by members of the Church of the Epistles for members of the Church of the Epistles'. Mr Richmond rightly insists that it is to the Epistles that we must look for the background of belief of the authors of the Gospels; and he draws the inferences, first, that the Gospels are very deliberately guarded reminiscences of the past, and secondly, that their authors were explicitly conscious that the teaching of Christ which they record was simply preparatory to the spiritual life in which they themselves then lived, and that their interest in the story was that it led up to what it did not contain. Mr Richmond offers these two considerations as corrective of the popular view that in the Gospels may be found what is called the 'simple' Gospel (instead of the 'incomplete' Gospel, as he would say), and of the feeling that comes over many a modern historical student of the Gospels that he can never arrive at what actually happened.

The Resurrection of our Lord and the narratives dealing with it have been the subject recently of several books and of many articles in theological periodicals. I have only to mention here the books which have been sent to the JOURNAL.

In *The Appearances of our Lord after the Passion* (Macmillan & Co., 1907), Dr SWETE brings the refined scholarship and grace of expression which characterize all his work to bear on the task of expounding the biblical narratives of the Resurrection and subsequent appearances of our Lord, and commending them to teachers and students as in the main historically trustworthy as they stand. Dr Swete sees no reason to doubt that actual personal experience at least underlies the chief accounts, and that a coherent and orderly narrative, day by day, can be constructed from them. No one who holds this view could wish for a better exponent and champion of it than Dr Swete, nor for a

more sympathetic process of sifting the narratives than that which he follows. On slighter and more popular lines, and less carefully reasoned, if more 'philosophical', and making more concessions to newer tendencies of thought and study, is Mr C. H. Robinson's *Studies in the Resurrection of Christ* (Longmans, Green, & Co., 1909). In particular he adopts the theory that our Lord after His resurrection 'possessed not a material but a spiritual body'. A more detailed and critical study of the narratives than Mr Robinson undertakes would be found, I believe, considerably to strengthen the evidence which he adduces for this view of the facts, while it would at the same time require some of his pages to be rewritten.¹ We cannot, I think, maintain a 'spiritual' body and the accuracy of the Lucan tradition in the same breath, and as I understand Mr Robinson, this is what he wishes to do.

Of another book dealing with the Resurrection (*La Résurrection du Christ*, by P. LE BRETON, E. Nourry, Paris, 1908) it must suffice to chronicle the author's conclusion, extraordinarily perverse, alike on literary and on historical grounds, that, when allowance is made for interpolations later than apostolic times, all the appearances of Jesus known to the canonical gospels are reduced to four, and the four are those to Mary Magdalene, the women, the two disciples of Emmaus, and a number of the twelve apostles on the mountain of Galilee—all of them the product of the illusions of disordered imaginations.

Nor can I give more space to M. PIERRE CALLUAUD's *Le Problème de la Résurrection du Christ*, which comes from the same publishers (1909), as a volume of their *Bibliothèque de Critique religieuse*, and essays to revive as at least worthy of fresh discussion, freed from some of the arguments of a vulgar rationalism by which it used to be supported, the theory of an apparent death of our Lord—a theory which M. Callaud maintains is in no way incompatible with belief in a living Christ, triumphant over death.

Bearing rather on the true meaning of our Lord's teaching than on the credibility of the Gospel narratives is *The Message of the Son of Man* by Dr E. A. ABBOTT (A. & C. Black, 1909). It is the herald of a larger and more abstruse work already in the press. Dr Abbott's purpose is to shew that the title 'Son of Man' was adopted by our Lord, not from

¹ In a second and enlarged edition Mr Robinson adds a chapter on the Body of Christ in the Holy Communion, a note on the myth of the resurrection of Osiris, and a few words in reply to the criticisms of some correspondents.

apocryphal but solely from Biblical sources, and was intended to indicate the Man made in the image of God and destined to have dominion over the Beast. Dr Abbott seems to me to shew a strange disregard of current critical opinion in treating all the passages in the Gospels in which our Lord is represented as using this title of Himself as alike authentic. Perhaps in his forthcoming volume he will exercise more discrimination and so remove the impression that his evidence requires careful sifting before his argument can be followed. But the chief importance of the book is its denial that 'the Son of Man' was a recognized Messianic title, and I believe that Dr Abbott is not so solitary as he supposes in his desire that the assumption that it was, and that our Lord was largely influenced by the Jewish apocrypha, be put to a much more searching cross-examination than it has yet undergone. Those who make this assumption must meet Dr Abbott's challenge.

The general reader will be grateful to the Dean of Westminster for republishing separately the first portion of his Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, and so putting his masterly analysis and exposition of St Paul's conception of the Christian Society and 'the truth of the corporate life which was revealed to him' before a wider public than editions of the Greek text of the New Testament reach (*St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians: an exposition*, Macmillan & Co., 1909). Dr Robinson thinks that this truth is one that 'was never more needed than it is to-day'. A similar practical purpose has led the Bishop of Durham to publish a devotional exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the author of which, he says, was in any case, if not an apostle, a prophet, and he 'carries to us a prophet's burthen of unspeakable import' (*Messages from the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Elliot Stock, 1909).

The Acts of the Apostles, by Miss E. M. KNOX (Macmillan & Co., 1908), will furnish, as it is designed to furnish, an interesting and useful course of 'Bible Lessons for Schools' on the beginnings of Christianity, but closer study of the works of the scholars who are mentioned in the Preface might have led the author to a clearer treatment of many parts of the narrative and the avoidance of some statements that none of them would have made.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

Prof. Deissmann has again put New Testament students under a deep debt of obligation by the publication of his *Licht vom Osten* (*Licht vom Osten: das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt*, von ADOLF DEISSMANN: J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1908). It is true that with many of the positions here advocated he has already made them familiar in former publications, and that in particular the present volume is avowedly founded upon his short sketch *New Light on the New Testament* (T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1907) which has already been noticed in this JOURNAL (vol. ix pp. 136, 469). But the earlier materials have been worked up with such skill and freshness, and so much that is important and illustrative has been added, that it is to all intents and purposes a new book that we have before us. And the barest outline of its contents will shew how richly it deserves careful study.

After a brief introduction in which the general character of the new texts—inscriptions, papyri, ostraca—is sketched with an amazing wealth of bibliographical reference, the writer proceeds to discuss the ‘light’, thence derived from a threefold point of view. Thus in the first place he shews on grounds both of vocabulary and grammar how close is the relation between the language of the New Testament and the *Koinḗ* or common Greek of its own time. So far from making use of a ‘Biblical’ Greek of their own, as was at one time so widely held, its writers unquestionably employed the ordinary vernacular of daily life, while the evidence of these contemporary texts enables us further to reduce the so-called ἀπαξ λεγόμενα of the New Testament to about fifty, or not more than one per cent. of its whole vocabulary (p. 47), and to impart fresh *nuances* of meaning to many of its familiar words and phrases. From this Dr Deissmann passes to his second conclusion that it is a misnomer to speak of the greater part of the New Testament as ‘literature’, any more than we should apply that term to a papyrus-letter from Oxyrhynchus or an inscription from Priene. The writings of St James, St Peter, or St Jude, may indeed be ‘Epistles’ in the literary sense in which that term is generally understood; but the Pauline writings can only be fully understood when they are viewed as true ‘letters’, arising out of the immediate circumstances of writer and readers, and not intended for any wider public than those to whom they were addressed. The distinction, no doubt, is valuable, and bears more closely than may at first sight appear upon many points of interpretation and exegesis; but it is just here, if I may venture to say so, that Dr Deissmann appears to press his thesis too far, and to lay an undue emphasis on what he terms the ‘Unbefangenheit’ of the Pauline letters (p. 169). This artless casual character may indeed belong to

the short Epistle to Philemon, which is little more than a private note, but surely such an Epistle, as the Epistle to the Romans, stands in a different category, and, if only by the character of its contents, is to be widely differentiated from the unstudied expression of formal feeling, that we associate with the idea of a true 'letter'. But, be this as it may, no one can question the interest attaching to the twenty-one original letters which Dr Deissmann prints here with full translation and commentary as illustrating the generally 'unliterary' surroundings out of which our New Testament writings arose. In form and style, as well as in outward appearance—and the fact is made clearer by the beautiful facsimile reproductions with which they are accompanied—these letters enable us to realize, as we have never done before, the actual genesis of a Pauline writing. It is perhaps, however, in the third section, which deals with 'the significance of the newly-discovered texts for the historical interpretation of the New Testament in matters of culture and religion', that the interest of Dr Deissmann's researches culminates. It is impossible to attempt even to summarize his results; but if, as he is never tired of reminding us, it was among the 'common' people that Christianity found its earliest adherents, then clearly everything that helps to a fuller knowledge of their environment is of capital importance for the historian of religion. And that knowledge is now communicated to us at first hand in the countless contemporary documents and inscriptions which recent exploration both in Egypt and in Asia Minor has brought within our reach. The religious, the ethical, and the legal condition of the world at the time of our Lord and of Paul, now stands out before us in an altogether new light; and in the acquaintance which we are enabled to make with living 'souls', we have before us the very class of men and women to whom their words were addressed. How suggestive the contrast, as Deissmann notes (p. 209), between the great *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, which catalogues 8,644 men and women of note during the first three centuries, but omits of set purpose 'hominum plebeiorum infinitam illam turbam'—Paul among them! Of the side-lights that here again are thrown upon New Testament phraseology it must be sufficient simply to refer by way of example to the close parallel the writer has found for the words in 2 Tim. iv 7 'I have kept the faith' (or in Ramsay's graphic rendering, 'I have observed the rules which are laid down for this race-course of faith,' *Luke the Physician*, p. 288) in an inscription in the theatre at Ephesus which St Paul may have seen (p. 224), to the important application to the Pauline phraseology regarding ransom from the bondage of sin of the Delphic inscriptions on slave-manumission (p. 231 ff), and to the manner in which the emphasis laid by St Paul on ὁ κύριος is shewn to stand in tacit protest

against the regular application of the title to the Caesars of his time (p. 253 ff). These are only specimens of the wealth of illustration with which Dr Deissmann's pages are filled, and a perusal of the whole leaves one at a loss whether to wonder most at the diligence with which he has ransacked even the most out-of-way sources for his materials, or at the skill with which he has brought these to bear upon many outstanding problems of New Testament interpretation.

We can only add that the whole *format* of the book with its clear printing, numerous facsimiles, and exhaustive indices, is in entire keeping with the value of its contents.¹

Two new volumes have been added to the Abbé Jacquier's useful *Histoire des Livres du Nouveau Testament* (Tomes iii, iv, Librairie Victor Lecoffre, Paris, 1908), one dealing with the Acts of the Apostles and the Catholic Epistles, the other with the Johannine writings. Both are distinguished by the writer's well-known clearness of statement, and wide acquaintance with the different problems involved. And though the general position maintained is distinctively on the conservative side, this does not result from any obscurantist or reactionary tendency. On the contrary the Abbé shews throughout that he is fully alive to the importance of the points raised by the more advanced representatives of New Testament criticism. And it is further interesting to find a lengthy Appendix in vol. iii devoted to a well-balanced statement of the bearing on the New Testament of such recent studies as are embodied in Dr Deissmann's volume reviewed above, and in various English publications with which continental scholars do not as a rule display an undue familiarity.

From Father F. Prat, S.J., comes the first part of what promises to be a very thorough-going treatise on *La Théologie de Saint Paul* (Première Partie, Beauchesne & Cie, Paris, 1908). The author, indeed, assures us in his Preface that he would have preferred the simpler title *Notes sur la théologie de Saint Paul*, and regards his work as merely a sketch, which may prove useful to other workers. In this, at least, accepting for the moment his own over-modest estimate, we do not think that he will be disappointed; for into his 600 closely-printed pages, he has succeeded in compressing a large amount of useful material with regard to the origin of the Apostle's thought, and its application to the varying circumstances and needs of the several Churches he addresses. The method followed in the present volume is strictly

¹ Since the above review was written a new second and third improved and enlarged edition of *Licht vom Osten* has appeared. An English translation is in active preparation, and may be expected before long. It will be published by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton.

historical, a systematic presentation of the Pauline doctrine being reserved for a second volume, where also a complete bibliography of the subject is promised.

The avowed object of the *Westminster New Testament* is practical. While written from the standpoint of the generally accepted results of modern critical scholarship, it is intended specially to meet the requirements of teachers, lay preachers, and others engaged in active Christian work. And this aim the two volumes before us (*Gospel of St Matthew*, by Rev. David Smith, D.D., and *Gospel of St John*, by Rev. H. W. Clark: Melrose, London, 1908) seem admirably designed to fulfil. The Introductions, if short, give all that is required for a general understanding of the Evangelists' positions, and the Notes, so far as we have been able to test them, are suggestive and scholarly. It seems unfortunate, however, that in a Series such as this, where the exact meaning of the original is of primary importance, and where it is desirable to save space as much as possible, the General Editor should have deliberately elected to use the Authorized, rather than the Revised, Version as the basis for commenting.

GEORGE MILLIGAN.

The Epistles of St John are once more beginning to attract the attention of biblical scholars, as documents which have an interest of their own, apart from their importance as evidence in the Johannine controversy. Dr Findlay's publication in expanded form of the pages which he contributed to the *Expositor* is primarily devotional in character. In Mr Law's New Lectures for 1909 (*The Tests of Life: a study of the First Epistle of St John*, by ROBERT LAW, B.D.: T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1909), we have an important contribution to the study of the teaching of the First Epistle. The first three and the last chapters are devoted to subjects generally classed under the head of introduction. Chapters iv-xvi deal with the general teaching of the Epistle, in the form of expositions of its teaching on the various subjects discussed in it. A series of short notes on the Greek text is appended. In the course of his work Mr Law gives us an interpretation of all the important passages in the Epistle. He has again attempted the difficult, and perhaps impossible task, of an analysis of the Epistle intended to trace the sequence of its thought throughout. His arrangement reminds us of Häring's attempt to find in it a threefold presentation of the main themes, the one ethical, and the other Christological, that without walking in light, especially as shewn in love of the brethren, is no knowledge of God, and that Jesus is the Christ, the pre-existent Son of God truly incarnate in Jesus of Nazareth. According to Mr Law the Epistle offers three tests of fellowship with God, righteous-

ness, love, faith. In the first cycle the Christian life, as fellowship with God, is tested by 'walking in the light', and to this are applied the three tests of men's attitude to sin and righteousness, to love and to belief. In the second cycle (ii 29-iv 6) the Christian life, as divine Sonship, is presented in its relation to the same three tests of righteousness, love, and belief: while the third cycle (iv 7-v 21) deals with the closer correlation of these three. We are again reminded that the meditations of the author of this Epistle do not lend themselves to rigid analysis. But Mr Law's treatment of his subject is vigorous and independent, and he fully understands the practical aims of the Epistle. Every student of the Epistle knows that its author did not intend to write a theological treatise, and that he wrote to edify, the polemical aim being always secondary. Mr Law has the good sense never to forget these facts.

A. E. BROOKE.

In *The Pauline Epistles: a Critical Study* (by ROBERT SCOTT, M.A., D.D., Bombay: T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1909), Dr Scott gives us a careful and systematic attempt to throw new light upon the vexed questions connected with the authorship of the Epistles that bear the name of St Paul. His method is stated in the opening chapter: 'The argument rests exclusively upon internal data—mainly on theological ideas and literary style.' Upon these grounds he divides the Epistles into four groups:—(1) 1 and 2 Cor. and Rom. (except certain sections), Gal. and Phil.; (2) Eph., 1 Thess. iv, v, 2 Thess. i, ii, 1 Cor. xv 20-34, 2 Cor. vi 14-vii 1, Rom. xii, xiii, xv, Heb. (and 1 Pet.); (3) 1 Thess. i-iii, 2 Thess. iii, Col., Philemon, Rom. xiv; (4) the Pastoral Epistles—and assigns the authorship of the four to Paul, Silas, Timothy, and Luke respectively. Those of the first group contain the essentials of Paul's teaching, and are indisputably his. The remainder are Pauline in spirit, but each of the three last groups reveals a particular bias which can only be accounted for by the supposition that they are the work of various members of the Pauline circle.

A method, such as this, of classification by internal evidence alone, is open to the obvious objection that the results must be hypothetical and arbitrary. And if the Epistles are all admittedly saturated with Pauline thought, may not it be at least as likely that other Epistles besides those of the first group are from Paul's pen? Dr Scott foresees these objections and devotes some space to meeting and answering them. He examines and criticizes the two main arguments of the more conservative school. The first he illustrates by quoting the words of Lightfoot: 'It is a generally recognized fact that St Paul's

Epistles fall chronologically into four groups, separated from one another by an interval of five years, roughly speaking, and distinguished by their internal character.' The second argument deals with St Paul's alleged Hellenism. We find in the Epistles terms belonging to Greek rather than Jewish life, and traces of Platonic and Stoic influence: and the inference usually drawn from these facts is that St Paul was affected by contact with Greek thought, and must have imbibed at least the atmosphere of Greek philosophy.

Dr Scott's book is practically an attempt to refute these two main positions. He denies that the letters that bear St Paul's name can be a homogeneous whole, or that the differences observable between them in style and thought can be reconciled with their ascription to a single author. On the subject of St Paul's Hellenism he is equally emphatic. St Paul doubtless was acquainted with Greek life, but he remained a Pharisee to the end. It is true that he was emancipated from strict Judaism and his mind received an illumination which produced a revolution: but the effect of this was only to corroborate his faith in the exclusive revelation to Israel. Greek philosophy is, throughout, the theme of his scorn.

Dr Scott seems to me to be at his best in the application of his principles when he deals with the Pastoral Epistles. For the rest, I do not think his two lines of argumentation are fully established. He relies for support of his main position, that his last three groups cannot be the work of St Paul, on differences observable in style, on the presence of philosophical and apocalyptic elements in the thought of the writer, and on divergences of doctrinal presentation of the same fundamental facts. But is it not fair to say that we find in the Epistles of the admittedly genuine first group as great differences in style and tone as we find existing between the first and the other groups? Again, are not there unmistakeable evidences of something more than acquaintance with Greek thought in the two Epistles to the Corinthians? Once again, to Dr. Scott the apocalyptic elements in the Thessalonians destroy their claim to be considered as Pauline: but what more natural than that, if they are the earliest extant Epistles, the Apostle's mind should have been much occupied with the imminence of the *Παρουσία*?

But if Dr Scott's arguments are not convincing we may welcome his book for its freshness and evident freedom from bias, as worthy in spirit and execution to take its place in the onward movement towards more certain knowledge. In his own words, 'The advent of the secular historian and critic is a proof that whether the Church lead or lag the problems will be probed'.

PHILIP C. T. CRICK.

PATRISTICA.

Patrology: The Lives and Works of the Fathers of the Church: by OTTO BARDENHEWER. Translated from the second edition by THOMAS J. SHAHAN. (Herder, Freiburg i. Br. and St Louis, 1908.)

THE *Patrologie* of Bardenhewer, first published in 1894, and then in an enlarged and improved form in 1901, has been the indispensable companion of the patristic student. It is strange that it has had to wait so long for an English translation, because it has no rival in any language. There has been no English work to which one could recommend the student after he had worked through Dr Swete's *Patristic Study*, and there is no more advanced work than Bardenhewer, at least for the Post-Nicene period, that is at all up to date. A French translation of the first edition of Bardenhewer appeared in 1898-1899, and an Italian translation of the second in 1903. The latter contains additions to the bibliography of the original. This additional material has been incorporated in the present English translation, and has also to a great extent been brought up to date. I have noted, for instance, some items belonging to as late a period as the early part of 1907. What is particularly gratifying is that the contributions of this JOURNAL to the study of the Fathers are chronicled in their proper places with almost absolute fullness. Possessors of the German would in fact do well to purchase the English also, to which, apart from the bibliography, the author has contributed fresh matter. There are some signs of haste in the translation. For 'Hicklin' (p. 157) read 'Nicklin'; for 'Novitian' (p. 223) read 'Novatian'; anglicize 'Steiermark', 'Ezechiel', and 'Habacuc' on p. 227; correct 'Onamasticon' on p. 252, and, on the same page, for 'Demonstratio' read 'Praeparatio', for 'C. H. Gifford' read 'E. H. Gifford', and for 'London' read 'Oxford': on pp. 255 and 261 correct 'Ommaney'; the last item of § 63, 10 was already given in § 63, 9; anglicize 'Peschittho' on pp. 389, 393, also 'Phöbadius' on p. 399: the work of Manucci referred to on p. 410 has, if I mistake not, nothing to do with Hilary, but is an edition of Irenaeus: on p. 418 for 'E. A. Burn' read 'A. E. Burn': anglicize 'Josue' on p. 419 and 'Joasaph' on p. 587; the date of publication of Zimmer's *Pelagius in Irland* (p. 504) was '1901', not '1902'; on p. 612 for '1869' read '1896'; on p. 646 for 'Bonnett' read 'Bonnet'. Considerations of space prevent reference to the statements and opinions of the book itself. An exception may, however, be made in one case. It is no longer correct to say that Cassiodorus's commentary on the Epistle

to the Romans has perished (p. 636). It has been indisputably proved to be that which is in print under the name of Primasius (Migne *P. L.* lxxviii).

Les Pères Apostoliques I-II, Doctrine des Apôtres, Épître de Barnabé ;
texte grec, traduction française, introduction et index : par H.
HEMMER, G. OGER, et A. LAURENT. (Picard, Paris, 1907.)

THIS volume is one of a series, in which four volumes, none of which the present chronicler has seen, have already appeared, namely Justin *Apologies*, Eusèbe *Histoire ecclésiastique* I-IV, Tertullien *De poenitentia* (sic) *et de pudicitia*, and Tertullien *De praescriptione haereticorum*. The sixth and seventh volumes, containing select works of Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa, fall to be noticed below. The published programme includes a large number of important writings, many of which have never appeared in handy editions before. The whole series is under the competent editorship of Hippolyte Hemmer and Paul Lejay. The latter is not only one of the best Latin scholars in France, but one of the greatest patristic scholars in the world. His erudite reviews of patristic works in the *Revue Critique* are unsurpassed,¹ and his name is a guarantee that the series will display the best philological scholarship of France. It will also prove a dangerous rival to our own Cambridge series. The Cambridge series is better in printing and get-up, and more useful in having the explanatory notes below the text. The Paris series is, however, cheaper, and includes a French translation on the opposite page. It deserves the heartiest welcome from all patristic students, and is a gratifying sign that there is a powerful 'lay school of ecclesiastical philology'² in France.

The present edition is admirable in every respect. The introductions and notes, which occupy half the book, tell the reader everything that is necessary. Two valuable features are the practically exhaustive bibliography which is provided at the end of each section of the introduction, and the reprint of the rather inaccessible Latin fragment of the *Didache*. It would appear by its Latinity to be not earlier than the fifth century. Misprints have been noted on pages xxxix, xlii, lxiv, lxxvii, cx, cxii, 22, 47. In *Didache* 13, 3 it would have been better to desert the MS and read γεννημάτων, reserving γεννημάτων for animals,

¹ May I refer in particular to one, sent me by the author's kindness, on Brewer's *Kommodian von Gaza*, in the *R. C.* for Sept. 16, 1907, which ought to be read as expressing the opposite view to that advocated in this JOURNAL vol. ix [1907-1908] pp. 143-147?

² The words are borrowed from Prof. John E. B. Mayor's *Latin Heptateuch*, p. lviii.

according to the rule. On p. lxi for 'Tertullien *de cibis hebraicis*' read 'Novatien *de cibis iudaicis*': it is true of course that the MS attributes the work to Tertullian: on p. lxx read 'Sinope', not 'Synope': on p. cxi the example of *διάστολμα* from Clement of Alexandria should not have been referred to, as it occurs there only in a citation of this very passage (Barn. x 11)! At Barn. xxi 2 and 8 read surely *ἐλλείπητε*, not *ἐλλείπητε*, and at xxi 5 the optative *δῶη*, not the subjunctive *δῶη*.

- *Die Versio Latina des Barnabasbriefes und ihr Verhältnis zur altlateinischen Bibel erstmals untersucht, nebst Ausgabe und Glossar des griechischen und lateinischen Textes*: von J. M. HEER. *Mit einer Tafel.* (Herder, Freiburg i. Br., 1908.)

THIS important work is fairly enough described in its title, and through it Dr Heer will be heartily welcomed to the thin ranks of the scientific students of the Latin Bible. The first part of the Prolegomena is devoted to the relation of the Latin version of Barnabas to the Old-Latin Bible, and is divided into five sections concerning respectively: (a) The history of the text of the Latin version, (b) its relation to the Canon and its purpose, (c) Barn. lat. as a witness to an Old-Latin translation of the Bible, (d) the person of the translator, (e) the age and home of the version: its language. The conclusion the author expresses is:—'Although it cannot be certainly decided where the translation of the letter originated, an African provenance is at least probable, especially on account of the agreement with Tertullian, Cyprian, and the other Africans in the form of the Biblical citations, and—seeing the idea that Novatian was the translator must be rejected—Africa is at least the only province, in favour of which grounds can be produced. The date of origin is to be placed before Cyprian, and on account of the knowledge of the Theodotion translation of Daniel, probably after Tertullian: whether we have a Montanist work before us is uncertain.' The second part of the Prolegomena is concerned with the text of the letter, and in it are considered the authorities for the text and their relative value. Then follows the text of the Latin version as it is in the sole Corbie MS, as diplomatically exact as ordinary type can make it. This is a very interesting feature of the book, and might profitably be imitated elsewhere. There is also an excellent photograph of the first page. After this comes the text in Greek and Latin in parallel columns, with critical apparatus immediately below the text, and a Biblical apparatus immediately below that. This last consists of a *résumé* of all the Old-Latin evidence for the text of the Scripture quotations occurring in Barnabas. The extra part of the letter, extant only in Greek, is given at the end. The Testimonia to the Letter in Fathers, &c.,

follow, then an index of the Scripture passages quoted, and the work ends with Graeco-Latin and Latino-Greek glossaries.

It would be difficult to speak too highly of the value of this book. It will be increasingly appreciated, the more it is used. As an edition of the letter it is indispensable, but its main importance lies in the light which is thrown on the history of the Old-Latin Bible. The interest Dr Heer has in this part of the subject gives one confidence that his editions of portions of Augustine in the Vienna *Corpus* will represent the Biblical quotations with the desirable accuracy. As to the date of the manuscript of the Latin Barnabas, I should entirely agree with my master Holder that it is of the tenth century, but it is well to mention that Traube considered it to belong to the ninth. One of the most important observations made by Heer is that the Latin translator of Barnabas sometimes took the form of the Biblical quotations from his own Latin Bible, instead of simply translating them in the form that they have in the Greek Barnabas. This is, of course, a most valuable argument for the date of the version. The fact, too, that the translator does not know the word *saluare*, as the Latin equivalent of *σώζειν*, is certainly in favour of a date not later than Cyprian and very probably earlier. Again, the use of a Latin version of Daniel, based (not like Tertullian's, on the LXX, but) on Theodotion, suggests that we are dealing with a work later than Tertullian. The text of the Psalms, too, is close to Tertullian's and Cyprian's, and I see no reason to disagree with the author's conclusion as expressed above.¹ The glossaries at the end of the work are luxurious and will be a great boon to other workers. Something of the kind has already been compiled for Irenaeus in Oxford, and may yet be published. These investigations into Latin renderings of Greek words will be increasingly fruitful. The present chronicler has sometimes wondered whether the early Latin translators of Scripture used Graeco-Latin glossaries. Certainly, with marked differences in rendering there co-exists a remarkable homogeneity.

Some notes may profitably follow. There are misprints on pp. xlvī (two), liii, 21 (two), 41, 53, 66, 76, 118, 132. On p. xix Funk's two small editions of the Apostolic Fathers might have been mentioned. On p. xx the Pseudo-Origenian *Tractatus* should have been added to Tertullian and Filastrius, as another authority which quotes Hebrews as Barnabas. Thielmann's dictum, quoted on p. xxi, n. 14, is so far true; the older Gospel MSS, for instance, translate *πτερόν* by *fastigium*, a good Latin word, but the later render by the exactly literal *pinna*,

¹ The isolated cases of *parabola* (rather than *similitudo*) and *quia* (rather than *quoniam*) hardly weigh against Africanism in so short a work.

pinnaculum. To the authorities for the omission of the second *in* in Lc. 2, 34 (p. xxvii) add *Quaest.* ½. The remarks with regard to the Epistle of James on p. xli, n. 32 appear mistaken. It may well be that it is a case of the use of First Clement and Hermas by the writer of James, and not the reverse; certainly the Western Church appears to have no knowledge of James before the second half of the fourth century: a reference should have been made to Wordsworth in *Studia Biblica* i p. 129. At p. xlv, n. 36, add a reference to Watson in *Studia Biblica* iv pp. 196, 248. On p. xlvii *parabola* would appear to be later than *similitudo* of *k*, and *profeta* would appear to be later in origin than *prophetes*: perhaps we ought to read the latter in Barnabas, as it occurs in Tert. Cypr. Iren., and even in Jerome. *Tinguo* occurs twice in the Pseudo-Augustinian *Quaestiones* (see my index), and also thrice in Aug. *de bapt.* V ix 11 (cf. *praetinguo*) (p. xlix). The same confusion as to degrees of comparison as is illustrated on p. lvii occurs also in the Latin Irenaeus. Thielmann is certainly right (p. lvii) in regarding *nequam* as characteristic of 'African' documents. On p. lx it ought to have been remarked that cases of *homo* and *omnis* are often confused in MSS. On p. lxiii for 'W. Burgon' read 'J. W. Burgon', and some reference ought to have been made to the prevailing view, based on steadily accumulating evidence, that B and N belong to Egypt. On p. lxv it is a better explanation to suppose that the indeclinable¹ πλήρης was in the scribe's mind, and that ΠΑΗΡΗΣΗΜΕΝ was developed out of ΠΑΗΡΗΣΗΜΕΝ. On p. lxvi it is not enough to remark that the confusion between O and Ω occurs soonest in uncials; there is a constant confusion between the two in MSS from phonetic causes: already by the fourth century they were no longer distinct in pronunciation (see Moulton's *Grammar* i p. 35). The preference for the perfect subjunctive, &c. (p. lxxv), is itself an Africanism, as Dr Sanday pointed out in his edition of *k*. The use of ἤμελλον for ἐμελλον (p. lxxvii) is not infrequent in MSS: cf. Winer-Schmiedel, § 12, 3, Blass, § 15, 3.

The word *exhilaro* (p. 18) would appear to have been an African favourite: I have seven examples from Aug. On p. 19, l. 15 surely we ought to read *adproperavi*, seeing that *adpropiaui* means 'approached', not 'hastened', which is the meaning required. The evidence of the Pseudo-Augustinian *Quaestiones* is not given with absolute fullness or accuracy in the Biblical apparatus, the fault of Sabatier probably rather than of Heer: p. 22, 10 add *mandavi* for *praecepi*, l. 11 add *Quaest.* to Iren., l. 12 prefix *Quaest.* to *Vulg.*, l. 13 add 'de holocaustis et sacrificiis *Quaest.*'; p. 23, 9 add *Quaest.* after Iren. (pr.) and *Quaest.* ¾

¹ For which see C. H. Turner in this JOURNAL vol. i pp. 120 ff, 561 f; Moulton *Grammar of N.T. Greek* vol. i pp. 50, 244.

after *Hartel*); p. 26, 4-9 after *Cyprian* add *Quaest.* (except that the latter omits the clause *et egenos . . . tuam*); p. 42, 4 sq. after [*Sab*] (alt.) add *Quaest.* [*om. est ½*]; p. 62, 11 sq. add *Quaest.* to the other Latin authorities; p. 66, 14-16, and 19 (ult.), add *Quaest.* after *Hilar.*; p. 67, 1, transfer *Quaest.* to after *Sang.*; p. 77, 10 in the citation from *Quaest.* insert 'Moyses' after 'fuit' and 'quadraginta diebus et' after 'monte'; p. 81, 13 sq. insert *Quaest.* before *Aug.* The orthography of the text is susceptible of improvement. Why should the editor follow the MS in reading *hyrcus* and desert it when it reads *styrps*? the one is surely as bad as the other. Again, 'Ισάκ should have been printed always with S: the best Greek and Latin MSS regularly have one α: cf. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* vol. vi (index) and C. H. Turner in this JOURNAL vol. ix p. 77. *Habraham* also (p. 77, 1) is well attested elsewhere; and we ought to read *heremus*. In 6, 17 the sense seems to require that we should invert the order of μέλιτι and γάλακτι. Despite the fact that *simplitudo* (p. 52, 20) is a perfectly correct formation (compare *amplitudo* from *amplus*), I prefer to suppose a haplography from *simpl<ic>itudo* to adding a new word to the dictionary. On p. 53, l. 4 from foot, for ζύλου read ξύλω. The word *exerro* (p. 62, 17) is a good specimen from the Old-Latin Bible: see Rönsch, and add *Ezech. xxxiii 12 ap. Quaest.* The Biblical note on p. 74, 4-13 could have been improved if the editor had used the larger Cambridge LXX. On p. 126 the mark indicating that the last syllable of *praecordia* is short should be removed.

Q. Septimi Florentis Tertulliani De Baptismo, edited with an Introduction and Notes by J. M. LUPTON. (Cambridge University Press, 1908.)

MR LUPTON'S volume is the weakest of the series of *Cambridge Patristic Texts*. It is but fair to state that he is himself conscious that he is not qualified for his task, but unfortunately for his modesty the series in which his book appears has gained a high reputation, and deservedly, for the scholarly finish of its contributions. Beside these his own work is decidedly amateurish. The edition is not useless. We are glad to have Dr James's notes of the probable meaning of 'Masburensis' as the name of the religious house from which Leland obtained a MS of the *De Baptismo* for Gelenius; some of the notes are good, and the index of words, pending the appearance of the much desired *Lexicon Tertullianum*, is welcome. The following defects, however, will sufficiently shew the character of the book. On p. xiv Jerome is quoted by Martianay's edition, instead of Vallarsi's, and thus letter 69, actually cited by that number on p. xxiv, appears as letter 82: also p. 285 of the treatise against Vigilantius is referred to, a reference very difficult to verify, presumably because the page is Martianay's: it would

have been much better to say § 8, at the same time indicating that two clauses are omitted from the quotation. Why refer on p. xxiv to Collombet, which he probably rightly calls 'a disappointing work', when he might have referred to Turmel's *Saint Jérôme* p. 221 ff and Grütz-macher's *Hieronymus* Bd. iii 141 ff? On p. xxv 'Leipoldt' appears as 'Leipold', a carelessness comparable to that by which 'Gomperz' appears some half a dozen times as 'Gompertz'. The suggestion on p. xxvi that Tertullian may have known Hebrew will be scouted by most. The use of the word 'practically' on p. xxxi, l. 4 shews unpardonable ignorance of the state of research into the Latin Bible. On the same page, too, the editor appears quite unaware of the elementary principle that there was no translation from the Hebrew into Latin till Jerome's. On p. xxx *probabilis* and *habilis* should not have been instanced as examples of well-known tendencies of silver Latin, since they occur already in Cicero. On p. xxxv 1880 is given as the date of the first volume of the Vienna Tertullian, but on p. xlv rightly 1890. The bibliography on p. xxxvii ff is long, but is not compiled with discretion. There is no mention there of Rigalt, the most learned editor Tertullian ever had, nor do we find any reference to Prof. J. E. B. Mayor's notes on Tertullian's Apology in the *Journal of Philology* vol. xxi p. 259 ff, though he is probably the greatest living authority on Tertullian. The editor knows only the first edition of Bardenhewer's *Patrologie*. A Cambridge man ought not to have left out J. J. Blunt's *Right Use of the Early Fathers*, and there should have been a special section there devoted to editions, if it had contained little else but references to Schoenemann's *Bibliotheca Patrum* t. i p. 9 ff, and the full bibliography in Mayor's *Bibliographical Clue to Latin Literature* p. 163 ff. Again, in the section on Language, &c., it is absurd to call special attention to Ebert and Koffmane while leaving Hoppe unasterisked. Kaulen's *Handbuch z. Vulgata* appeared in a second edition in 1904, but it was not worth mentioning at all. The note on *Caina haeresi* in chapter i displays little judgement: we must follow the best authorities in reading *Gaiana*, and the one possible explanation of this word is a heresy taught by one Gaius, whether he of Rome or not, *uiderint editores*. There appears to have been a confusion in later authorities with Cain, but until we have a critical edition of Jerome we cannot appeal to his text with confidence. On pp. 3, l. 11, 5 *sed enim* deserved a note; compare Mayor's *Pliny's Letters Bk. III* p. viii and add Stat. ten times (e.g. *silu.* III 1, 123). The account of *tinguo* on p. 3 is unsatisfactory: the editor ought to have told us whether *baptizo* occurs in Tertullian or not. Oehler has no instance in his index, but the *Thesaurus* gives one, in addition to two in quoting 1 Cor. xv 29. Our editor gives fifty examples of *tinguo* in his index. A study of Engelbrecht's chapter on

'Das Nomen *suggestus* in seinen verschiedenen Verwendungen bei Tertullian' in *Wiener Studien* xxviii (1906) pp. 9-17 would have put him right on pages 4 and 6. Harnack's *History of Dogma* is repeatedly referred to as *History of Doctrine*. *Medeor* with the accusative (p. 14, 9) deserved a note. On p. 17, 5 *superuenturo*, &c., are an echo of Luke i 35 or Ac. i. 8. On *agape* (p. 27, 11) a reference to the fact that it is kept in the Cyprianic Bible in 1 Cor. xiii might have been given. On p. 48, 10 for '*altchr.*' (alt.) read '*althkirchl.*' This book is strongest on the doctrinal side, though the teaching of the Ambrosian *De Mysteriis* and *De Sacramentis* should have been referred to in the Introduction, § 4. If the editor consults Resch's *Agrapha*, he will see how wrong he is over p. 56, 7. On p. 57, 4 a reference should have been made to Robinson in *Texts and Studies* vol. i part 2 p. 49. Other defects of this book, of greater or less seriousness, have been noticed. Mr Lupton has failed to realize that the editor of Tertullian requires a severer training than that of any other Latin prose author. He has the requisite interest in his subject. After he has spent several years in rigorous study of the later Latin and of the Latin versions of the Bible, we shall be glad to welcome further work at his hands.

Pseudo-Augustini Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti CXXXVII: accedit Appendix continens alterius editionis quaestiones selectas [Corp. Scr. Eccl. Lat. vol. L] recensuit ALEX. SOUTER. (Vindobonae et Lipsiae, 1908.)

A REVIEW of this work will not be expected from the present chronicler. Those interested will find reviews in the following publications:—*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1908, p. 595 ff (cf. p. 721 f) (A. Jülicher), *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie*, 1908, p. 1316 ff (C. Weyman), *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 1909, p. 109 f (Z. Garcia), *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1909, p. 183 (G. L[eipold]), *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1909, p. 401 f (J. Wittig), *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1909, p. 99 f (W. Thimme), *Literarische Rundschau*, 1909, p. 168 f (C. Weyman), *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1909, p. 187 f (K. Lake), and also in the privately printed magazines, the *Caian*, 1907-1908, p. 196 ff, cf. 1908-1909, p. 24 (H. B. Swete), and *Mansfield College Magazine*, 1908-1909, p. 148 ff (G. B. Gray).

The author of the Pseudo-Augustinian *Quaestiones*, who also wrote the 'Ambrosiaster' commentary on the Pauline Epistles, is now generally identified with Isaac, the erstwhile enemy of Damasus. He first prepared a collection of 150 (151) 'questions', connected mainly with difficult passages of Scripture. This recension exists apparently only in three manuscripts, of which two belong to the fifteenth century, while the third is no older than the twelfth. Comparison with the later set, internal

evidence, and comparison with the complete quotation of one Question under the name of Ambrose in a fifth-century pseudepigraph on the soul-principle (*De Ratione Animae*), printed in editions of St Jerome, shew that this first recension has been very badly preserved. If it had been as well preserved as the second, it would have been the best course to print the two on opposite pages to facilitate comparison, and this is what Jülicher has desiderated. It has seemed better, however, in the circumstances merely to detail important differences in the Prolegomena, and to print as an appendix a critical edition of the Questions withdrawn by the author in his second edition. This second edition is that which appears in the *editio princeps* of 1497, and is from every point of view the most important. It consists of 127 Questions, and was first printed mainly from a fourteenth-century MS of poor quality still at Paris. Succeeding editors down to the Benedictine did little but reprint this edition. It was, therefore, easy for the Vienna editor, with six ninth-century MSS, one tenth-century MS, and one independent thirteenth-century MS at his back, to produce an edition textually much nearer the original autograph. On a rough estimate the edition contains some three thousand improvements on the Benedictine (Migne) text. One or two examples of these may be chosen to illustrate the value of the MSS :—

quaest. 41 pr.

(Migne)

si uidetur hic errasse in ista sententia, non est accipiendum quod dixit. ideo et a quibusdam spiritus sanctus esse putatur, quia, &c.

(Vienna)

si ideo a quibusdam sanctus spiritus putatur, quia, &c. (the words *uideatur . . . dixit* are proved to be an ancient gloss by their absence from the two leading MSS)

quaest. 101 § 2

(Migne)

quidam igitur qui nomen habet Falcidii, . . . leuitas sacerdotibus . . . coaequare contendit

(Vienna)

quidam igitur, qui nomen habet falsi dei, &c. (the person referred to is Mercurius : see C. H. Turner in this JOURNAL vol. vii p. 281).

Matt. xiii 47 ap. quaest. 102 § 21.

(Migne)

simile est regnum caelorum reti misso in mare, quod, &c.

(Vienna)

simile est regnum caelorum retiae missae in mari, quae, &c.

1 Cor. x 1-4 ap. quaest. 127 § 13.

(Migne)

nolo vos ignorare, fratres, quoniam patres nostri omnes sub nube fuerunt, et omnes per mare trans-

(Vienna)

nolo enim uos ignorare, fratres, quia patres nostri omnes sub nube fuerunt et omnes per mare trans-

*ierunt, et omnes per Moysen baptizati sunt in nube et in mari, et omnes eandem escam spiritualement manducaverunt, et omnes eundem potum spiritualement biberunt. bibe-
bant autem de potu spirituali con-
sequente eos petra : petra autem erat
Christus.*

*ierunt et omnes in Moysen baptizati
sunt in nube et in mari et omnes
eandem escam spiritualement ederunt et
omnes eundem potum spiritualement
biberunt. bibeabant enim de spiritali
sequenti petra : petra autem erat
Christus.*

The preface gives *inter alia* an account of a third edition compiled by some mediaeval Frank in South Germany or thereabouts. This was made up mainly from the author's second edition, but partly from the first also. The date, place, character, and author of the work are discussed. Some account also is given of the books he had read and of the later works in which he is quoted or used, and the preface ends with a brief treatment of manuscripts and editions. The text has been for convenience divided into paragraphs. The indexes of scripture and other quotations, names and things, and words and expressions have purposely been made of considerable length because of the undeserved neglect to which this work has been subjected.

Where most has had to be done from the beginning, it is natural that the editor's knowledge should have increased since the publication of the work. I am less doubtful now as to our author's use of Lactantius (p. xxv), after comparing the passages under *inmergo* with Lact. vol. i p. 477, 11. On p. xxvi I ought not to have overlooked the Irish Canons xxxvii 32 *b* (saec. vii) as an early authority using the *Quaestiones*. The Metz MS (p. xxix) may have been brought by Dietrich, and two of the scribes of the MS would appear to be identical with two who wrote the best MS of Liutprand of Cremona's *Chronicon*.¹ Various illustrations from Bardesanes, Tertullian, Cyprian, Novatian, Arnobius, Gregory of Elvira, Augustine and Leo have offered themselves, which it does not seem necessary to set down here. One illustration from Hilary seems too notable to be passed over. Compare *Quaest.* 125 § 1 *inferior natura quid in potiore sit nescit* with Hil. *de syn.* vi 19 *neque enim aliquando inferior natura superioris a se potiorisque naturae uirtutem consequitur*.

On the question of the exact date of the work several new points have emerged. Can *Quaest.* 2 § 2 be a reference to Maximus and the summer of 383? Jerome, in epist. 123 (not 133), dates the incident referred to in *Quaest.* 115 § 72 as having occurred at the time he was assisting Damasus in Rome (382-384). The famine of *Quaest.* 115

¹ See Becker *Textgesch. Liudpr. v. Crem.* (München, 1908) p. 43 and facss. The inference is my own.

§ 49 may be that of 382 referred to by Symmachus and by Ambrose (*epist.* 18 §§ 21–23). On p. 456, 10 put, after 'fuisset'. In the indexes, besides fresh illustrative matter not here given, the following errors are to be corrected: on p. 482 delete 'Gen. 32, 38 (29) cf. 122, 19' and add '122, 19' before 438, 14 in the preceding line: on p. 483 delete 'Exod. 12, 11 . . . 349, 19' and add '* 12, 27 . . . 349, 19': on p. 492, at Luc. 22, 36, before '228, 4' add '227, 19': on p. 493 add '* 3, 6 cf. 98, 7. 185, 5': on p. 494 delete '19, 16 . . . cf. 115, 1': on p. 497 under '2 Cor. iii 7' for '32, 15' read '32, 5–6. 15': on p. 501, l. 2, for '133' read '123'; on p. 547 a, l. 9, for '21' read '29': on p. 560 b, l. 4 from foot, '53, 1' is *nř*, *quia*: p. 563 for 'paupera' (pr.) read 'pauper': on p. 576, under 'ut, quia' add '29, 22'.

Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours funèbres en l'honneur de son frère Césaire et de Basile de Césarée, . . . par F. BOULENGER. (Picard, Paris, 1908.)

It was a happy thought to unite in this volume, one of the new Hemmer-Lejay series, two orations illustrating respectively the youthful and the mature style of Gregory. The plan is the same as that of the earlier volume noticed above. The introduction deals very properly at considerable length with the rhetorical framework of the panegyrics and shews in detail how they are constructed according to the approved methods of the rhetorical schools. This will prove very useful to the student to whom modern books on ancient rhetoric are not readily accessible. The editor has not attempted to construct a fresh critical text, but has not merely printed it as it appears in the best edition, that of Clémencet and Caillau, reprinted in Migne. He has studied M. Misier's exhaustive account of portions of the Paris MSS of Gregory, which appeared in the *Revue de Philologie* for 1902 and 1903, and has been led to collate two of them, which appear to be the best, namely 510 (saec. ix) and Coisl. 51 (saec. x). The record of the readings of these MSS makes the present edition worthy the attention of more than the circle for which it is primarily intended. The annotations are valuable, some of them particularly so, such as the lengthy notes on the meanings of *φιλοσοφία*, *οικονομία*, *σύνδοξ* in Greek Fathers, as well as those on the eschatology of Gregory, and on monasteries. The edition certainly justifies its existence. There are misprints on pp. lviii, lxxvi, xciii, xcix, 4, 14. There are places where perhaps the MSS reading should have been put into the text. In the case of a purist like Gregory it is a large question to decide whether one ought to print *ὕγεια* of the Old Attic days or *ὕγεία*, which seems invariable in papyri of the Christian era: so with *φαρρία* and *φαρρία* (both p. lxxxi): a wide induction is wanted. On p. xcv the *libelli* discovered by Grenfell and Hunt deserved

mention as well as that which Dr Krebs found. Are the authorities for the variants at the beginning of *Bas.* 40, 2 rightly given? both there and at 48, 3 I prefer ἀνθαδίζω to ἀνθαδιάζω. Is it quite certain that εἰς τὸ παντελές (*Caes.* 16, 4) is *tout à fait*? Sometimes at least the expression would appear to be temporal, e.g. in British Museum *Par.* 1164 more than once we have ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸ παντελές. The question is of some interest to N. T. students, as the expression occurs in Luke and Hebrews. Μανσώλου (p. 188) is bad: no MS can be trusted as between ω and ο; read Μανσώλου or better still Μανσώλλον. We are grateful for the index, but it is a little difficult to see on what principle it has been constructed. Many common words have been included, but no room has been found for rarer words, like διαπύρως (*Caes.* 11, 2), δουλοπρεπῶς (*Caes.* 11, 5).

Grégoire de Nysse, Discours catéchétique . . .: par L. MÉRIDIER. (Picard, Paris, 1908.)

A SERIES of the comprehensiveness of that edited by Hemmer and Lejay was bound to contain an edition of Gregory's masterpiece. In this instance the editor's task has been made much easier by the previous publication of Dr Srawley's model edition in 1903. To this work Dr Méridier is under very great obligations, which are fully acknowledged. Not only does he reproduce Srawley's text, but he draws very freely on his introduction and notes. In the circumstances it is not so necessary to refer to this useful edition at length. On prol. 3 the approved form of text in John i 18 should have been quoted: in chap. 31 it was hardly necessary to refer to the intransitive κατορθοῖν, as it is familiar to readers of classical Greek. The introduction occupies fifty-seven pages, the critical and explanatory notes only twenty-seven, and the text and translation together two hundred.

ΧΡΥCOCTOMIKA: *Studi e Ricerche intorno a S. Giovanni Crisostomo, a cura del comitato per il xv° centenario della sua morte: 407-1907. Fascicolo I.* (Roma, 1908.)

THE fifteen-hundredth anniversary of the death of St John Chrysostom was fittingly celebrated in Rome and elsewhere in 1907, but the honour paid to his memory was not merely that of outward ceremonial.¹ In that year appeared a notable work by a young Austrian scholar, Dom Chrysostom Baur, entitled *S. Jean Chrysostome et ses œuvres dans l'histoire littéraire*, which was reviewed by Dr Nairn in the January number of the JOURNAL. This and smaller contributions in the *Revue Bénédictine* and elsewhere lead us to welcome in him that Chrysostom

¹ See *Compte rendu des fêtes du quinzième centenaire de la mort de S. J. C.*, par P. C. Charon.

specialist for whom we have been waiting. Now from Rome itself comes the first part of a beautiful work, which is intended to comprise three parts. The first is literary and historical in character, the second liturgical, and the third is concerned with the hagiology, the relics, and the artistic representations of St John Chrysostom. The authors and subjects of the first part are:—N. Turchi, 'La figura morale di S. Giov. Cris.'; E. C. Butler, 'Authorship of the *Dialogus De Vita Chrysostomi*'; A. M. Amelli, 'S. Giov. Cris. anello provvidenziale tra Costantinopoli e Roma'; F. Sabatini, 'L'opera sociale di S. Giov. Cris.'; A. Naegele, 'Chrysostomos und Libanios'; G. Aucher, 'S. Giov. Cris. nella letteratura armena'; C. Bacha, 'S. Jean Chrys. dans la littérature arabe'; A. Palmieri, 'S. Giov. Cris. nella letteratura russa'; M. Tamarati, 'S. Jean Chrys. dans la littérature géorgienne'; S. Haidacher, 'Chrysostomus-Fragmente'; C. Baur, 'Der ursprüngliche Umfang des Kommentars des hl. Joh. Chrysostomus zu den Psalmen'.

Considerations of space and a very slender knowledge of Italian alike prevent me from dealing with this volume in detail. The names of the authors and the subjects they respectively treat will make it clear at once that it is a work no serious student of Chrysostom dare neglect. In fact it is of the highest importance, as well as a very worthy memorial of the recent celebrations. Abbot Butler appears to me to have proved his point that the *Dialogus* is by the same Palladius as wrote the *Historia Lausiaca*¹. His investigation into this question is a model of what such things should be. Dr Naegele's paper is much the longest in the book, occupying as it does rather more than a quarter of it. It is a very thorough study of the relations between Libanius and Chrysostom, and of the influence exerted by the teacher on the pupil. On the date of the *De sacerdotio* (p. 97) we miss a reference to Nairn's Introduction. Otherwise we have found Dr Naegele to be a master of the latest literature of the subject. He gives copious references both to ancient and to modern works. The accuracy of the printing of this article leaves something to be desired. The Dean of Winchester appears three times as 'Steffens': there are errors in the German on pp. 89, 125: as the article of 'Tourner' on 'Isidor' in this JOURNAL was not accessible to Naegele (p. 103), we may excuse the double error. Haidacher, who possesses a consummate knowledge of Chrysostom's style, has taught us to expect the publication of Chrysostom *anecdota* from him. In this paper he collects fragments of Chrysostom on the Book of Job, sifting the collection given in Migne *P. G.* lxiv 505–656, shewing that a considerable number are printed in other places in the published works of Chrysostom, while others are spurious, and leaving

¹ I have to thank him and Dom Baur for separate copies of their papers.

a certain number as from works of Chrysostom now lost. He calls attention at the same time to an unpublished commentary on Job by Chrysostom contained in MS Laur. plut. ix cod. 13 (saec. x). In the second part of his paper he elicits several fragments of Chrysostom from the Epistles of St Nilus (Migne *P. G.* lxxix). He incidentally shews that this collection is in need of careful study, being in part at least a compilation from a number of early sources. Some forty-five letters depend on Chrysostom. Dom Baur argues with cogency that we possess all Chrysostom ever wrote on the Psalms. On all accounts this beautiful book with its large type and its generous margins is to be welcomed.

Sancti Aureli Augustini Scripta contra Donatistas: Pars I: Psalmus contra Partem Donati, Contra Epistolam Parmeniani Libri Tres, De Baptismo Libri Septem [Corp. Scr. Eccl. Lat. vol. LI] recensuit M. PETSCHENIG. (Vindobonae et Lipsiae, 1908.)

AUGUSTINIAN studies have lately been carried on with a most gratifying vigour. Not only has a third edition of the now lamented Dombart's edition of the *De Civitate Dei* appeared (Leipzig, 1905-1909), with a monograph on the early editions (Leipzig, 1908), but the publication of the *Geistesfrüchte* of the deceased Dom Odilo Rottmanner (München, 1908), the greatest authority on Augustine during the past half-century, the *Augustin: Studien zu seiner geistigen Entwicklung* of H. Becker (Leipzig, 1908), the *Augustins geistige Entwicklung in den ersten Jahren nach seiner 'Bekehrung'*, 386-391 of W. Thimme (Berlin, 1908), and the *Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Augustin* of K. Adam, in addition to the three works presently to be referred to, deserve mention.

Probably no other living scholar has rendered greater services to the study of the later Latin authors than Prof. Petschenig of Graz. It is now some forty years since he began his literary career with a dissertation on the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, and since that time he has devoted himself with unflagging enthusiasm to the Latin writers of the fourth and succeeding centuries especially. The present book will enhance his reputation. Each of the three works here edited is presented in a form much more accurate than has been previously attained. With regard to the *De Baptismo* it may indeed be said that we now have it practically as it left the hands of the author, thanks to the excellence of two manuscripts, both unknown to the Maurists and their predecessors, a MS in the Escorial of the sixth century (formerly of Spanheim), and Laud. misc. 130 of the ninth or tenth century (formerly of Ebirbach). The latter MS is a copy of a sixth-century

twin of the Escorial MS. This closely related pair bring us close to the times of Augustine himself, and thus no work of his is better preserved. Students of Cyprian will do well to read the *De Baptismo* in this edition. They will find that Petschenig's text again and again comes nearer to the words of the *Sententiae Episcoporum* as recorded in the best Cyprianic tradition. Hartel's apparatus is thus susceptible of improvement. This volume illustrates within itself the diverse fates which the various works of St Augustine have experienced. While the *De Baptismo* has survived in nine manuscripts older than the year 1000, the *Psalmus* is preserved in none older than the twelfth century, and the *Contra Epistulam Parmeniani* has no older witnesses than three of the eleventh century. A close study of parallel passages and a cautious use of emendation have done a good deal for the purification of the text of these. The Maurists and their predecessors do not appear to have done their usual justice to the text of this latter work. The consequence is that, despite the comparative lateness of the authorities, a lateness which is somewhat discounted by the good orthography of the best MS (Casinensis 163 saec xi),¹ Dr Petschenig has been able to make some twelve hundred improvements in its text. It seems certain, however, that Augustine wrote *Ezechielum* (pp. 50, 3; 55, 18; 133, 16: cf. C. H. Turner in the JOURNAL vol. vi p. 252; ix 62 ff): *cordis inspector* is rather to be traced to Acts xv 8 than to Prov. xxiv 12 (compare the passages cited in the JOURNAL vol. ix p. 146). There is a good deal to interest the philologist in this volume, in addition to the orthographical matter. On p. 53, 7 there is a new example of *catholica* (= *catholica ecclesia*) to add to Rottmanner's classical article in the *Revue Bénédictine* for 1900, p. 1 ff (reprinted in *Geistesfrüchte* p. 74 ff). Examples of *sedere* with the accusative (p. 64, 13) are not common (see another in ps.-Aug. *Quaest.* p. 272, 4). The unseparated *ne quidem* is a thing grammarians hardly, if at all, know anything about. Yet it occurs very often in the Latin Irenaeus, once in ps.-Aug. *Quaest.*, once or twice in 1 Cor. v 11, as quoted by Priscillian, and four times as quoted in this volume. On p. 116, 13 there is a new word *conperdo* (= συναπλόλυνμι of LXX) in Ps. 25, 9 as quoted there. In connexion with the *Psalmus*, one of the few surviving examples of Latin doggerel verse, readers are recommended to study Engelbrecht's paper in the *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* for 1908, vii Heft.² A few errors in Petschenig's book may be pointed out. There should have been a reference to Rom. ii 4 at p. 216, 14; on p. 311, 7 the words

¹ Illustrated, for example, by the spellings *humilare*, *Belian*, *distingunt*, *facinerosus*, &c. (cited by Petschenig, p. xi), to which add *absorta* (59, 5).

² I owe a *Sonderabdruck* to his kindness.

from *quia* to the end should also have been spaced (see Wordsworth and White on Io. iii 6) as part of the quotation. The asterisk is as usual employed in the index to indicate that a text is quoted in a pre-Vulgate form. Editors should be careful to use this asterisk only where Wordsworth and White's form differs, and not where there is a difference merely from the Sixto-Clementine form. Thus the asterisk should be removed from Matt. 5, 9. On p. 383 b, 'Eph.' should be transferred to line 3; on page 384 b, 'Tit.' should be transferred to line 4. The student of the African Old-Latin Bibles will find much to content him in this volume. A cursory study of some quotations has shewn a signal agreement with **N** in the long quotation of Isa. lix 1-8 by Parmenian, and has also revealed that, though **r** may represent the Augustinian text of the Pauline Epistles, the relationship between **r** and **d** is a close one (cf. Tit. i 7 on p. 215, 24). Two of the MSS at pp. 108, 13; 110, 2 shew an interesting agreement with Ambrosiaster against the Vulgate and against what appears to be Augustine's text. The extreme pleasure with which this volume has been read makes one all the more eager for the second and third volumes of the anti-Donatist tracts, the former of which has already appeared.

The Confessions of Augustine: edited by J. GIBB and W. MONTGOMERY.
(Cambridge University Press, 1908.)

THE appearance of the present volume is a notable event in the history of British scholarship, and it is to be hoped that it will be received as it deserves. There are not wanting signs that this will be the case. A leading (unsigned) article in the *Times Literary Supplement* for August 20, 1908, distinguished alike by grace, insight, and power, has represented its significance and its merits admirably. The writer as truly as boldly declares that 'there is no reason, except an academic convention, to give the language of Cicero a higher value than that of Augustine'. To the present chronicler it seems indisputable that, whether Augustine be the greatest Latin writer or not, he is the greatest man who ever wrote Latin. This anonymous reviewer has earned our thanks, and we hope ere long that no one will be regarded as having had a truly liberal education who has not read the *Confessions* in the original. It is not purposed here to give a long account of the present edition. I have no quarrel with the editors except on two minor points. First, they have adopted P. Knöll's Vienna text of 1896, apparently unaware of the severe criticisms to which it was subjected by competent critics on its appearance; it would have been better on the whole to examine into the validity of these criticisms, and to modify Knöll's text, if necessary, at times. Second, they are weak on the lan-

guage side. The present writer made during the years 1895 to 1900 very full collections on the vocabulary of a third of the works of Augustine, and has always been anxious that these should be accessible to persons interested. Indeed, in the course of a controversy in *The Athenaeum* for 1905 he took the opportunity of publicly offering the use of them to any parties interested. Having had no warning that the present edition was forthcoming, he was unable to offer their use privately to the present editors. To illustrate the usefulness of such collections, take the note on *praenuntiator* (p. 247, 1): 'The word is only cited from this passage and *de Gen. ad Lit.* viii 4, 8.' Quite true; but my collections tell me it occurs also in *Serm.* 163, 11; 288, 2; 288, 4 (see other cases below). Save for these two features, the edition appears to me to shew both adequate learning and a sense of proportion. The student receives every help which he could expect. Some notes may be given. On p. lxxi there appears to be some confusion between the first edition of Augustine's collected works and that of his *Confessions*: the first edition of the latter appeared at Milan in 1475,¹ but of this edition the editors know nothing. It was of course no part of their business to examine the earliest editions of the *Confessions* in the admirable way Dombart has treated those of the *De Civitate Dei* (Texte und Untersuchungen, dritte Reihe, Bd. 2), but it is worth while that some one should undertake the task. On p. lxxii, n. 1, for 'reprobas' read 'reprobos': this note as a whole could have been made clearer: p. 42, 4 on *prodiebat*: these forms completely ousted the classical *prodibat*, &c.; we see the beginning of the tendency in Seneca: p. 50, 14 the word *inuestigabilis* not only might, but sometimes does mean the opposite of 'incomprehensible'; the editors should have noted the existence of *ininuestigabilis* and considered whether it ought not to be read: p. 51, 3 n. for 'decedit' read 'decidet'. The very rare *ex inuicem* (p. 87, 1), elsewhere known only in the Latin Irenaeus, deserved a note. It is incorrect to say that p. 154, 2 is the first occurrence of the word *submurmuro*: it was used already, about thirteen years before, in the *De Ordine* i 15 ppr. *Trahebat* (p. 163, 10) deserved a note. On p. 189, 19 *omnitenens* requires a fuller note, both as to origin (Wisdom. i 7) and meaning. The note on *contempero* (p. 195, 2) must be corrected in view of the *Thesaurus* article. P. 209, 22 should have a cross-reference to p. 252, 18, and *vice versa*. P. 238, 14 *unde* demanded a full note. On p. 272 b read '*Lexikogr.*', and correct the reference. On p. 305, 23 Knöll's orthography *absorta* should not have been departed from: do the editors know any certain instance of *absorpta* in fourth- or fifth-century authors? So with *coherceo*, *cohercizio*. On p. 317, 11 the explana-

¹ Schoenemann *Bibliotheca Patrum* ii (Lips. 1794) p. 235.

tion of *circumquaque* is no doubt right, but some other examples might have been given, such as *Serm.* 39, 2 ; 178, 8 ; 211, 2 ; 256, 1, one of countless instances where Lewis and Short are hopelessly wrong. The latent reference on p. 328, 2 to 2 Thess. ii 4 might have been noted. It is not correct to say that *morula* is cited only from Aug. (p. 347, 27) : Lewis-Short give Apuleius, and Benoist-Goelzer give Cyprian (it should be ap. Cypr. : I have six examples from Aug. : it looks as if it were African). The note on *contuitus* should be corrected (p. 351, 7) by reference to the *Thesaurus* (cf. also 378, 2). On p. 442, 24 it is hardly right to say that *conpagino* is rare : in addition to the five examples in Lewis-Short, there are at least six in Ambrosiaster, and at least four in Aug. : the derivative *conpaginatio* is about equally common ; Severus (ap. Aug. *epist.* cix 3 m) has *conpaginabilis*, and *Anecd. Helvet.* has *conpaginator*. Though it has been necessary to mention these defects, it is but fair to recognize that even in the linguistic part of this admirable book great care and caution have been shewn.

St Augustins Schrift De Consensu Evangelistarum unter vornehmlicher Berücksichtigung ihrer harmonistischen Anschauungen : eine biblisch-patristische Studie von H. J. VOGELS. (Freiburg i. Br., 1908.)

THE present work, which forms a part of that excellent series *Biblische Studien*, appears at a very fitting time, when the synoptic problem is being attacked as it never was before, and when we have recently been provided in Wehrich's Vienna edition with a competent fresh recension of Augustine's work, one of the very earliest attempts to deal with the problem. The introduction deals with the purpose of the *De Consensu*, the opponents against whom it was directed, the date, the gospel text employed in it, investigation of the sources, conspectus of the contents and plan of the work. The main part of the book is in two divisions, first, the presuppositions of the harmonistic (including Augustine's idea of inspiration, the relation of the evangelists to one another), and second, the harmonistic views of Augustine (including preliminary notes, the harmonistic views in case of comparison of the differences in the words and speeches of the Gospels, the harmonistic views which emerge on comparison of differences in the historical parts of the Gospels, the harmonistic views with reference to the chronology in the Gospels). An appendix traces the influence exercised by the *De Consensu* on later writings, and the book ends with indexes of passages discussed and of names.

This is a careful, learned and up-to-date book, and merits every attention. The part that will attract most is that where, *impar congressus Achilli*, he essays to overturn the theory, ably advocated by Burkitt, that in the *De Consensu* Augustine used the Vulgate text. A similar

attack was delivered by J. Denk in the *Biblische Zeitschrift* for 1908. Professor Burkitt is well able to defend himself, and certainly there is no call for the present reviewer to try the part of Patroclus. Vogels's contention is that, while appearances favour Burkitt, they are due to the harmonization of Augustine's real Old-Latin Biblical text with the Vulgate, exactly as happened in the case of certain MSS of the *Speculum*. A critical examination of the evidence adduced by Vogels will certainly not strengthen his case. In the first place he assumes that the Wordsworth-White text must necessarily be the Vulgate as Jerome issued it, and omits to give the contrary evidence of many Vulgate MSS, where their text differs from that preferred by the Oxford scholars. For instance, in Matt. xvii 10 nine Vulgate MSS have *oportet*, and in Matt. xxiv 16 eight Vulgate MSS have *in*. Again, mere matters of orthography are elevated to the honourable position of serious variants: *dispargo* (versus *dispergo*) in Matt. xxvi 31 (a specially unfair case, too, as six Vulgate MSS have the *a*), and the like. The Old-Latin evidence, too, is given with insufficient fullness: for example, the readings of Bobiensis (*k*) seem to have been entirely ignored, and those of Corbeiensis II (*ff*²) are not always cited (instances on pp. 26, 27, 37). Sometimes the readings of the latter are incorrectly given: for example, *eam* (Matt. xv 23) and not *illam*, *gedsamani* (Matt. xxvi 36) and not *getsamani*, are the readings of *ff*². So 'monac.' reads *a caiphan* in Io. xviii 28. The writer has the same veneration for Weihrich's admirable edition of the *De Consensu* that he has for Wordsworth and White: otherwise, he could hardly have overlooked the fact that the oldest MS of the *De Consensu* twice reads *iuda scarioth* in Matt. xxvi 14. But few instances are left, in fact, where it is morally certain that Augustine is using an Old-Latin reading which was not retained in the Vulgate; such is the presence of *et* in Matt. xii 40: Marc. xiv 35, Luke iii 16 are other instances. It would appear, then, that Burkitt is right; and the practice of Augustine in other works seems to confirm his view. Take, for instance, the case of Matt. xxv 31-41 quoted in the *De Civitate Dei* xx 25 (Dombart⁹ ii p. 414) practically *ad literam* from the Vulgate. We would not, however, have Dr Vogels judged by his work in textual criticism. In this he will gain by further experience. The rest of his treatise, on which I cannot dwell here, is an excellent piece of work, which will prove valuable to all students of Augustine.

Des Petrus von Laodicea Erklärung des Matthäusevangeliums zum ersten Male herausgegeben und untersucht von C. F. G. HEINRICI. (Leipzig, 1908.) (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung des Neuen Testaments V.)

THE commentary of Peter of Laodicea on St Matthew's Gospel, which

sometimes appears without the author's name in MSS, is found in company with Victor of Antioch's commentary on St Mark and two others on the third and fourth Gospels respectively, but of the four only the commentary on St Mark has been published. This is rather strange, in view of the fact that there is a considerable number of manuscripts as old as the tenth and eleventh centuries. The commentary consists of 272 scholia, which follow the order of the Gospel text, but the comments on each section of the Gospel form a unity. The work is of course in the main a compilation, half being from Origen, three-tenths from Chrysostom, and the remaining fifth from the author himself and unknown sources. The extracts are sometimes copied exactly, sometimes worked up. The Peter commentary itself served as the backbone of a group of catenae on St Matthew. In fact it occupies a sort of middle position between the great exegetical works of the period 200 to 450 and the later works of Theophylact, &c. The chief value of the commentary lies in the fact that a good deal of the lost part of Origen is there represented. The compiler has dropped most of the allegorical parts of Origen, and is a more careful copier than Jerome was. He knew even Clement's *Hypotyposes*, as the manner in which he refers to the legendary tradition about the leper healed by Our Lord shews.¹ The commentary is interesting and written in good Greek.

It would have been impossible to find a better editor for this work than Dr Heinrici, who is the author of a monograph on Peter of Laodicea, as well as a much-valued commentator on the Epistles to the Corinthians. The publishers and printers have not been behindhand. The volume is an elegant quarto beautifully printed on good paper with generous margins. The introduction of about fifty pages contains besides the necessary diplomatic details discussions of the characteristics of the commentary, its sources and the method of its composition, its interest, its theology, its relation to St Matthew's text, finally, its date and its author. The commentary proper fills the upper half of the page while the rest is devoted partly to the critical apparatus, in which scholia from an important Moscow MS are printed, and partly to an indication of the sources of the commentary. These extra scholia are labelled 'Origen', 'Apollinarius', &c. The volume ends with four indexes. The first is of words, the second of proper names, and the third of proper names whose meaning is defined: the fourth is an index of all passages cited from authors in the scholia of the Moscow MS. Dr Heinrici's work is always so accurate as to leave little room for improvement: correct 'Manuscripts' on p. xi, l. 7 to 'Manuscrits', and on l. 24

¹ See Mercati's *Un Frammento delle Ipotiposi di Clemente Alessandrino* (Roma, 1904), and this JOURNAL vol. vii p. 144, where αὐτοῖς and ὑμῖν ought to be transposed, as Prof. Burkitt kindly informed me at the time.

of the same page correct 'Textgeschichte' to 'Textkritik'; on p. xxxii, l. 15, for '17' read '14'; on p. xliii he ought to have referred to Baur's *S. Jean Chrysostome et ses œuvres dans l'histoire littéraire* p. 59, where he would have found earlier examples of the name Chrysostomus applied to St John than Stilling knew. It is good news to learn from the preface that Sickenberger, a leading authority on Catenae, is to publish Peter's commentary on St Luke.

Textgeschichte Liudprands von Cremona von J. BECKER, mit zwei Tafeln. (München, 1908.) (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, begründet von L. TRAUBE. Dritter Band, Zweites Heft.)

Die Gedichte des Paulus Diaconus, kritische und erklärende Ausgabe von K. NEFF, mit einer Tafel. (München, 1908.) (Quellen und Untersuchungen u.s.w., Dritter Band, Viertes Heft.)

THESE works do not exactly belong to the province of patristics, and it is the less necessary for me to deal with them here, that I have reviewed them elsewhere.¹ Dr Becker's work is a study of the manuscripts of Liudprand's Chronicle, of which a new edition is imperatively needed. The discussion is interesting and seemingly convincing. The facsimiles of pages of the most important manuscript are very welcome. —Dr Neff's edition of the poems of Paulus, which are of a historical and literary rather than a theological interest, is a real advance on that of Dümmler, and, being equipped with an explanatory commentary in addition to the other helps one expects in such an edition, it is indispensable to the student of mediaeval literature. Further, three previously unpublished poems appear in this edition for the first time. The whole work is worthy of the great master who founded this series.

W. Capito im Dienste Erzbischof Albrechts von Mainz, Quellen und Forschungen zu den entscheidenden Jahren der Reformation (1519–1523): von P. KALKOFF. (Berlin, 1907.) (Neue Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche, herausg. v. Bonwetsch u. Seeberg: erstes Stück.)

DR KALKOFF, who is no novice in the study of the Reformation, here provides a valuable addition to Herrmann's *Geschichte der evangelischen Bewegung in Mainz*. Some idea of the scope of the work may be got from the headings of the chapters:—'Capitos Prozess um die Propstei von St Thomas in Strassburg,' 'Capitos Kampf gegen die Vollziehung der Bannbulle auf dem Reichstage von Worms,' 'Capito als Agent Aleanders bei Wilhelm Nesen in Frankfurt,' 'Capito als Vertreter

¹ In the *English Historical Review* for April, 1909.

Aleanders bei Johann Cochläus,' 'Capitos Kampf gegen die Ausführung des Wormser Edikts,' 'Capitos Vermittlung gegenüber Luther und seinen Anhängern,' 'Die Haltung der Kurie und des Erzbischofs gegenüber der lutherischen Bewegung in Erfurt,' 'Albrecht von Mainz und Capito auf dem Reichstage von Nürnberg,' 'Der Umschwung in der kirchenpolitischen Haltung Albrechts und Capitos Rücktritt.' Nine documents are printed in an appendix:—'Albrecht von Mainz an Leo X, 1 September 1520,' 'Capito an Aleander, 29 März 1521,' 'Der päpstliche Sekretär Bombasio an Capito, 13 April 1521,' 'Dr Balth. Geier an den Generalvikar Dr Dietrich Zobel, 2 Mai 1521,' 'Instruktion für Karl v. Miltitz [Ende Juli 1521],' 'Albrecht von Mainz an Karl V [Ende August 1521],' 'Leo X an Albrecht von Mainz, 5 Oktober 1521,' 'Capito an Joh. Bader, Prokurator an der Rota Romana, 14 Februar 1523,' and 'Capito an den Nuntius Franc. Chieregati'. When it is added that the text of the work is fully annotated, and that there is an excellent index, it is unnecessary to do more to call the attention of Reformation students to this work.

A. SOUTER.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, July 1909 (Vol. lxxiii, No. 136: Spottiswoode & Co.). The union of South Africa and the Native question—A. T. S. GOODRICK John Calvin: an historical estimate—W. A. SPOONER The royal commission and poor law reform—J. A. ROBINSON Westminster in the twelfth century: Osbert of Clare—T. I. BALL The reunion problem: a 'Scottish episcopal view'—H. D. OAKELEY The Greek contribution to spiritual progress—Darwin and modern thought—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, July 1909 (Vol. vii, No. 4: Williams & Norgate). H. WEINEL Religious life and thought in Germany to-day—G. K. CHESTERTON and J. H. MOULTON Jesus or Christ? a reply to Mr Roberts—R. HART Moral force in war—G. T. LADD The confusion of pragmatism—F. C. S. SCHILLER Choice—B. D. EERDMANS A new developement in Old Testament criticism—J. DEWEY Is Nature good? a conversation—E. MONTET Le culte des saints dans l'Islam—L. T. MORE Atomic theories and modern physics—D. FREW The Scottish establishment from an inside point of view—W. B. SMITH Kant's transcendental aesthetic in the light of modern mathematics—Discussions—Reviews—Bibliography.

The Expositor, July 1909 (Seventh Series, No. 43: Hodder & Stoughton). W. M. RAMSAY Historical commentary on the First Epistle to Timothy—B. D. EERDMANS The Book of the Covenant and the Decalogue—A. E. GARVIE The end of the Law—F. H. WOODS Ezekiel, ch. iv: a psychological and pathological problem—C. LATTEY The sinner in the city—J. R. HARRIS A further note on testimonies in Barnabas—E. H. ASKWITH The historical value of the Fourth Gospel—S. LANGDON Babylon at the time of the Exile.

August 1909 (Seventh Series, No. 44). S. A. COOK Palestinian excavations and the history of Israel—F. R. TENNANT The positive elements in the conception of sin—A. E. GARVIE The victory over death—S. LANGDON Babylon at the time of the Exile—B. D. EERDMANS The Book of the Covenant and the Decalogue—W. M. RAMSAY Historical commentary on the First Epistle to Timothy—J. MOFFATT Materials for the preacher.

September 1909 (Seventh Series, No. 45). D. M. ROSS Father Tyrrell and Protestantism—C. E. OSBORNE Recollections of Father Tyrrell—B. D. EERDMANS The Book of the Covenant and the Decalogue—A. E. GARVIE The purpose of God—E. H. ASKWITH The ministry of the Baptist—W. M. RAMSAY Historical commentary on the First Epistle to Timothy—G. R. WYNNE 'Mending their nets'—J. MOFFATT Materials for the preacher.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, July 1909 (Vol. xiii, No. 3: Chicago University Press). G. A. COE Religion and the subconscious—H. F. BURTON Seneca's idea of God—S. A. COOK Simeon and Levi: the problem of the Old Testament—S. H. BISHOP Creedal statement and the modern spirit—F. H. FOSTER The theology of the new rationalism—A. HOBEN What has the Church a right to demand in theological reconstruction?—T. W. GALLOWAY An evolutionary argument for the validity of religious faith—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, July 1909 (Vol. vii, No. 3: Princeton University Press). J. DE WITT John Calvin: the man—B. B. WARFIELD Calvin's doctrine of God—H. BAVINCK Calvin and common grace—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, July 1909 (Vol. xxvi, No. 3: Abbaye de Maredsous). G. MORIN Un traité priscillianiste inédit sur la Trinité—A. WILMART Un missel grégorien ancien—R. ANCEL Le procès et la disgrâce des Carafa (*suite et fin*): XVII L'héritage des condamnés: XVIII La revision du procès et la réhabilitation sous Pie V—P. DENIS Le cardinal de Fleury, dom Alaydon et dom Thuillier—P. DE MEESTER Études sur la théologie orthodoxe: IV La Providence de Dieu—A. WILMART Un mot d'explication à propos des nouveaux fragments des prophètes—A. S. PEACE Iterum Hieronymiana—G. MORIN Noël en Novembre?—U. BERLIÈRE Deux actes concernant Guibert Martin, abbé de Gembloux—Chronique—Comptes rendus—Notes Bibliographiques.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July 1909 (Vol. x, No. 3: Louvain, 40 Rue de Namur). J. MAHÉ La sanctification d'après saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie (*suite et fin*)—J. M. VIDAL Un recueil manuscrit de sermons prononcés aux conciles de Constance et de Bâle—R. ANCEL La réconciliation de l'Angleterre avec le Saint-Siège sous Marie Tudor: Légation du Cardinal Polus en Angleterre (1553-1554) (*à suivre*)—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

Analecta Bollandiana, July 1909 (Vol. xxviii, No. 3: Brussels, 22 Boulevard Saint-Michel). P. PEETERS Une Passion arménienne de S. Georges—A. PONCELET La Vie de S. Gombert d'Ansbach—H. MORETUS Les reliques de la cathédrale d'Osnabrück en 1343—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques—H. DELEHAYE Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum regii monasterii S. Laurentii Scorialensis—Appendix: U. CHEVALIER Repertorium hymnologicum: supplementum alterum, pp. 1-32.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, April 1909 (2nd series, Vol. iv, No. 2: Paris, 20 Rue du Regard). F. NAU Littérature canonique syriaque inédite: Concile d'Antioche: Lettre d'Italie: Canons 'des Saints Pères', de Philoxène, de Théodose, d'Anthime, d'Athanase, etc. (*fin*)—F. NAU Un fragment syriaque des 'Voyages' de saint Pierre—S. GRÉBAUT Vie de Barsoma le Syrien (texte éthiopien, traduction française)—L. LEROY Histoire d'Haikar le sage (texte des mss arabes 3637 et 3656 de Paris, avec traduction française) (*fin*)—M. BRIÈRE Histoire de Jean le Siloïte (texte syriaque, traduction française)—R. GRIVEAU Notice des manuscrits arabes chrétiens entrés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris depuis la publication du catalogue—S. VAILHÉ Saint Euthyme le Grand, moine de Palestine (376-473) (*suite*)—S. PETRIDÈS La chrysobulle de Manuel Comnène (1148) sur les biens d'Église—F. NAU Note sur le titre *Tegourlâ Heraclidis*—F. NAU Les suffragants d'Antioche au milieu du vi^e siècle—Bibliographie: L. MAHLER *Grammatik der amharischen Sprache* (S. GRÉBAUT): E. TISSERANT *Ascension d'Isaïe* (F. NAU): *Chrysostomica* ii et iii (F. NAU)—Livres nouveaux (Littérature des Mozarabes: Morales et religions: Fragment liturgique: Comme quoi Napoléon n'a jamais existé).

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, August 1909 (Vol. x, No. 3: Giessen, A. Töpelmann). A. JACOBY Zur Heilung des Blinden von Bethsaida—K. ERBES Zeit und Ziel der Grösse Röm. 16, 3-15 und der Mitteilungen 2 Tim. 4, 9-21. II—E. WENDLING Synoptische Studien—W. SOLTAU Die Anordnung der Logia in Lukas 15-18—F. ISRAEL Der Kanon als Zwillings der Schöpfung—J. DE ZWAAN Gal. 4, 14 aus dem Neugriechischen erklärt—O. HOLTZMANN Der Hebräerbrief und das Abendmahl—Miszellen.

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, August 1909 (Vol. xxx, No. 3: Gotha, F. A. Perthes). VON SCHUBERT Beiträge zur Geschichte der evangelischen Bekenntnis- und Bündnisbildung 1529/30 (*Schluss*)—VON DER GOLTZ Neue Fragmente aus der ägyptischen Liturgie—

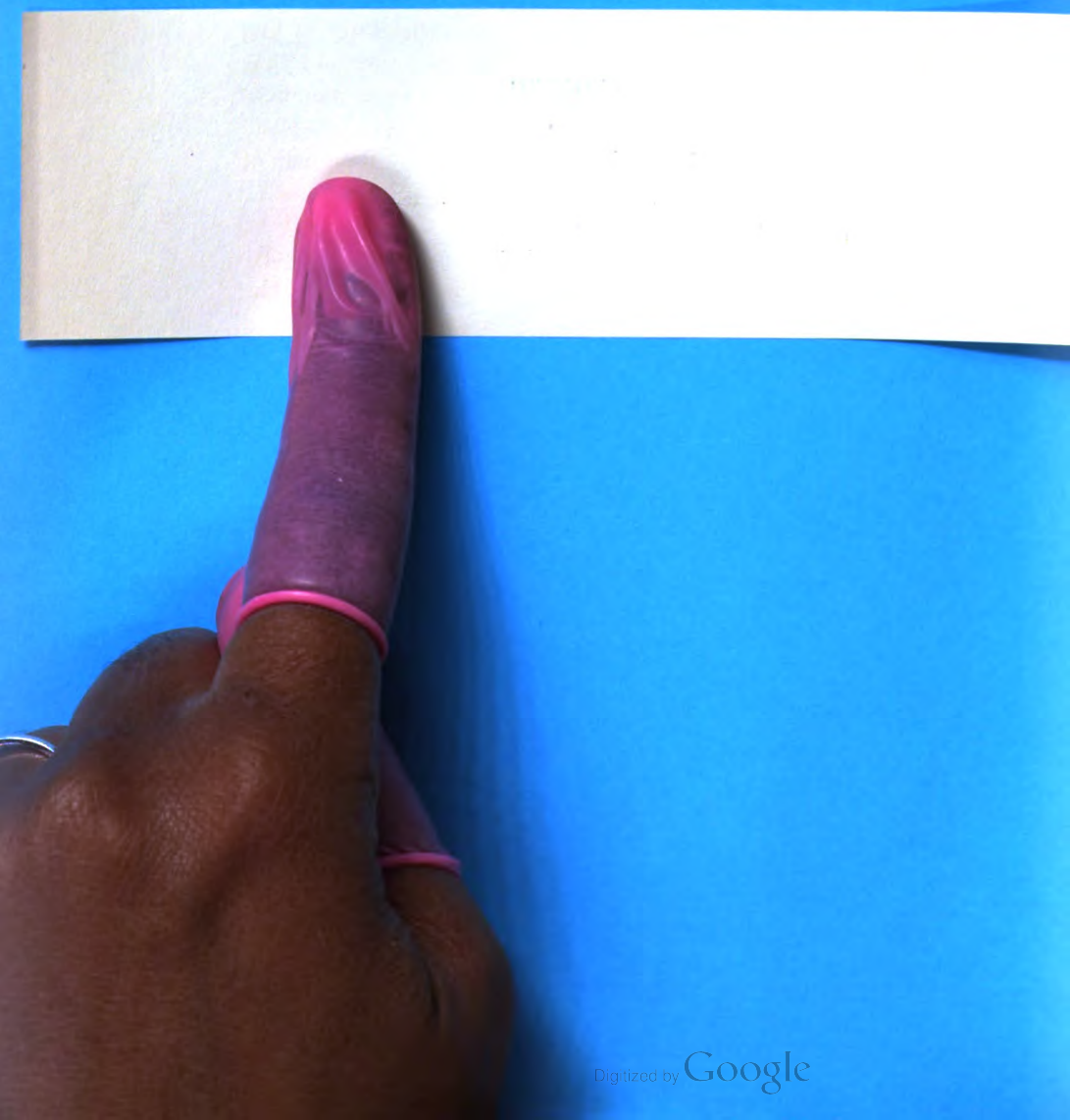
PASQUALI Eine Stelle des Basilius und die hesychastische Polemik—
AKINIANZ Noch einmal armenische Nestoriana — GEBHARDT Ein
Merkvers—Nachrichten—Bibliographie.

Theologische Quartalschrift (Vol. xci, No. 3 : Tübingen, H. Laupp).
BELSER Die Frauen in den neutestamentlichen Schriften—ZELLER Die
Zeit Kommodians — BUTURAS Symbolae ad hermeneuticas catenas
graecas e codice Monac. graeco ix—DREVES Haben wir Gregor d. Gr.
als Hymnendichter anzusehen?—Rezensionen—Analekten.

CORRIGENDA

J.T.S. Vol. xi No. 41, Oct. 1909

- P. 84 l. 33 *before* to win his love *insert* in its failure
P. 85 l. 5 *for* loving *read* living
P. 92 l. 26 *for* lightly *read* highly



The Journal of Theological Studies

JANUARY, 1910

THE CAMBRIDGE BIBLICAL ESSAYS.¹

THE sixteen essays which make up this volume are presented as a sequel to the volume of *Cambridge Theological Essays* published in 1905. The only structural difference (if so we should call it) between the two books is that the later of the two rests upon a wider basis of co-operation. We are told that 'all the contributors to the Theological Essays were members of the English Church, and all but one were of the clergy; the present book, on the other hand, contains Essays by members of several religious bodies, and among the Essayists are five laymen'. The satisfaction which the editor evidently felt in this will be shared by the readers.

It fell to me to review the previous volume in the pages of the JOURNAL (January 1906). One cannot always quite trust an impression recalled after such an interval; but, so far as I can do so, I should be inclined to say that the present book certainly shews no falling off, but is rather at an even higher level than its predecessor. It seems to me, if I may say so, richer in content, marked by more individuality of treatment, and in most of its parts by a higher degree of penetration. A considerable time has been spent over the production of the book, and the effects of this are seen to its advantage. There are, no doubt, degrees of thoroughness and closeness, as well as of freshness and originality, but the characteristic Cambridge sobriety and care are conspicuous everywhere. It is deeply interesting to see so many minds at work within a single university, dealing each after its manner with the problems which arise out of the modern study of the Bible.

¹ *Essays on Some Biblical Questions of the Day*, by Members of the University of Cambridge. Edited by Henry Barclay Swete, D.D. (Macmillan, 1909).

If there are degrees of excellence in the book, there are also degrees in the extent to which the critic is familiar with the different subjects discussed in it. It will therefore be well for him to disclaim from the first any idea of speaking with objective authority. All that he will attempt to do will be to say frankly, as well as he can, how the particular essays strike him. The reader will see what deductions he ought to make on the score of individual taste and sympathy.

The only criticism that I can make on the first essay is that it *seems* at least to come to an end too soon and perhaps a little abruptly. The opening is admirable; our interest is enlisted so quickly and so warmly that we are apt to be disappointed that it is not more sustained. The title of the essay is 'Historical Methods in the Old Testament'; but the chief point in it is the analogy presented by the Arabian historians. A substantial specimen is given of the way in which these historians treated the materials before them. But when we are told 'that our information respecting the literary history of the Arabs is vastly superior, both in abundance and in accuracy, to the information which we possess concerning the literary history of the ancient Hebrews' (p. 19), one is tempted to wish that the nature of this information, from the comparative point of view, was put before us rather more fully. A bare seventeen pages is hardly adequate to the occasion.

Speaking quite subjectively, I may say that the second essay, by Dr Johns, on 'The Influence of Babylonian Mythology upon the Old Testament' is one of those that have a special attraction for me. We have heard a great deal of late of this subject, and Dr Johns treats it with excellent judgement, comprehensiveness, and impartiality. But the most interesting feature in the essay is, to my mind, the sympathetic, and therefore (as I conceive) really intelligent treatment of the early mythologies.

'There are yet some considerations on the subject of mythology which appear not to have been sufficiently weighed. The term myth is not very definite. Mythology in the Bible is a very shocking idea to some accustomed to regard myths as essentially stories about the pagan gods. Others seem to consider any narrative as mythical which introduces supernatural beings. It might be well to devise a more exact term to connote what we have to deal with here. *For many so-called myths are*

primitive attempts to put an hypothesis into words before language has become sufficiently developed for scientific terms to be available. Recourse is invariably had to metaphor. It is impertinent in the highest degree to attempt to take these metaphors literally. If a dragon mythologically devours the sun, that is not the same as to say that primitive men regarded the orb of day as edible. It was an attempt to account for an eclipse. There is good reason to suppose that the Babylonians knew what caused the eclipse though they may not have known just how the moon got between us and the sun. *They could not then have believed in the actual existence of a dragon, even if their fathers and some ignorant folk among them still did so.* Whether the inventor of this myth took it literally is hard to decide. Anyway, the actual event was accurately observed and early reasoned about, and expressed as best could be. . . . A myth is usually, however, something more than the record of a fact in metaphorical terms. It may embody a scientific hypothesis. The science may now be out of date, but the theory that all was once water is as really scientific as the opinion that all was once gaseous matter. The latter only carries the analysis one step further. Water consists of two gases. . . . Now water in the form of an ocean is such a restless, fierce monster to early man that to speak of it as a dragon was natural. But in the cosmogony the writer does not speak of a dragon at all, only of water, *tiamat*. Only when he enters upon the mythological part proper, in order to carry out the purpose of his poem and glorify the deeds of Marduk, does he personify this chaos water and speak of it as *Tiamat*. Then he treats this personified cosmical force as a dragon. . . . The first few lines of the poem *Enuma elish* are a cosmogony, as is the nebular hypothesis. It is only a myth in that elsewhere the words here used in a cosmological sense, i. e. as scientific terms, are used as proper names and enter into mythological relations. *Even these relations may be founded on hypotheses as to the causes of things.* . . . For the greater glory of Marduk, god after god is represented as attempting the conquest of Tiamat, and failing or only partially succeeding, till he comes to triumph. It is beyond doubt that the poet more or less skilfully transfers the achievements once ascribed to other gods to Marduk. We have therefore to seek below the surface for the elements of the cosmogony. . . . When some 550 lines later Marduk has slain the dragon and split her in twain like a fish, he makes the firmament above and the earth below of the two halves of her. The glittering sky at night might well be compared to a scaly dragon, but we can only compare with Genesis the cosmological idea that lies behind the myth. The firmament that divides the waters from the waters is the same as the covering for the heavens that kept back the waters above. The fragmentary condition of the poem, despite its great

length, allows us no point for comparison with some details in Genesis, but when Marduk makes men of clay mixed with his own blood, we again discern a resemblance in thought. The Hebrew writer could not speak of the blood of God, but blood was life to him, and so was breath. We may praise the change of metaphor, but can we say honestly that the idea is different?' (pp. 33-6).

I have quoted at some length and I have italicized some passages, because I was anxious to bring home as effectually as possible the characteristic features in this method which I desire to commend. One is a little curious to know how much the Babylonians really understood about eclipses. But it is evident that their astronomy included a great amount of accurate and sound observation. It should not be thought that Dr Johns presses too far the analogies which may be found to modern science. He is doubtless well aware of the caution that needs to be exercised under this head. But he permits himself the boldness of language which is almost inevitable where new ideas and a new attitude are inculcated. A certain amount of what may seem to be over-statement is inherent in the process of education.

The tendency to make the best of these primitive ideas may be said to be the keynote of the whole essay; and a very delightful note it is. There is one more passage that I cannot resist quoting.

'There is abundant evidence that the Babylonians said of their deities that they made the dead to live. It is true that such a phrase could be used of a king who had by his pardon granted a fresh lease of life to his erring subject, or of a doctor who had brought back a sick man from the bed of death to his former life. It would be contrary to the whole tone of many religious writings, even if it had not been in conflict with the evidence of burial customs, to suppose that the phrase could not refer to a life beyond the grave. That a courtier uses the phrase in the lower sense in a letter to his king does not exclude the strong probability that to most minds it implied a belief in the resurrection of the dead. . . . Setting aside the formal polytheism, such names as "May I see the face of God", "Let me go forth to the light of God", &c., such euphemisms for death as "God took to Himself", "He went up the mount to God", suggest a belief in a continuance of life in blessedness and in the presence of God. The penitential psalms and prayers, with their searching into sincerity of heart and lofty ethical

tone, forbid us to indulge the modern suspicion that every metaphor was understood in its bald literal meaning' (p. 40 f).

I suppose we are to understand that the expressions in inverted commas are all Babylonian. But if that is so, we are at once reminded of the parallels to them in the literature of Israel. And we ask ourselves whether we do not after all make too much of the presence or absence of a deliberate theory of Immortality. Israel was comparatively late in formulating such a theory. But does that mean more than that the pious Israelite was so intent upon the life and walk with God on this side the grave that his thoughts had hardly begun to dwell upon the question as to what fate awaited him on the other side of it? The main point really was the attitude of the soul towards God. When once the Israelite had reached that strong sense of communion with God which breathes in so many passages of the Psalter, it was but a small step to transfer it from one side of the grave to the other. (Compare some happy remarks, as it seems to me, in Dr Burney's *Israel's Hope of Immortality* pp. 43-47.)

This most interesting essay by Dr Johns has a neighbour worthy of it in Mr Stanley A. Cook's survey of 'The Present Stage of Old Testament Research'. This seems to me to be exactly the type of essay that is suited to a volume such as that before us. It is full of close-packed matter; the writer has complete command of all the literature that his subject embraces; he is in the midst of enquiries in which he has himself taken an active part; and yet he is able to take up a position of sufficient detachment not to impair the even-handed justice of his survey. His judgements always make upon us the impression of being sober, weighty, and well considered. At the same time he does not in any way try to conceal his own standpoint, which I take to be that of a follower of Wellhausen qualified in the direction of a 'more conservative attitude towards Israelite development *previous to the middle of the eighth century B.C.*' (I quote his own words on p. 88). Perhaps it is not too great an impertinence, on the part of one who cannot claim to be more than an interested spectator of Old Testament studies, to express the opinion that this is just the line of advance that seems to him most hopeful. He has been, if he may say so, especially attracted by the conservative (rather than the negative) side of Gunkel's more

recent researches, e. g. as these, with kindred views, are summarized in the second paragraph on p. 77 and on p. 81 I venture to hope that the essayist will not allow any critical purism to stand in the way of his own full recognition of work done on these lines. He seems to me to be in a little danger of this when he insists that 'the logical inference is not that the narratives [of Genesis] are *pre*-prophetic, but that they are *non*-prophetic'. If they are non-prophetic, they are also pre-prophetic; and they deserve the credit that accrues to them from that fact.

I fully appreciate the efforts that are being made, on lines first opened out by Robertson Smith, to get at a true conception of the common basis of Semitic—or rather perhaps Oriental—religion.

'An instinctively inherited and unconscious tradition formed the ground upon which the great religious innovators raised their faiths. The inveterate religious features regularly underlie the religions of Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt, of Israel, and of modern Palestine. Comparative Biblical research has a range of nearly 4,000 years, from the age of Khammurabi to the present day, and it seeks to recover a background upon which to place the Old Testament—in the light of criticism' (p. 84).

But I do not want to see this common background allowed in any degree to absorb or obscure the higher and more distinctive features in the religions, either of Egypt or of Babylon or of Israel.

The next essay (IV) is a brightly written sketch by Professor Kennett of the 'History of the Jewish Church from Nebuchadnezzar to Alexander the Great'. Professor Kennett's narrative style is easy and flowing, and we owe him many picturesque and happy expressions. But he will forgive me if I say that, in reading his essay, I should prefer to have a pinch—or rather several pinches—of salt in my pocket—to be used perhaps especially at the points at which he speaks of the sequence and dating of the Pentateuchal documents. He makes fit use of the Papyri recently discovered at Elephantine. Among the suggestions thrown out to which I should be inclined to put a substantial query, is the idea that the three greater prophets may have been at first included in the Book of the Twelve.

Did not that book rather originate in the fact that the writings of which it was composed could be all included in a single roll?

Dr W. E. Barnes, in the next essay (V), keeps within rather narrower limits than the writers who immediately precede him. He begins, indeed, with a useful reminder that we may speak of the Psalms as the 'Hymn Book of the Second Temple', only if we realize that but a few of the 'Hymns' were regularly sung in public worship. We may call the Psalter the 'Praises of Israel', only if we realize that it is also a book of meditations for individuals, the *Sacra privata* of the Israelite as well as the Praise Book of the Temple (p. 139). But his real thesis is the extent to which the interpretation of the Psalms may be regarded as historical. He contends that the attempts which have been made to carry out systematically the principles of historical interpretation must be considered to have broken down. It would not follow that these attempts were not justified in the first instance. The method deserved to have a full trial. But now it has been tried, and the results obtained amount to a confession of failure. No agreement has been reached as to the background of history which lies behind particular Psalms; for this the data are too vague and general. And they are also too vague to allow us to draw out a scheme of the developement of religious ideas into which particular Psalms can be fitted.

It is no doubt true that no consensus has as yet been reached. The direct comparison of the Psalms with the events, so far as they are known, of external history has not led to results that carry conviction. Dr Barnes does not, I think, discuss the method of arriving at an (approximate) history of the Psalter by tracing out (approximately) the history of the collections of which it is made up, and determining their sequence and relations to each other. I suppose that for many people a cautious book like Dr Driver's *Introduction* will represent about the degree of precision attainable. And, although this goes much more into detail, I do not gather that the general position would differ materially from that of Dr Barnes.

The chief advantage of this critical self-restraint is that it allows full weight to be given to the religious value of some of the Psalms (especially to some of those which have been

commonly regarded as Messianic), without yielding to the temptation to rewrite the texts in deference to the supposed requirements of the historical situation.

I do not doubt that the next essay (VI) on 'Rabbinic Aids to Exegesis' will be generally pronounced to be one of the most interesting and valuable in the book. It marks a real advance in the branch of study which it commends. Until a comparatively recent date prejudice has been too much at work on both sides. Christian scholars have either unduly ignored the assistance which Rabbinic literature might have given them, or else they have collected such data as they could chiefly for polemical purposes. And, on the other hand, Jewish scholars have retaliated in the same polemical spirit. This, however, has not always been the case; for some time past there has been a tendency towards better relations. And this essay by the Reader in Rabbinic at Cambridge is just what one would wish such an essay to be. With such help it will be much easier to strike a true balance in the estimate at once of Christianity and of the contemporary and later Judaism. Christian writers need not be so pedantically scrupulous as they sometimes are in insisting upon the verification of dates for every parallel that is produced from Judaism. Many years ago a monograph by Ritter on Philo and the Palestinian *Halacha* brought home to me how much older a great deal of the Rabbinic material was than it might easily seem to be. If the writings of Philo had not survived, we should have had to place many a usage and many a *dictum* centuries later than it really was. Of course I do not mean that parallels of verified date and those of which the date cannot be verified are on the same footing. But I do mean that it is often unsafe to reject a parallel altogether only on the ground that early evidence for it is not forthcoming. The absence of evidence may be a mere accident. We have reason to be most grateful to Mr Abrahams for his contribution.

Prof. Burkitt comes next, with an essay (VII) which is really a beautiful piece of writing. Indeed, as I read further in the volume I am more and more impressed with its excellence simply as literature. Such writers as Dr Burkitt and Dr Inge are not easily surpassed. And the excellence in Dr Burkitt's case is of thought as well as of style. He succeeds in blending,

as if by a natural gift, ancient and modern, the real and the ideal, with perfect flexibility and ease. The style is just suited to the subject, 'The Eschatological Idea in the Gospel'. It is most important that this idea should be made really intelligible to the modern mind; and if any one can do this, it is Dr Burkitt. His essay is really a plea for taking the Eschatology as it stands, and looking at it in the light of the historical conditions to which it belongs. We live in times of comparatively stable equilibrium; the Gospels were written in an age when everything seemed unstable. To live through such a time an unconquerable hope was needed. The root of that hope was an intense belief in the power and goodness of God. The form given to it was shaped partly by circumstances, and partly by ideas inherited from the Prophets. The clothing of the idea is symbol, but its essence transcends symbol. In the last resort we all have need of it; and the more troubled the age, the greater the need.

A different type of essay is represented by the next (VIII), Dr A. H. McNeile on 'Our Lord's Use of the Old Testament'. Where Prof. Burkitt gives a bird's-eye view of his subject, this essay is rather a close discussion of detail. In its general character as seen in the great amount of definite material embodied in it, it reminds us somewhat of No. III. I do not think that I know anywhere a treatment of the subject which comes so near to being exhaustive. And the spirit of the essay—a kind of *pietas* that breathes through it—is to me very attractive. On this side it has affinities to Nos. II and X.

Dr Inge, on 'The Theology of the Fourth Gospel', does not seem to me to strike so happy a note. I desire to make allowance for my own difference of opinion, which is larger in the case of this essay than in any of the others. I should wish also to recognize the moderation with which in many ways Dr Inge states his position. And I would frankly admit that the position itself has a considerable vogue at the present time. But to have a vogue is one thing, to be hailed as offering 'a solution' of a difficult problem or series of problems is another. I am afraid that as a solution the point of view from which the essay is written must be regarded as premature. I at least could not assent—I am a long way from assenting—to many of the propositions, laid down somewhat categorically, on the first page and

a half of the essay.¹ As between the point of view represented in this essay and that which follows it on 'The Historical Value of the Fourth Gospel', I should have no hesitation in choosing. My mind also goes back to a welcome sentence in Essay VI.

'Most remarkable of all has been the cumulative strength of the arguments adduced by Jewish writers favourable to the authenticity of the discourses in the Fourth Gospel, especially in relation to the circumstances under which they are reported to have been spoken' (p. 181).

This sentence, with Essay X, seems to me to supply most of what is needed by way of corrective.

I ought not perhaps to express surprise at the element which I should deprecate in Dr Inge's essay, because so much has been written of late to a similar effect both in this country and abroad—and in a more exaggerated form. Still I associate Dr Inge so much with the wholesome resistance to the ideas that culminate in Abbé Loisy that I should have thought there would be—and, reading between the lines, I think we can see from time to time that there is—some difficulty in reconciling the two lines of thought with each other.

I would be far from saying that there are not many points of value in the essay; if there were not, it would hardly be by Dr Inge. But I do not like to see him crossing over to the other benches, and on the way catching so much of the temper that seems to haunt them.

I ought perhaps in fairness to point out that Schmiedel has more than once explicitly disclaimed the construction put upon his famous language about the 'pillar-passages' on p. 281.² He did not mean to imply that they are the only part of the record that could be accepted.

I have already said incidentally most of what I should desire to say about Mr Brooke's essay (X). Its attitude, as well as the details of its treatment, appeal greatly to me.

Essay XI, by Mr Anderson Scott, on 'Jesus and Paul', is a really helpful contribution, grappling with the subject at closer

¹ There is a delightful page (p. 132 f) by Canon Scott Holland in the volume *Jesus or Christ?* to which I gladly refer as evidence that I do not stand alone; and I may also point to Dr Gwatkin *Early Ch. Hist.* pp. 109 ff.

² See, for instance, *Jesus or Christ?* p. 80.

quarters and more along its whole breadth than anything that I remember to have seen upon it in English. It seems to me both judicious and satisfactory. One might have expected to find some reference to the writings of Dr Knowling.

Prof. Percy Gardner deals with 'The Speeches of St Paul in Acts' (XII), also in a judicious spirit. The only considerable point on which I should be inclined to differ, would be in assigning a higher historical value to the reports of the speeches at Lystra and at Athens. I should do this chiefly because of the narrative context in which the speeches are embedded. Sir W. M. Ramsay, in particular, has brought out the excellent local colour in these narratives. They both go into considerable detail which has every appearance of authenticity. The speech at Athens links on remarkably well to the surroundings. The existence of an altar with the inscription 'To an unknown God' is of course verified fact; and nothing could be more natural than that the Apostle should take a text from it. If Pauline expressions in the speech itself cannot be so easily verified, it has to be remembered that these two speeches at Lystra and at Athens stand alone as addresses delivered directly to Gentile audiences. But, even so, there is not a little in common (e.g.) with such a passage as Rom. i. 18-32.

Acts xvii 23 As I . . . observed the objects of your worship (σεβάσματα).

What therefore ye worship in ignorance (ἀγνοοῦντες), this set I forth unto you.

2 Thess. ii 4 all that is called God or that is worshipped (σέβασμα).

1 Cor. i 21 seeing that in the wisdom of God the world through its wisdom knew not God, it was God's good pleasure through the foolishness of the preaching to save them that believe.

Gal. iv 8 Howbeit at that time, not knowing God, ye were in bondage to them which by nature are no gods, but now that ye have come to know God, or rather to be known of God (observe the play on 'knowing' and 'not knowing').

Cf. 1 Cor. ii 1, ix 14, xi 26; Phil. i 17, 18; Col. i 28.

Acts xvii 24 dwelleth not in the temples made with hands.

Acts xvii 26 He made of one blood every nation of men . . . that they should seek God, if haply they might feel after Him, and find Him.

Acts xvii 27 though He is not far from each one of us.

Acts xvii 28 as certain even of your own poets have said.

Acts xvii 29 We ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone.

Acts xvii 30 The times of ignorance therefore God overlooked ; but now . . .

Acts xvii 30 He commandeth men that they should all everywhere repent.

Acts xvii 31 He hath appointed a day, in the which He will judge the world in righteousness by the man whom He hath ordained ; whereof He hath given assurance

2 Cor. v 1 we have . . . a house not made with hands.

1 Cor. viii 6 There is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto Him.

Rom. i 19 that which may be known of God is manifest in them ; for God manifested it unto them.

Col. i 16 all things have been created through Him, and unto Him.

Cf. Rom. i 19, 20.

1 Cor. ix 20, 21 To the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain Jews . . . to them that are without law, as without law . . . that I might gain them that are without law.

Rom. i 22, 23 Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God for the likeness of an image of corruptible man, and of birds, and fourfooted beasts, and creeping things.

Rom. iii 21, 25, 26 But now apart from the law a righteousness of God hath been manifested . . . to shew His righteousness, because of the passing over of the sins done aforetime in the forbearance of God ; for the shewing, I say, of His righteousness at this present season. . . .

1 Thess. i 9 how ye turned unto God from idols, to serve a living and true God.

Rom. ii 16 in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men, according to my gospel, by Jesus Christ.

1 Thess. i 10 to wait for His

unto all men, in that He hath raised Him from the dead.

Son from heaven, whom He raised from the dead, even Jesus which delivereth us from the wrath to come.

Eph. i 19, 20 according to that working of the strength of His might which He wrought in Christ, when He raised Him from the dead.

It will be seen that in the above there is not a little that is distinctively Pauline. The parts of the speech which cannot be so described are of the nature of commonplaces in the controversy between Jew and Gentile; and we may be pretty sure that St Paul made use of these, when the occasion called for them, though he may have given them a turn of his own.

On the whole I am afraid that I could not describe this essay as 'closely studied' in the sense in which the words would be conspicuously true of some other essays in the volume. Too much use seems to me to be made of vague impressions and probabilities, some of which I cannot recognize as probabilities at all. For instance, in a note on the 'bishops and deacons' of Phil. i 1, we are left with a choice between supposing that the words are an 'early insertion' or that what was admissible in A.D. 63 was not admissible in A.D. 58.

By far the most important thing in the whole essay is an incidental paragraph on the subject of Inspiration. It will be well to give this as it stands.

'From the present point of view the question of the inspiration or non-inspiration of a book is not primary. For how does divine inspiration act upon a writer? In two ways: first by strengthening and intensifying his natural powers, and second, by producing in him what W. James has called an uprush of the sub-conscious. I should prefer to call the last an inrush of the super-conscious. It makes a man a vehicle of deep-lying forces, so that he builds better than he knows. He may think that he is writing for a society, or even for an individual, when he is really writing for future ages, and to meet needs of which he is unconscious' (p. 417).

The appeal to the subconscious is, I venture to think, fraught with great promise, not only in this but in many other directions. It happens, by a coincidence, that I am myself having recourse to

it for another purpose at the present time. But on this subject of inspiration, I fully believe with Dr Gardner that it opens out new vistas ; and I am very grateful to him for the form which he has given to his statement. The essay would have been well worth publishing, if it had contained nothing else.

My impression is that the author of the next essay (XIII), on 'The Present State of the Synoptic Problem', is rather burdened—and even perhaps a little overburdened—by the extent of his own learning. He knows all the ins and outs of this most intricate problem, especially in the forms which it has assumed on the continent, though not quite so completely (I am inclined to think) in its ramifications nearer home. However this may be, his knowledge is exceedingly great, and it has the great merit of being both sound and exact. Neither is his presentation of it really wanting in lucidity. And yet there are, as it seems to me, some drawbacks to the essay. I will specify three.

1. In the first place, I cannot help regretting the decision, to which the author explains that he has come, to dispense entirely with footnotes. No doubt to give them would have added no slight labour to a task that was already very laborious. But the value of the essay would have been at least doubled; in the case of one like myself it would have been more than doubled.

I suppose that I have on the whole a fair knowledge of the work that has been done upon the Synoptic Problem. But, unfortunately, I have not the art of making notes or keeping references. The consequence is that, although in reading Mr Latimer Jackson's essay I distinctly remember to have seen somewhere the statements to which he refers, I cannot lay my finger upon the reference, and I know that to find it would take a great deal of time and trouble and that the search would perhaps be baffled altogether in the end. All the struggle would have been saved if Mr Jackson had only set down the reference while he had it under his hand.

Here is a case in point. After remarking that the titles (*κατὰ Ματθαῖον, κατὰ Μάρκον*) were prefixed by others, and do not proceed from the Evangelists themselves, Mr Jackson goes on to say,

'We remark an ambiguity; the word might mean "as used by", might point to the work based on the teaching of him whose name was associated with it, or might imply direct authorship. This last interpretation must be adopted; those who prefixed the titles regarded, and

meant to indicate, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John as authors of the works which set forth the one Gospel. Whether they were right in their opinion is quite another matter' (p. 427).

I know that I have seen the common view on this subject challenged; and it may perhaps be rightly challenged; there may be evidence forthcoming, from the papyri or otherwise, for the use of *κατά* in the sense of authorship. But I cannot lay my hands on the passage. I am not sure that, if I could, I should at once assent entirely to the new view. Even if there are examples of the use of *κατά* of direct authorship, I should still think that the choice of it in this connexion (in preference to *ὑπό*) was determined by a recollection, conscious or unconscious, of the primitive meaning of the word *εὐαγγέλιον*—so that the whole phrase meant, not exactly 'the Gospel as used by Matthew', &c., but the Gospel 'in the version of' Matthew and the rest.

I would not be so unreasonable as to expect a reference for everything. What I should like to see would be a judicious selection. References are not necessary on major points, which are matter of common knowledge. There are many cases which are amply met by the insertion of a name, or names, in a bracket, as is done in the essay. It is really the little, unfamiliar, out of the way statements that the reader should be put in a position to verify and follow up. I must ask to be forgiven if I preach what I do not always practise. When I do not, the reason is usually that which I have given above, the difficulty of laying one's hand upon a reference as one is writing. But I imagine that Mr Latimer Jackson is more methodical than I am. Therefore I shall venture to hope that, in the new edition which I hope will soon be called for, there may be given, not a full array of foot-notes, which would disturb the print too much, but a page or two of references on these smaller points as a kind of appendix at the end.

2. The next drawback of which I seem to be aware in the essay, is that (as I have already hinted) it does not quite do justice to the work that has been done in this country. It is natural enough that the recent brilliant studies by Harnack and Wellhausen have thrown this work somewhat into the shade. But 'it could hardly be said to-day that the foundations of Synoptic study have not yet been laid in England' (p. 434) is at least

a case of the figure *litotes*. It might have been a fair statement fifteen years ago, but scarcely less than that. Mr Rushbrooke's *Synopticon* goes back to the year 1880. Dr Arthur Wright's valuable publications begin (I think) in 1896. The first edition of Sir John Hawkins's *Horae Synopticae* is dated 1899. The second edition of that most admirable work (which I know to be as highly appreciated in Germany as it is here) has just appeared; and the fact that a second edition is called for is a proof that British students have for some time past not been idle. I should admit perhaps that one needs to have a sieve at hand when one is drawing upon the cornucopia of Dr E. A. Abbott's *Diatessarica* (from 1900 onwards, at the present time in seven volumes, the later especially of great value, and still incomplete). But it is indeed a cornucopia. In 1907 Mr W. C. Allen produced his Commentary on St Matthew which is full of close, independent, first-hand criticism. And now within the last few weeks, almost simultaneously with Sir John Hawkins's second edition, we have another very sterling and substantial work in Part II of Dr Stanton's *Gospels as Historical Documents*. Other things might have been mentioned, but these are enough. I would take upon myself to say that for the ten years preceding the first of Harnack's well-known *Beiträge* the work done in this country had not been a whit behind that done in Germany, but even superior to it in sound, cautious, and really progressive method.

3. I would not say that the essay is really deficient in perspective. When it comes to such summings-up as on pp. 451, 454 f, the perspective seems to me to be quite right; the facts are put in their place with proper shades and degrees of gradation. And the results, as stated on these pages, are hopeful and encouraging—perhaps as hopeful and encouraging as I fully believe they should be. But I cannot say as much as this for the essay as a whole. It is in view of this that the writer seems to me to be oppressed by the multiplicity and complexity of the problems to be solved, and the comparatively little way that has been made towards the solution of some of them. One might almost think sometimes that his temperament was naturally rather despondent than sanguine. But I suspect that there is something rather more in it than a matter of temperament. It seems to me that the perspective which is so well observed on the pages I have specified

is not equally observed all through. It is just the greatest and the most fundamental problems that are nearest to their solution; and it is just these which arouse hope and a certain confidence. If we were to treat all questions as of equal value, and all failures to solve them as equally significant, then I admit that the outlook might seem depressing. But I cannot help thinking that the depressing appearance is partly—and even largely—caused by the fact that a good many of the questions that are often put are really insoluble; the data for solving them are insufficient; and it would really be better that they should not be put at all, or only in the way of irresponsible speculation. On the questions that matter most I believe that the progress made, or in process of being made, is really great, and that a few more years will see a large amount of consensus all along the line.

I hope Mr Latimer Jackson will not think me captious in the criticism I have been making. I have a very sincere respect for his essay. I admire both the knowledge and the effort after exactness and due circumspection of statement that have gone towards its making. I value it greatly, and shall hope to derive much instruction from it. But I have thought it right to point out how it might have been more valuable still.

When Dr James H. Moulton writes on 'New Testament Greek' (XIV), we know that we are in the hands of a master of his subject; and the essay is really like that of a master. It is full of points and is thoroughly interesting, though it does not aim at being exhaustive in the same way that some previous essays may be said to do. Of course some subjects admit of this more than others; and a certain relative exhaustiveness is part of the special merit, e. g., of Mr Latimer Jackson, Dr McNeile, and—with due allowance for proportion—we may add, of Mr Stanley A. Cook. But Dr Moulton's treatment of his subject is quite in place, and (so far as I am competent to judge) altogether to be commended. I have no special questions or criticisms to raise; and, as I have taken up a good deal of space and time already, I may be perhaps allowed to pass on. In doing so I may perhaps just say that on personal grounds I am glad to see the opinion of scholars coming round—for it is really a coming round—as to the meaning of *διαθήκη* in Heb. ix 16f. I always used to be sceptical as to the meaning 'covenant', even when it was most in fashion.

For similar reasons I may also be brief in speaking of Mr Valentine-Richards on 'New Testament Textual Criticism' (XV). This too (but in a rather different way) seems to be a thoroughly workmanlike essay, in which the treatment is appropriate to the subject-matter. The essay does not aim at great fullness. It contains a rapid survey of the history of the subject brought down to the present time. I am glad to see that Mr Valentine-Richards receives the results (so far as they have yet appeared) of Freiherr von Soden's great work with what I should call judicious reserve.

The most notable omission in the essay is rather, I suppose, a misfortune than a fault. There is no mention, so far as I have noticed, of Mr C. H. Turner. I never think it fair to lay stress on things that may have come in at the last moment. I do not doubt that a volume like the present must have been a long time upon the stocks; and I can well believe that, at the time when Mr Valentine-Richards was correcting his proofs, the able article on the Text of the New Testament in Murray's *Illustrated Bible Dictionary* (published in 1908) had not come in his way. Still less could one expect this of the series that is still coming out in the JOURNAL.

The volume is naturally closed by an essay on 'The Religious Value of the Bible', which breathes all the *mitis sapientia* of Dr Swete. We are led to infer that this essay was added, apparently rather at the last moment, to fill a place unavoidably left vacant by another contributor. The essay is not only characteristic of its author, but it may be said to be also characteristic of the present day and of the book as a whole. It shews that wide tolerance and open-minded recognition of good from all sides which marks the age to which we belong. There is one passage in particular which I should like to quote.

'The Gospels exhibit this pattern, and it is this which gives them a religious value that even in the Bible itself is unique. No criticism, whether of the sources of the Gospels or of their historical details, can greatly affect their value in this respect. It is independent of our acceptance of the miracles. That it can even survive an abandonment of the Catholic Doctrine of the Person of Christ, or a refusal to analyse the impression which the Gospels convey upon that subject, may be seen from the earlier lectures of Adolf Harnack's *What is Christianity?* No

more enthusiastic appreciation of the religious value of the Gospel life of Jesus can be found than in that remarkable book, which is nevertheless written from the standpoint of a Christology that can satisfy no Catholic Christian' (p. 550).

Would that have been written so lately as ten years ago, even by Dr Swete? And is it not a clear gain that it should be written, in a representative volume, now? Dr Swete is the last person in the world to be suspected of disloyalty or reckless concession; and yet the words are his, and I do not doubt that they would be endorsed heartily by his colleagues.

That is the temper of Cambridge; and it is also the temper of Oxford, and (I think I may add) of enlightened opinion in this country generally. We do not intend to let the anchor drag loose from our own moorings; but we do intend to welcome that which is good, from whatever quarter it may come; and we shall judge those who differ from us, not merely on party lines, but on the extent to which the opinions which they express commend themselves to reason and conscience.¹

W. SANDAY.

¹ In a volume that has passed under so many expert eyes it is rather surprising to come across such forms as 'underly' (p. 78), 'unitie d'esprit' (p. 442). 'Father Hughes Vincent' (for 'Hugues', p. 60) is an accident that might happen to any one.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

V. THE LANGUAGES OF THE EARLY CHURCH: (B) SYRIAC AND THE FIRST SYRIAC GOSPELS.

How predominantly Greek was Christianity, during the first century of its history, we learnt in the earlier pages of the last chapter. The Aramaic of Palestine, we there saw, if it was the most serious rival of Greek, yet made singularly little show even in the most primitive Christian literature : outside Palestine it had apparently no history, and was not even the direct ancestor of the great Syriac-speaking church, which was developed, almost as entirely as Latin Christianity, out of Greek, and derived its New Testament, just as did Latin Christendom, by translation from the Greek original.¹

But the case can be put more strongly still. Although the proclamation of the Gospel may have reached the Syriac-speaking peoples of Mesopotamia and the Latin-speaking peoples of the West early in the second century, it is hardly before the beginning of the third that we come upon definite traces of versions even of the Gospels in the vernacular languages. It would seem that something of the reluctance which the Jewish Church had experienced in the face of any interference with the prerogative of its Hebrew Scriptures, made itself felt within the Christian Church in regard to its Greek Bible. Greek seems

¹ There is, on the other hand, every reason to think that the Old Testament of the Peshitta is not only the original Old Testament of the Syriac Church but is actually earlier than the Syriac Church itself. The former conclusion is indicated by the agreement of all Old Testament citations in Syriac writings, however early their date, with the Peshitta; the latter by the Hebrew and even Jewish colouring of the Peshitta of the Old Testament. Apart from some traces in the Prophets of what may be later Christian revision from the Greek, the Peshitta is a translation not of the LXX but of the Hebrew, and of the Hebrew as understood and interpreted by Jews. See Burkitt *Early Eastern Christianity* (1904) pp. 70-73.

in fact to have remained the organ of worship, and therefore of the public and official reading of the Scriptures, even in communities where the majority of the members must have carried on their daily mutual intercourse in other tongues. Greek was the ancestral language of the Christian propaganda, the language in which Rome in the West and Edessa in the East had received the faith from Syria or Asia Minor: and the conservatism with which men naturally cherish their religious inheritance would defer as long as possible the change which ultimately was seen to be inevitable, when the liturgy came to be offered, and the sacred books to be read, no longer in Greek but in the vernacular Latin or Syriac. And if we want any further specific explanation of what is after all a very natural feature in the Christian life of the second century, we may find another and probably not less potent cause for the continued adherence of the outlying churches to the Greek language, in the consideration that Greek alone provided the means of common intercourse between all the families of the Christian Society. At no period perhaps of Christian history has sustained interchange of counsel and experience been more strongly felt as a theoretical need, and more fully worked out as a practical policy, than in the second half of the second century. When Polycarp of Smyrna visited Anicetus of Rome, to confer with him about the Easter difficulty which divided the Roman and the Asian churches; when Hegesippus the Palestinian made it his business to 'mix with numerous bishops' and communities—among them are specially named those of Rome and Corinth—and found the same scriptural teaching 'in every episcopal succession and in every city'; when Abercius of Hieropolis in Phrygia travelled as far as Rome in the West and as far as Nisibis in the East, and was everywhere accompanied by the same faith, the same sacraments, and the same scriptures; when Melito of Sardis 'went up to the East and reached the scene where our religion was wrought and taught'¹: it was through a common use, on the part of both hosts and guests, of the mother tongue of Christendom, that such conferences could be held or their results recorded. Similarly if a Christian writer

¹ Polycarp in Iren. *Ep. ad Vict. Rom.* ap. Eus. *H. E.* v 24: Hegesippus and Melito in Eus. *H. E.* iv 22 and 26: for Abercius see Lightfoot's *Ignatius* i 476-485.

of the same period, wherever his own home or whatever his native language, wished to address himself to the theological public at large, it was only through a Greek medium that he could reach them: the educated Christian understood Greek everywhere, and Irenaeus and Hippolytus composed their treatises for his benefit. Even the creator of Latin Christian literature, Tertullian himself, was practised Greek scholar enough to write on occasion in that language: the *de Baptismo* and *de Spectaculis* were published in Greek as well as in Latin, the lost books *de Ecstasi* in Greek only. On the other hand the uneducated Christian was probably as a rule unable to read at all, and his needs for a generation or two may well have been satisfied by an oral interpretation into the vernacular, such as the Jewish Church of Palestine had provided for its Aramaic-speaking population in the time of Christ.

With this conception of the facts it entirely agrees that the first Syriac Gospel should have been not official and perhaps not even orthodox: Tatian's *Diatessaron* or 'Harmony of the Four' was, as we shall see (p. 199), earlier than any version of the separate Gospels.

But if the rendering of the New Testament into even the primary non-Greek languages of the ancient world, Latin and Syriac, was effected so reluctantly and so late, it seems at first sight to follow that the value of Greek evidence for the text of the New Testament is proportionately enhanced in value and the evidence of the versions proportionately depreciated.

And in fact the most eminent editors of the Greek Testament, from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth, have practically built their text on Greek evidence alone. At first indeed it could hardly have been otherwise: what the scholars of the Renaissance recovered for Western Europe was naturally the Greek New Testament as found in Greek MSS and kept in living use by the Greek Church. No editor before Bishop Fell (1675) mentioned the versions on his title-page: no scholar before Richard Simon (1690) devoted to them a separate and special enquiry.¹ Bentley (1720), among

¹ Fell '*Accesserunt . . . variantes lectiones ex plus 100 MSS codicibus et antiquis versionibus collectae*'; Simon *Histoire critique des versions du Nouveau Testament*. For fuller details I may refer to my article 'New Testament, Text of,' in Murray's *Concise Bible Dictionary* pp. 589 ff.

older critics, was the one to set most store on the evidence of a version: for he claimed that it was possible to restore the original text by a comparison of the Greek of Origen and the Latin of St Jerome, and that between these two the agreement would be found to be so close that 'there will scarce be two hundred places' where they would differ, and where therefore the true reading could be in doubt. Bentley's plan of a parallel Greek and Latin text—the Latin being still that of St Jerome's Vulgate—was carried into effect by Lachmann (1842–1850), though Lachmann no longer claimed that the result was the original text of the apostles, but only the earliest ascertainable text, that of the fourth century. Since Lachmann, however, editors have been dazzled by the glamour of the discovery of the two great Greek MSS, and have been in consequence too much occupied in debating the relative merits of the earlier and later Greek evidence to pay much real attention to the versions. \aleph was first known, B was first accurately known, in the sixties of the last century. Tischendorf¹ was specially concerned to maintain the superior merits of \aleph , his own discovery: Hort (1881) was the prophet of codex B.² Of von Soden's great undertaking only volume I (Prolegomena pp. 1–1648) has yet appeared: but the fundamental principles on which in effect he sets aside the earliest versions are already sketched.³

Of the first of these three great critics not much need here be said. Tischendorf's text is, in my own opinion, right in many places where the text of Hort is wrong: but it is right, as it were, rather because a sort of divining instinct, the result of his long acquaintance with his material, led him to the truth, than because he had really, at least in the sense that Hort and von Soden have done, argued out his principles.

Hort was the last and perhaps the ablest of a long line of editors of the Greek Testament, commencing in the eighteenth century, who very tentatively at first, but quite ruthlessly in the

¹ *Novum Testamentum Graece ad antiquissimos testes denuo recensuit, apparatus criticum omni studio perfectum apposuit, commentationem isagogicam praelexuit* Constantinus Tischendorf: editio octava critica maior, 1864–1872 (prolegomena by Gregory 1884–1894).

² *The New Testament in the original Greek: the text revised* by B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort (vol. i text, vol. ii [by Hort] introduction and appendix), 1881.

³ See below p. 186.

end, threw over the later in favour of the earlier Greek MSS: and that issue will never have to be tried again. In Hort's hands this preference for the earlier MSS was pushed to its most extreme form, and came to mean an almost exclusive reliance on the two earliest of all, B and \aleph . Where internal evidence was clear, the results were almost uniformly favourable (so he argued) to \aleph B, and, if these differed from one another, to B: the presumption drawn from these clearer cases might then be legitimately extended to those perhaps more numerous instances where internal evidence, taken alone, spoke with an uncertain sound. Once more it is not likely that posterity will disown either the method on which Hort worked or up to a certain point his conclusions: B, as it is the oldest, so it is also the most valuable of our Greek MSS. But while we follow Hort so far, we cannot help feeling that his attack and defence is primarily concerned—so strong was still the *præiudicium* in favour of the Received Text—with the issue as between B and the *Receptus*, and not with the further issue as between B and the so-called 'Western' authorities, Greek, Latin, and Syriac. This is the real problem before the textual critics of our generation: thirty years ago it was hardly yet mature. Even the material was not so full then as it is to-day: the Sinai Syriac Gospels, for instance, were still unknown.¹ Nevertheless, we owe to the insight of Hort some most important preliminary steps, which have cleared the ground in relation to the 'Western' text and made further advance possible. In the classification of documents he identified, by means of the evidence of St Cyprian, the first stratum of the Old Latin version in the 'African' MSS *k* and *e*. In the construction of the text he went beyond any previous editor by following, in certain striking cases, the sole authority of 'Western' witnesses. It is true that these cases are limited to the last three chapters of St Luke, that in all of them the 'Western' text gives a shorter reading than the rest, and that the omitted words, though their genuineness is given up, are still retained within

¹ Prof. Burkitt has pointed out (*Encyclopaedia Biblica* iv 4990 n. 3) that Hort's most decisive instance of the excellence of 'subsingular' readings of B, the various references to the cock-crowing in St Mark's account of Peter's denials (xiv 30, 68, 72: *Introduction* § 323), now turns out to be exactly reproduced in the Sinai Syriac.

double brackets in Westcott and Hort's printed text.¹ It is true also that one Greek MS, the codex Bezae, is found among the authorities which omit; and perhaps Hort would not have deferred even in these instances to Western authority, if the Latin MSS had not found some Greek support, for we have already seen that he would rather postulate a primitive corruption than admit that the true text of Apoc. iii 1, 7 had been preserved in a Latin father alone.² To Hort in fact D ranks as a primary witness; the Old Latin and the Old Syriac do not, but are called in only to bear testimony to one or other of two variants in the Greek. But D, however valuable in company with other witnesses, has far too large a personal equation to be a safe guide by itself: and if Hort regarded D as the most representative (because the chief Greek) Western witness, it is perhaps hardly wonderful that he concluded 'bold licence of treatment' 'paraphrase' and 'readiness to adopt extraneous matter' to be the characteristics of the Western text. Yet the reader may be reminded that in the last preceding article of this series we had occasion to discuss five *variae lectiones* in the Gospels where the Western witnesses gave what was apparently the truest but in any case the shortest reading.³

Those who view, as we have been trying to do, the problem of the New Testament text from a historical and chronological standpoint, cannot fail to be conscious of the gap between the end of the second century—behind which date we have admitted that the evidence of the versions does not carry us—and the beginning of the fourth, the earliest date assigned to the MS on which Hort's text is based: and of course Hort himself admits, and it was even then undeniable, that 'the most widely spread text of Ante-Nicene times' was the Western. The discovery, since Hort wrote, of a papyrus leaf containing most of the first

¹ These 'Western Non-Interpolations'—to adopt the rather cumbrous phrase by which Hort means to indicate that all other texts are interpolated and that the Western alone is free from interpolation—are the following: Luc. xxii 19 b 20; xxiv 3 b; 6 a; 12; 36 b; 40; 51 b; 52 b: the authorities which omit are D and the five Old Latin MSS *a b e f f l* (besides *i* in the only one of the eight passages where it is extant), supported sometimes by the Old Syriac and once (xxiv 51 b) by the first hand of N.

² *J. T. S.* x (April 1909) pp. 373, 374.

³ Luc. xii 14, xvii 29, xix 38: Marc. xi 9, 10: Jo. xii 13. Only in Luc. xii 14 did D give the short reading.

chapter of St Matthew in a text closely agreeing, even in spelling of proper names, with the text of B,¹ may be fairly held to carry back the whole B text of the Gospels into the third century. But against this must be set the defection of the two earliest witnesses—the only version, in fact, and the only father, earlier than Origen—whose support he claimed. The version of Lower or Northern Egypt, called Memphitic or Coptic or Bohairic in the nomenclature of different scholars, is the version that ‘can be pronounced’ most ‘extensively non-Western’ (§ 177): and the greater part of it ‘cannot well be later than the second century’ (§ 120). Recent research, however, tends to bring this version down to the time of Cyril of Alexandria (with whose text it rather closely agrees), if not indeed later still.² Again, Clement of Alexandria is the only writer earlier than Origen to whom Hort can appeal to shew that ‘many non-Western readings . . . were in existence by the end of the second century’ (§ 160). But the careful examination of Clement’s Biblical text by Mr Barnard, together with the illuminating summary of results prefixed to it by Prof. Burkitt, has taught us that Clement’s ‘many non-Western readings’ are a vanishing quantity, and that his real affinities are rather with the Old Latin and the Old Syriac.³

It is tolerably clear then that if the exclusive credit of the Greek MSS is to be saved, and the older versions and fathers are to be still refused rank as primary witnesses to the text, some further explanation of obvious *prima facie* difficulties must be given: and this is exactly what Freiherr von Soden⁴ has attempted to do. Von Soden rules out the unsupported testimony of the Old Latin and Old Syriac as remorselessly as Hort himself: he approaches his subject from the side of the Greek MSS more

¹ Grenfell and Hunt *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* i [1898] p. 4.

² See especially the article by the Italian scholar, Prof. Guidi, in the Göttingen *Notizen der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1889.

³ *The Biblical Text of Clement of Alexandria in the Four Gospels and the Acts*, by P. M. Barnard, with Introduction by F. C. Burkitt: Cambridge ‘Texts and Studies’ v 5, 1899.

⁴ *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt, hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte* von Dr Theol. Hermann Freiherr von Soden. Berlin: I i (1902), ii (1906), iii (1907). In describing von Soden’s position I have derived much assistance from Mr Valentine-Richards’s brief but clear sketch, *Cambridge Biblical Essays* (1909) pp. 525–539.

exclusively than even Hort, or Tischendorf, or any other of the nineteenth-century editors: but he sees that the inconvenient evidence of the versions has to be explained somehow, and, unsatisfactory as his explanation is, it at least recognizes the existence of the difficulty.

In von Soden's terminology the 'Western' text disappears entirely. Following out the scanty indications contained in St Jerome, he first looks for the recensions carried out by Hesychius at Alexandria and by Lucian at Antioch. The latter he finds in the 'Syrian revision' of Hort; and as this became ultimately the Received Text, he labels it K for *Κουή*. So far he agrees with previous editors: and though from this point he separates himself from Hort's notation, it is possible that he will find some support for his further view that our specially Egyptian witnesses, from the end of the third century onwards, B and N included, represent the otherwise unknown recension of Hesychius (H for *Ἡσύχιος*). But Jerome also speaks of the 'codices Adamantii', MSS preserving the New Testament text of Origen, as those which he himself elected to follow; and it can scarcely be doubted that it was in the library of Caesarea, where the traditions of Origen were maintained by Pamphilus and Eusebius, that he saw and used the *codices* in question. A third form of text therefore emerges in Palestine (I for *Ἱεροσόλυμα*); and though we have no such direct evidence for it in our extant Greek MSS as we have for the other two, we have a number of clues to its character in the repeated agreements of the Old Latin and Old Syriac, the bilingual codex Bezae, and the two Greek families headed respectively by the cursives 1 and 13 (the Ferrar Group). So far this text would appear to be our old friend the 'Western' text under another name: but as it is an essential part of the theory that the I-text owes its existence to the labours of Origen and his followers, and is therefore posterior to the Old Latin and probably to the Old Syriac, it follows that readings to which only these versions testify can have had no place in it.

I and H and K are therefore three independent editions of the text, all made by about the year 300 A.D.: I-H-K, on the other hand, is the fundamental text, which, by comparison of these three editions, can be restored as the original basis of all

of them; and this common basis cannot of course be later than the third century and may well be earlier.

But the evidence of the most ancient versions is not always in agreement with this resultant I-H-K text: and it might be natural therefore to suppose that by comparison of I-H-K with the Old Latin and Old Syriac we could mount to a still higher stage in an I-H-K-L-S text. Only that would mean the admission of non-Greek evidence, and this von Soden is as determined as Hort to exclude from final consideration. His escape from the dilemma is ingenious: but on this side at least of the Channel he has found few to follow him, and the evidence of history, broadly considered, appears to be fatal to his theory. Tatian is the name by which he conjures away all opposing forces: the influence of the Diatessaron, according to him, accounts for practically every reading in the Gospels where versions or fathers older than Origen venture to differ from the I-H-K text. But the Diatessaron is known to us in history through its connexion with the Syriac Church: and it is of the origin and early progress of Syriac Christianity that we have in this chapter to speak.

The conquests of Alexander had reached eastwards as far as the Indus, and a veneer of Hellenism was thereby spread over the whole of Western and West-Central Asia. But beyond the Euphrates Greek influences were not given time to penetrate very deep below the surface: as early as the middle of the third century B. C. the conterminous kingdoms of the Seleucidae—whose dominions had included Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Persia—and of the Bactrians—who represented Greek civilization in Afghanistan, Turkestan, and the Punjab—began to be pushed apart from one another by the successful revolt of the Parthians. Before the Christian era, the Parthian empire had acquired the whole ground from the Euphrates to the Hindu Kush, and had confronted on equal terms the advancing empire of the Romans. Mesopotamia (the country, that is, between the Euphrates on the west and the Tigris on the east), and the mountainous kingdom of Armenia to the north of it, formed during several centuries the debateable ground between the two empires, and belonged to the sphere of influence now of the one, now of the other. In the

second century A. D. the Romans gradually obtained a definite footing beyond the Euphrates, where that river makes an immense half-circle as it first approaches, and then recedes from, Antioch and the Mediterranean. Within this arc were situated Carrhae, the scene of Crassus's defeat by the Parthians in 53 B. C., Edessa, the capital of the first Christian State, and Nisibis, the great frontier fortress which marked the limit of the eastern travels of Abercius of Hieropolis.¹ The substitution of Persian for Parthian rule in A. D. 226 seemed for some time to make little difference in the situation; and indeed the results of the conquests of Diocletian and Galerius at the end of the third century represent the high-water mark of Roman advance. But in the fourth century the Persian State gradually re-asserted its power, and began to press the Roman boundaries steadily backwards till in 363 Mesopotamia was divided between the two empires, Nisibis becoming Persian while Edessa remained Roman.

The dominating movement of early Christianity had been towards the West: Antioch, Ephesus, Rome, these were the successive head-quarters of the Apostles and centres of evangelization. St Paul would not have admitted a racial or geographical any more than a social limit to the preaching of Christianity: slaves equally with freemen, barbarian and Scythian as well as Jew and Greek, were to share of right in the good news of the Gospel.² But in his own practice the ideal which he set himself to translate into fact was rather the proclamation of the Gospel message from one end of the Roman dominions to the other, from Jerusalem to Spain: and the direction which the Apostle of the Gentiles thus gave to the first Christian missions anticipated, if it did not rather itself go far to fix, the course of Christian history. Yet Jewries of no less importance lay on other sides of Palestine. Alexandria did indeed enter, though at a relatively late moment, into the main current of Church life. But beyond the eastern limits of the empire, Josephus tells us that across the Euphrates there had been since the Captivity and were still in his own day 'countless myriads' of Jews, 'exceeding all reckoning'.³ Of especial importance would be the settlements in the great towns of Babylon on the lower Euphrates, and

¹ See above p. 181.

² Col. iii 11.

³ Josephus *Antiquitates* XI v 2.

Seleucia-Ctesiphon on the lower Tigris. That some of the Apostles of the Circumcision should have turned their steps thitherwards was almost inevitable: and tradition connects the names of Thomas, Thaddaeus, and Simon the Cananaean, with India, Parthia, or Mesopotamia. The Greek legends indeed of the preaching of Simon among the Parthians and at Babylon are too vague or too late to secure credit: but the Syriac *Acts of Judas Thomas*, which place the labours and martyrdom of the apostle in India, and the Syriac *Teaching of Addai* which connects the same Judas Thomas, as well as Thaddaeus, with the church of Edessa, are both of them documents of the third century. For St Thomas in Parthia there is also Greek authority in Eusebius (*H. E.* iii 1), and it is probable that the authority is not merely that of the historian, but that the quotation from Origen extends back over the whole enumeration of the missionary spheres of the chief apostles.¹

It will be noted that the further east we go, the weaker the testimony. For India we have only the Acts of Thomas: and though these have at least one point of contact with real history in the name of king Gundaphorus, they are highly coloured by Encratite Gnosticism. But Syriac Gnosticism of the school, for instance, of Bardesanes of Edessa was in close touch with oriental influences, and it is possible that the Indian setting of the story was borrowed wholesale from a Buddhist model.² For Parthia the evidence is somewhat stronger: yet, whatever degree of truth may underlie the 'tradition' cited by Origen (or Eusebius), it is certain that we cannot point to any known evidence of the continuous existence of a Christian Church under the Parthians: and indeed, a century of Persian domination elapses before the first traces emerge of Christian organization or Christian literature. At the council of Nicaea, one bishop, 'John of Persia', was present from those regions: the *Homilies* of Aphraates, 'the

¹ Θωμᾶς μὲν, ὡς ἡ παράδοσις περιέχει, τὴν Παρθίαν εἰληχεν [then follows information about Andrew, John, Peter, and Paul]. ταῦτα Ὀριγένης κατὰ λέξιν ἐν τρίτῳ τόμῳ τῶν εἰς τὴν γένεσιν ἐξηγητικῶν εἰρηται. The Latin of Rufinus inserts 'Matthaeus Aethiopian, Bartholomaeus Indiam citeriorem'. [Add for St Thomas in Parthia the *Clementine Recognitions* ix 29, and Cotelier's note *ad loc.*]

² So von Gutschmid *Die Königsnamen in den apocryphen Apostelgeschichten*, Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, N.F. xix 161; followed by Lipsius 'Acts of Apostles (Apocryphal)' in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* i 23.

Persian sage', are dated A. D. 337-345: and the great persecution under Sapor belongs to the years immediately following.

It is rather to a tiny kingdom situate between Roman and Parthian territory, and under Roman rather than Parthian protection, that we must look for the first origin and developement of a native Syrian Church: Edessa is, in fact, far nearer to Antioch than to either Babylon on the south-east or Jerusalem on the south-west. The *Teaching of Addai* recounts how the Abgar of that day—the title was borne by most of the successive kinglets of Edessa—wrote to Jesus 'the Good Saviour' at Jerusalem to beg Him to come and exercise His powers of healing on himself. Our Lord in answer promised that after His Ascension one of the disciples should be sent: and in due course Judas Thomas charged Addai [i. e. Thaddaeus] the Apostle, one of the Seventy, with the mission. By the cures and preaching of Thaddaeus the king and his subjects were converted to the faith. The story was translated in part for the *Church History* of Eusebius: but of the story as first current the extant Syriac appears to be an expanded form, just as also the Spanish lady-pilgrim Eucheria when she visited Edessa at a later date received there a copy of the Acts on a more circumstantial scale than what she had been familiar with at home.¹

The conversion of the Edessene State is of course antedated in the tradition, perhaps by as much as a century and a half: but soon after A. D. 200, at any rate, the Abgar was Christian, and the commencements of evangelization must therefore go some way back into the preceding century. A basis of fact is all the more likely to underlie the statement of the *Teaching* that Palut, third bishop of Edessa, sought for consecration at the hands of Serapion of Antioch, because it is irreconcilable as it stands with the legend of apostolic foundation: if the bishop consecrated about A. D. 200 was only the third, the first cannot be brought into direct relation with the apostles. Serapion in turn, we are told, had been ordained by Zephyrinus of Rome, while the

¹ Eus. *H. E.* i 13 *ad fin.* ἐκ τῆς Σύρον μεταβληθέντα φωνῆς: *S. Silviae Pergrinatio* in Geyer's *Itinera Hierosolymitana* (Vienna *Corpus S. E. L.* xxxix p. 64) 'et licet in patria exemplaria ipsarum haberem, tamen gratius mihi visum est ut et ibi eas de ipso acciperem, ne quid forsitan minus ad nos in patria pervenisset: nam vere amplius est quod hic accepi'. But the date of this pilgrimage is probably not so early as has been supposed.

consecrator of Zephyrinus was the apostle Peter. The Christian Abgar visited Rome, and was given a brilliant reception by the emperor Septimius Severus, about 206 (ten years later Edessene independence, such as it was, came to an end, when the kingdom was finally incorporated in the Roman empire), and in the references to Zephyrinus and St Peter we may perhaps see a conscious Romanization of the traditions of the local church. Historical in the strict sense they certainly are not: for even if we interpret the second of the two statements to mean no more than the descent by succession of Zephyrinus from St Peter,¹ the first of them is disproved by the single consideration that Serapion was bishop of Antioch some ten years earlier than Zephyrinus became bishop of Rome. Nevertheless, all goes to suggest that the connexions of Edessa, ecclesiastical as well as secular, were during the third century with the Roman empire rather than with the East: and there is nothing to suggest that the contrary was the case at any earlier period of its history. It may even be conjectured that the campaign of Marcus Aurelius, which in the year 164 brought Edessa finally under Roman suzerainty, opened at the same time 'a great door and effectual' to the Christian mission from the West. At Nisibis, some way further east than Edessa and not far from the Tigris, Abercius found, it is true, an orthodox Catholic community: but Nisibis too was in northern Mesopotamia, and received a Roman garrison at the beginning of Severus's reign, A.D. 194, if not earlier. Of Christianity in the Parthian dominions proper, at Babylon or Seleucia, we hear at this period nothing.

To the church of Edessa then we shall naturally look as the centre from which the first New Testament in the Syriac vernacular would be likely to have spread. And here again the *Teaching of Addai* records for us, in words partly quoted at an earlier point,² the Edessene traditions of the origin of the Syriac

¹ So Burkitt *Early Eastern Christianity* (1904) p. 26: R. Duval, however, *Anciennes Littératures chrétiennes: La Littérature syriaque* (1899) p. 115, interprets literally. It is interesting to note that the *Teaching of Addai* already knows the chronology of St Peter's episcopate: 'Peter had been designated by our Lord, and was bishop of Rome during twenty-five years in the time of the Caesar who reigned thirteen years.' Clearly Claudius (A.D. 41-54) is meant: it is also clear, I think, that the *Teaching* used a chronicle which synchronized popes and emperors.

² *J. T. S.* x (April 1909) 355.

Bible: 'the Law and the Prophets, and the Gospel in which ye read daily before the people, and the letters of Paul which Simon Cephas sent from the city of Rome, and the Acts of the Twelve Apostles which John, the son of Zebedee, sent from Ephesus: of these writings should ye read in the churches of Christ, and with them ye should read nought else.' What exactly is meant by the word 'Gospel' in the singular, another passage from the same *Teaching* makes clear: 'and much people gathered together daily, and came to the Divine Service, and to the Old Testament, and to the New of the Diatessaron.'

A generation ago it would have been necessary to enter here into a long examination of the probable meaning of the word 'Diatessaron', and of the objects and method of Tatian its author, such as for instance Lightfoot carried out in the last of his famous papers upon the book called *Supernatural Religion*.¹ Even now no fragments of it, other than quotations, have been recovered either in Greek or in Syriac: but two translations of the Diatessaron itself, and one of a commentary on it, have come to light in Latin, Arabic and Armenian respectively, and between them we get a good general idea of its contents and arrangement. An Armenian version of the commentary upon the Diatessaron by the first of the great Syriac fathers, Ephraim of Edessa († A. D. 373), was published in 1836, and forty years later was republished in a Latin translation from the Armenian. When this at last attracted the notice of scholars, it was realized that we had all along had in our hands an ancient Latin rendering in the Gospel Harmony of the codex Fuldensis,² written for Victor, bishop of Capua, in A. D. 546: the preface tells us that Victor had come across a Harmony of the Gospels, which, after examining the accounts of early harmonies, he decided must be Tatian's, and his adaptation of this Harmony to the Vulgate text takes the place of the separate Gospels in the MS. And lastly an Arabic version, made no doubt from the Syriac and preserved in two fourteenth-century MSS, was

¹ *Contemporary Review*, May 1877: chapter ix (pp. 272-287) of the collected edition.

² The codex Fuldensis has been at Fulda probably ever since the time of St Boniface. I agree with Dom Chapman, *Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, p. 157, in thinking it likely that Boniface received the book from Northumbria, and that Benedict Biscop or Ceolfrid had brought it to England from Italy.

published at Rome in 1888. By the convergence of these three lines of evidence we can see that the Diatessaron was a Harmony in which the Four Gospels were woven, not unskilfully, into one continuous story, and we can for the most part restore in detail the order of its material. But that is not the same thing as restoring the text: the Arabic version is assimilated to the Peshitta, the Latin to the Vulgate, while Ephraim is not only liable, in his Armenian dress, to contamination from the Armenian Bible, but often passes over the text of several successive verses. To some extent we can fill up the gap from patristic citations: for although not a single word of it can be recovered from Greek authors, the Christian Syriac writers of the third and fourth centuries bear out for the most part the indications of the *Teaching of Addai*, and continue to quote the Gospel mainly through the medium of the Diatessaron. If this is true of Aphraates, it is truer still of Ephraim, who not only expounded the text of the Diatessaron in the Gospel commentary, but habitually quoted from it in his other works. In fact there is perhaps no Syriac writing earlier than A.D. 400, with the single exception of the Acts of Judas Thomas, which does not shew acquaintance with the Diatessaron; and it is certain that it must have been, down to that date, the popular if not also the official Gospel of the Syriac-speaking Church.¹

When, where, and why, did Tatian compose this Harmony, and what was the secret of its success in Syriac circles and its failure at the same time elsewhere? For answer to this and all questions about Tatian we turn first to the *Church History* of Eusebius.²

The theological history of Tatian Eusebius describes out of St Irenaeus's great work *Against Heresies*: Tatian was a pupil of Justin Martyr's, and as long as his master lived did not give vent to unorthodox views; but after Justin's martyrdom [A.D. 163], when he succeeded to the teaching chair, he advertised his independence by seceding from the Church and setting up a school

¹ See Burkitt *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel*, 'Texts and Studies' vii 2 (Cambridge, 1901), and *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (Cambridge, 1904) ii 101-160, 180-186. [I take this opportunity of putting on record the special obligations under which I stand, in many paragraphs of this chapter, to Professor Burkitt's writings: though I have done my best to reinterpret his material for myself.]

² Eus. *H. E.* iv 28, 29; v 13.

of his own on the lines of a modified Gnosticism. From Valentinus he borrowed the Aeons; from Marcion the rejection of marriage and meats, whence he acquired the name of 'Encratite': while his own special contribution to heretical thought, was the tenet that Adam the first man, ὁ πρωτόπλαστος, was outside the pale of salvation. To Irenaeus's sketch of Tatian's theology Eusebius adds an account of his literary output. His work on the New Testament is very unfavourably depicted. 'He put together a sort of hotch-potch of the Gospels, which he named Τὸ Διὰ τεσσάρων: and this is still current in some quarters. Of the Pauline Epistles it is said that he published (save the mark!) a revised and improved edition. A better known and indeed quite creditable effort was his apologetic work addressed *To the Greeks*, in which he proved the superior antiquity of Moses and the Prophets to all the favourite heroes of the Greeks.' And to these at a later point Eusebius adds (on the authority of Rhodon, himself a pupil of Tatian's at Rome) another book of *Problems*, in which he professed to shew the uncertainty and obscurity of the Divine Scriptures.

The language of Irenaeus—Ἰουστίνου ἀκροατῆς γεγονώς, and ἐφ' ὅσον συνῆν ἐκεῖνω—seems to indicate that Justin presided over a sort of School¹ of Christian philosophy in Rome (something like the Catechetical School of Alexandria, though no doubt less relatively important), and that Tatian was first his pupil and then perhaps his colleague. The language of Rhodon—μαθητευθεὶς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, ὡς αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ, Τατιανῷ—suggests that Tatian succeeded Justin in his teaching chair, and that Rhodon attended his lectures. When then Tatian, about A.D. 165-170 (for the words of Irenaeus do not allow of much interval between Justin's martyrdom and Tatian's secession), had developed his Gnostic leanings, his School naturally ceased to be recognized by the Catholics, and one would rather gather that Rhodon succeeded him as the philosopher, so to say, of the Roman Church. But the lecture-

¹ I suspect that the enigmatic answer given by Justin at his trial to the question of the prefect Rusticus refers not, as has been generally assumed, to his meeting-place for worship but to his σχολή or lecture-room: Ῥουστικός ἱεραρχος εἶπεν· Εἰπέ, ποῦ συνέρχεσθε, ἢ εἰς ποῖον τόπον ἀθροίζεις τοὺς μαθητάς σου; Ἰουστίνος εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ ἐπ' αὐτῷ μένω τινὸς Μαρτίνου τοῦ Τιμοθίου βαλανείου . . . καὶ εἰ τις ἐβούλετο ἀφικνεῖσθαι παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐκοινώνουν αὐτῷ τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγων, *Acta Martyrum Selecta*, ed. O. von Gebhardt, 1902, p. 19.

room was presumably private and not Church property: and again the language of Irenaeus—ἴδιον χαρακτήρα διδασκαλείου συνεστήσατο—implies a further period during which Tatian remained on in Rome, and continued to expound his doctrines from a professorial chair. There St Irenaeus leaves him: and history has no more to tell. But it does not seem likely that Tatian can have left Rome much before A.D. 175.

If, or when, he did leave Rome, where did he go? We have no direct evidence: but we do happen to know from whence he came to Rome. He was born, he tells us in the extant *Address to Greeks*,¹ in the land of Assyria—he is consequently identified by most scholars with the 'Assyrian' whom Clement of Alexandria names among his teachers²—and it would therefore be natural that when, in later life, his position in Rome became untenable, his thoughts and his steps should turn towards his early home. There, among a simpler and ruder people, the Christian mission was still in its infancy, and the theological differences which parted him from the Catholics of the greater churches may have been but half understood. The tide which, twenty or thirty years before, had risen high enough to threaten the very strongholds of apostolic Christianity, was on the ebb: where Justin had been outclassed by Valentinus and Marcion, already Irenaeus and Clement were beginning, what Tertullian and Origen completed, the recovery for the Church of her lost ground. Within the empire Gnosticism was played out, and the sign of its defeat was the organization of its adherents into separate sects: but it had come from the East, and it was just in places like Edessa that the retreating movement still held its ground within the Christian community. The one name that is historical in the early annals of Edessene Christianity, outside the episcopal list, is that of Bardesanes (A.D. 154–222), and of Bardesanes half our authorities tell us that he was a Catholic before he was a Gnostic, and the other half that he was a Gnostic first and a Catholic afterwards: the truth being, as I suppose, that he occupied the same anomalous position as the great Gnostics at Rome a generation or two earlier, or many of the Arians a century and a half later—a position which the fourth-century narrators of Edessene traditions, when Gnosticism in all its forms was a *res iudicata* of the past, were

¹ *Ad Græcos* 42.

² *Strom.* i 11.

naturally unable to realize. If Bardesanes could maintain himself among Syriac-speaking Christians at the beginning of the third century, Tatian could have done the same thing twenty-five years earlier: and if the newly-founded Church of Mesopotamia had as yet no vernacular version of the Gospels, it would the more readily welcome a rendering of the Gospel Harmony which the returning philosopher brought back with him to his native country. Whether or no Tatian uses 'Assyria' in the sense of Trajan's short-lived province of that name beyond the Tigris, he was doubtless familiar with the Syriac language from his youth.

That this Syriac Diatessaron was a translation, and not the original, is not really doubtful. It is true that the evidence of Theodoret may be, and perhaps should be, interpreted of the Syriac Diatessaron rather than the Greek: in the eight hundred parishes of his diocese he had found, he says,¹ two hundred copies of the Diatessaron, all of which he replaced by copies of the separate Gospels. He does not say whether they were Greek or Syriac, and Cyrrhus, his see-town, is about equidistant from Antioch in one direction and from the Euphrates in the other: it is, however, natural to connect this extensive use of the Diatessaron just west of the river with what we know of its popularity just east of the river at Edessa, and to conclude that the villagers round Cyrrhus spoke Syriac rather than Greek. On the other hand Eusebius, though he had apparently never seen the Diatessaron,² assumes without hesitation that it was a Greek work: and it can hardly have been in any other language that Victor of Capua made acquaintance with it. There is no trace of its existence in Latin: and Victor was an accomplished Greek scholar, whose Scholia on Genesis include material from (pseudo-)Polycarp, Origen, Basil, Diodore of Tarsus, Severian of Gabala, and certain 'Πρώτα Γερόντων'.³ Doubtless it is strange to find even a Greek Diatessaron in Italy in the sixth century: and, partly on this account, I am somewhat tempted to identify

¹ *Haer. Fab.* i 20.

² It is interesting to note that the Syriac translator of the *Church History* inserts here the vernacular name by which the Diatessaron was known in contrast with the Separate Gospels, 'now this is the Gospel of the Mixed, *Evangelion da-Mchallete*': Burkitt *op. cit.* ii 175.

³ Pitra *Spicilegium Solesmense* i 265-277: compare Chapman's *Vulgate Gospels* p. 80.

Victor, the bishop and scholiast of Capua, with Victor the shadowy presbyter of Antioch, to whom we owe the Greek catena on St Mark.

The external evidence of Eusebius and Victor for a Greek origin agrees with internal evidence of the Diatessaron itself which points to a Roman origin. Prof. Burkitt catalogues a number of instances where the underlying Greek text of the Diatessaron differs from our other Syriac evidence and agrees with the evidence of the Old Latin¹: in other words it is 'Western' in the geographical sense as well as in the wider sense in which the term is used by Hort and his school. But it drawn up at Rome, it remains so far an open question whether it was by Tatian the Catholic or Tatian the heretic: and the answer to the question is not without some bearing on the extent of the influence it is likely to have exerted within the Church.

Theodoret had no doubt that the Diatessaron revealed on enquiry indications of a heretical purpose: Tatian, he alleges, removed from his Harmony the genealogies, with all other passages which shew Christ as born according to the flesh from the seed of David. But Theodoret wanted to make the worst of a work which he had set himself systematically to replace. Victor of Capua, on the other hand, looked upon the work as of great value for the understanding of the Gospels, and conjectured that it might have been written under Justin's influence: even if that was not so and Tatian was a heresiarch already when he composed it, the words are still the words of Christ, '*verba Domini mei cognoscens libenter amplector*'.

Modern scholars are as divided upon this subject as Theodoret and Victor. Hort will tell us (on Matt. xxvii 49) that 'there is no evidence that this obscure work [the Diatessaron] was known out of Syria, where Tatian founded his sect; and the evil repute attached to his name renders the adoption of a startling reading from such a source highly improbable'. It was the independence of the great Greek uncials, which have inserted Jo. xix 34 into the Passion according to St Matthew, that Hort was here concerned to maintain against the suggestion of corruption from the Diatessaron: but it is more generally by the opponents of the 'Western' text that Tatian is summoned as the *deus ex machina*,

¹ Burkitt *op. cit.* ii 191-201.

and in their conception the influence of the Diatessaron is as greatly exaggerated as in Hort's it is minimized. By Dr Rendel Harris Tatian is held responsible for all the 'Western' element in the Syriac versions, while Tatian himself and all other Western-minded texts, the Sahidic version of Southern Egypt included, are derived from the Latin column of a primitive bilingual (graeco-latin) codex.¹ In von Soden's scheme, as we have seen, Tatian is made to play an even larger part, and the Diatessaron becomes the one all-sufficing explanation for serious transpositions of the Gospel text. All idiosyncrasies of the Old Latin and the Old Syriac, all errors of the copies used by Irenaeus and Clement, are due to the same pernicious influence of the work of Tatian.

The problems here raised involve obviously a comparison of the text of the Diatessaron with other forms of the Gospel in Syriac and Latin, for which we have not as yet completed the necessary collection of material. Our next chapter will be devoted to the Old Latin version: for the remainder of the present chapter we address ourselves to the subject of the earliest Syriac version of the separate Gospels.

Much has been written on the question whether the Syriac Diatessaron is earlier or later than the Syriac Gospels. But the answer has really been given by the accumulation of evidence for the extensive and almost exclusive use of the Diatessaron by Syriac writers between A.D. 200 and 400. It is quite inconceivable that if the Four Gospels had once rooted themselves in popular knowledge and affection, they could ever have been superseded by a Harmony: even an oral interpretation of the Greek Gospels into Syriac, if it had had time to become familiar, could hardly have been so completely ousted: the Diatessaron must therefore have been the first form in which the Edessene church possessed a Gospel in the vernacular at all. Hence it seems that we can scarcely date the introduction of the Diatessaron at Edessa later than about A.D. 180. For more than two centuries it maintained its sway: it was probably not till the fifth century that the Peshitta version was officially substituted for it. But long before that an attempt had been made to acclimatize in the Syriac tongue the 'Separate' Gospels in place

¹ *A Study of Codex Bezae* ('Texts and Studies' II i, 1891) p. 177.

of the 'Mixed': and unsuccessful^y as the attempt was, the recovery of the manuscripts which represent it has provided us with some of our earliest testimony to the text of the Four Gospels.

Among the splendid collection of ancient Syriac MSS which the British Museum acquired in the middle of last century, from the monastery of St Mary in the Nitrian desert south-west of Alexandria, was a fragmentary MS of an unknown version of the Gospels, which from its first editor, Canon Cureton,¹ has received the name Curetonian. The MS, which dates from about the beginning of the fifth century, arranges the Gospels in the unusual order Matthew, Mark, John, Luke: and as it has further experienced the unusual fate that the beginning and end have suffered less loss than the central portion, it results that the first three-fourths of St Matthew and the last three-fourths of St Luke are for the most part extant, while there is little left of St John, and of St Mark nothing but the last four verses of the Longer Conclusion.² The total of the eighty-six leaves amounts to about half the whole Gospels.

To the more extreme conservative school it had become almost an article of faith that the Syriac Vulgate or Peshitta was as old as the second century; and therefore any other version of the Gospels in Syriac must naturally be posterior to it. On the other hand critics like Griesbach and Hug a hundred years ago had already concluded on internal evidence that the Peshitta New Testament, exactly like the Latin Vulgate, was a revision, by the help of Greek MSS, of an earlier version in the vernacular. Cureton's MS in the main fulfilled the required conditions as a representative of this lost original, and Westcott and Hort labelled it without hesitation Old Syriac, 'syr-vt', though they admitted that 'many readings suggest that, like the Latin version, it degenerated by transcription and perhaps also by

¹ *Remains of a very antient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac hitherto unknown in Europe: discovered edited and translated* by William Cureton, D.D., F.R.S. London, 1858. To the British Museum leaves have to be added three leaves at Berlin (in MS Orient. Quart. 528), edited by Roediger in the Proceedings of the Berlin Academy of Sciences for July, 1872.

² In detail, Matt. i 1-viii 22, x 32-xxiii 25; Marc. xvi 17-20; Jo. i 1-42, iii 5-viii 19, and fragments of xiv: Luc. ii 48-iii 16, vii 33-xxiv 44.

irregular revision . . . a single MS cannot be expected to tell us more of the Old Syriac generally than we should learn from any one average Old Latin MS respecting Old Latin texts generally' (§ 118).

By far the most valuable accession of material to the New Testament critic, since Westcott and Hort published their edition in 1881, is the discovery—at the same monastery of St Catharine on Mount Sinai which a generation earlier disclosed the Codex Sinaiticus of the Greek Bible, **Σ**—of a second, less fragmentary and less degenerate, representative of the Old Syriac Gospels. This Sinai Syriac is a palimpsest, and therefore not always legible with certainty: but out of 159 pages which the Gospels originally covered only seventeen are missing, so that when all allowances are made the text is a far completer one than Cureton's. The later writing is dated A.D. 778: the original scribe may have written at the end of the fourth century. The order of the Gospels is the normal order, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. The *editio princeps* of the new discovery appeared in 1894, under the joint care of Rendel Harris, Burkitt, and the late Prof. Bensly: Mrs Lewis, to whom is due the credit of first calling attention to the MS, on a third visit transcribed or verified what had been imperfectly deciphered, and published the result in *Some pages of the Four Gospels retranscribed from the Sinaitic palimpsest*, 1896: but both these and Cureton's edition of the other MS are for practical purposes superseded by Prof. Burkitt's *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 1904, in which for the first time the two MSS are combined, though it was unfortunate that the plan of the work demanded that the place of honour in the text should be given to the inferior MS.

Although the two MSS S and C differ on many important points—each shews marks of assimilation to the Diatessaron not shared by the other, and C has also in its ancestry some strain of an alien Greek text—they embody what is fundamentally the same recension: and this recension bears all the marks of freedom and idiomatic vernacular rendering which everywhere (and nowhere more clearly than in Syriac) distinguish earlier translations from later. And the same impression of antiquity is given by their underlying Greek text: the witnesses with whom they are most often found in company

are early witnesses, and the readings, whether they are right or wrong, are early readings. Nor is external evidence on the same side quite wanting: in spite of the all but universal predominance of the Diatessaron, one document which cannot be dated later than the end of the third century, the Acts of Judas Thomas, does use, not the Diatessaron, not the Peshitta, but the Gospel text of S and C.¹ It is probable too that occasional quotations even in Aphraates and Ephraim shew what may be called a scholar's acquaintance with the same version.

Comparison of the Diatessaron and the Old Syriac Gospels—as we are now entitled to call the text of S and C—is not a very easy matter, since of the Old Syriac our knowledge is knowledge of its text and not of its history, while conversely we know a good deal about the history and use of the Diatessaron but comparatively little about its text. Still some preliminary results emerge clearly enough. In the first place the Diatessaron and the Old Syriac are not independent of one another: there are too many points of contact between them, in what is known of their Syriac text, to be accidental. But then next, as we have seen that the Harmony must be the older and the Separate Gospels the more recent form, it follows that the Old Syriac was a fresh translation from the Separate Gospels of the Greek, influenced, not in its Greek readings but in its Syriac renderings, by the familiar language of the Diatessaron.

Now a third-century Syriac translator to whom Greek MSS were accessible can hardly be placed elsewhere than at Edessa. Can we point to any episode in the history of the Edessene Church which would fit in with the introduction of the new version?

It will be remembered that two names only are historically known to us in the earlier days of the Edessene community, Tatian and Bardesanes, both of them, at least in Greek or Latin estimation, reasonably suspected of heterodox leanings. It will be remembered further that the *Teaching of Addai* sends bishop Palut of Edessa a little later to obtain consecration within Roman territory from Serapion of Antioch. Add to this that St Ephraim complained (so we learn from Jacob of Edessa, a distinguished scholar of the seventh century) that the orthodox

¹ Burkitt *op. cit.* ii 101-106.

of Edessa were called in his day Palutians, disciples of bishop Palut,¹ thereby implying both that there were other Christians who were not Palutians, and that Palut was credited by them with the introduction of at least a different *nuance* of Christianity from that of the original Edessene Church. By combination of these *data* a good case seems to be made out for supposing that the consecration of Palut synchronized with a movement at Edessa in the direction of assimilation to the theology of the great churches of the empire and of a corresponding reaction against the influence of Bardesanes and Tatian. Probably this Catholic movement would not be unconnected with the visit of the Christian Abgar at the beginning of the third century to Rome, where he may well have entered into relations with pope Zephyrinus; and nothing would be more natural than that the pope should have recommended him to regularize his relations with the organized Catholic Church of the empire by obtaining consecration for the new bishop of Edessa at Antioch, the metropolis of the East.

So far the reconstruction of the picture has followed the lines of actual historical record. An element of conjecture comes in when it is suggested that it may have been part of the mission entrusted to Palut at Antioch, to supersede the Gospel of the Diatessaron by the Four Gospels of the Church.

Of Serapion, bishop of Antioch from about A. D. 190 to 210 and consecrator of Palut, almost the only fact which history has recorded is his suppression of another uncanonical Gospel, the Gospel of Peter, which he had found in use at the church of Rhodus. What more natural on the one hand, than that he should make a similar attempt to supersede the irregular scriptures in use at Edessa by the provision of a Greek MS of the Four Gospels for translation into Syriac? and what more natural on the other hand, than that the Christians of Edessa, however willing they were to accept the nearer ties which henceforward bound them to the churches of the empire, should stand out for the retention of the Gospel in the only form in which they had hitherto known it? All experience tells us how difficult it is to introduce a 'Revised Version': and if the non-success of the Old Syriac, in face of the Diatessaron, were the only objection

¹ Burkitt *Early Eastern Christianity* p. 28.

to the theory that connects its introduction with the name of Palut, it would hardly by itself be a serious one.

But there is another set of phenomena in the Old Syriac Gospels which appears to point not so much to Antioch as to Palestine. Not only are the Greek forms of Jewish proper names restored to their exact Semitic spelling—this might be due to minute knowledge of the Syriac Old Testament, which was not translated from the Greek but direct from the Hebrew—but the Greek forms of the place-names of Palestine are reconstructed on their correct Aramaic basis: while on the other hand in at least two cases, 'Bethabara' for 'Bethany' beyond Jordan in Jo. i 28, and 'Girgashites' for 'Gerasenes' in Marc. v 1, the Old Syriac agrees with Origen in readings which are the direct reflexion, through pious researches or local patriotisms, of the growing cult for the Holy Places of Palestine.¹ If it had only been a matter of the correct rendering of Greek transliterations into the underlying Aramaic, we might have been content to attribute the work to some capable scholar at Edessa: or if it had only been a case of agreement with Origen in novel identifications of sacred sites, it might have been a reasonable conjecture that the Old Syriac version was posterior to, and dependent on, Origen. But the combination of the two features for which we have to account seems to square with no other hypothesis than that the translator was personally familiar with Palestine, its language, its place-names, its local traditions.²

It cannot be proved that all this is untrue of Palut; but neither can it be shewn that it is true of him: and perhaps the most prudent conclusion is that the Old Syriac version of the Gospels came to Edessa from some part of Syria, whether northern or southern, not earlier than the early years of the third century A. D., while, if we drop Burkitt's identification of the translator with bishop Palut, any date in the first half of the century would sufficiently suit the known conditions of the problem.

The first stages, then, of the history of the Syriac New Testament are represented for us by a Gospel Harmony, constructed

¹ I reserve details on this subject for the chapter on Origen.

² See an article of Prof. Burkitt's 'Gergesa—a Reply', in the *American Journal of Biblical Literature* for 1908 (XXXVII ii pp. 128-133).

out of a Roman Greek MS of the Gospels in the third quarter of the second century, and by a subsequent edition of the separate Gospels, translated from a Syrian (Antiochene or Palestinian) text of the first half, perhaps even the first decade, of the third century. Of the Acts and Pauline Epistles, which together with the 'Gospel' made up the Canon of the *Teaching of Addai*, we have before the Peshitta no continuous text: but Aphraates' rather numerous quotations from St Paul, and Ephraim's commentary on the Pauline Epistles (though, like his Gospel commentary, it is extant only in Armenian), justify the certain conclusion that the Syriac Church in the fourth century read St Paul, as it read the Gospels, in a text which is related to the Peshitta as the original to the revision. But in Syriac, just as in Latin, it is the Gospels only which have survived from the earliest translations.

In appending to this, as to previous chapters, some discussion of readings, I have selected two as illustrating opposite poles of value: one where the true text (or what I take to be such) of the Gospel has been, in part at least, preserved in no other authority than the Old Syriac: the other, where our two MSS of the Old Syriac give different readings and both of them wrong ones.

1. Matt. i 16 (24, 25).

Nothing in the newly-discovered MS excited as much interest, at the time of its publication, as its unique reading in Matt. i 16 'Joseph . . . begat Jesus'. There were not wanting on the one side orthodox writers who pointed to it as a convincing illustration of the perils which lay in wait for those who strayed from the safe path of the traditional text, nor on the other critics who hailed the new text as a conclusive proof that primitive Christianity knew nothing of the Virgin Birth. As a matter of fact doctrinal considerations may be safely put aside. Prof. Burkitt has shewn that not only the narrative of the Nativity, Matt. i 18-25, but also the genealogy that precedes it are alike the composition of the Evangelist himself: and since the Virgin Birth is obviously of the essence of the narrative, it follows that the language of the genealogy—and therefore the phrase 'Joseph . . . begat Jesus', if it is genuine—must be interpreted in accordance with it. In other words, the descent of Christ from David through Joseph would be meant to establish a legal, rather than a natural, descent and heirship.¹

¹ Every word of Prof. Burkitt's exhaustive note, pp. 258-260, on the 'historical and dogmatic considerations' I could, with the exception of the second paragraph on p. 258, make my own.

Prof. Burkitt does not himself believe that the text of S in these words is the text of the Evangelist: but my own view is that an essential part of the true reading of the verse is preserved in S alone of all extant witnesses, and it will therefore be necessary to state the terms of the problem in some detail.

The text of Westcott and Hort in Matt. i 16, i 24 *b*, 25, is as follows:—*Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός . . . καὶ παρέλαβεν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐγένωσκεν αὐτὴν ἕως [οὗ] ἔτεκεν υἱόν· καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν.*

Now in the first place, while it is quite certain that the Evangelist (I myself would add, his contemporaries as well) accepted absolutely the Virgin Birth, it is not at all unlikely that the simpler phraseology of the primitive age might seem to the more sensitive orthodoxy of later generations inadequate, at one point or another, to exclude misunderstanding. Indeed it is only necessary to enumerate the various readings in these verses, in order to make it quite clear that we have a *vera causa* in the meticulous desire of scribes to fence round the original narrative with explanations.

Thus in verse 24 S *k*—our best Old Syriac and best Old Latin MS—read simply ‘and he took his wife and she bare a son’. The preceding verses place the meaning of the Evangelist beyond doubt: but the Curetonian Syriac MS hesitated at ‘wife’ and substituted ‘Mary’, while N B and the Diatessaron, followed by the mass of MSS, Greek and Latin, disliked the near juxtaposition of *παρέλαβεν* and *ἔτεκεν*, and inserted between them the gloss *οὐκ ἐγένωσκεν αὐτὴν ἕως οὗ*.

Only we must not assume that this desire to dot the i’s and cross the t’s of orthodoxy was more prevalent in one quarter than another—in Rome and Alexandria more than in Carthage and Edessa. The same motives were operative everywhere: but they come to the surface at different points. The very authorities which left unmodified the *παρέλαβεν . . . καὶ ἔτεκεν* of verse 24, stumbled in verse 16 over the phrase *τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας*, for which the Old Syriac and Old Latin (in all its branches) with the Ferrar group, substitute something like *ὃ μνηστευθεῖσα ἦν παρθένος Μαρίας*.

Nor is this quite all. Offence was further taken in some quarters at the apparent implications of the epithet in the phrase *ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός*. ‘He that is called Messiah’ might be a natural phrase in the mouth of Pilate (Matt. xxvii 17, 22) or of the Samaritan woman (Jo. iv 25)—just as to the man born blind He is ‘He that is named Jesus’ (Jo. ix 11)—but was barely tolerable to those for whom He ‘was’ Messiah: once the process of text-modification was at work, it became an easy matter to drop the suspect word, and the best Old

Latin MSS, *k* and *d* (D is defective), with the Curetonian Syriac, represent a text from which λεγόμενος was omitted.

Now having by this time acquired a very strong and clear presumption that the dominating factor of the variations experienced and likely to be experienced in this passage is the desire to guard Christian teaching against all conceivable ambiguity of statement, let us approach the remaining problem of the text of verse 16 *b*, and see whether a similar difficulty may not again be solved by a similar explanation. The *data* are as follows:—

- | | |
|--|---|
| (a) Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ
τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς
ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς | NB, the mass of Greek
MSS, the Peshitta, Ter-
tullian |
| (b) Ἰακώβ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ, ᾧ
Iacob genuit Iosef cui
μνηστευθεῖσα παρθένος Μαρίαμ
desponsata uirgo Maria
ἐγέννησεν Ἰησοῦν
genuit Iesum. | The Ferrar group.
<i>a k (d)</i> |
| (c) Jacob begat Joseph, him to whom
Iacob genuit Ioseph, cui
was betrothed Mary the Virgin,
desponsata erat uirgo Maria
she who bare Jesus.
Maria autem genuit Iesum. | Curetonian Syriac.
<i>b (c)</i> |
| (d) Jacob begat Joseph, Joseph to whom
was betrothed Mary the Virgin
begat Jesus. | Sinai Syriac. |

Here it will be noticed that the last three variations all combine against the first in giving an active verb in the second limb of the sentence, ἐγέννησεν Ἰησοῦν: and this agrees so much better than the passive construction, ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς, with the whole form of the genealogy that it is difficult not to believe in its superior originality. But if that is so, and if we accept τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, as we have seen good reason for doing, we are really reduced to two alternatives only:—

- (1) Ἰακώβ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας·
Μαρία δὲ [οὐ ἦτις] ἐγέννησεν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν,
and (2) Ἰακώβ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας·
Ἰωσήφ δὲ ἐγέννησεν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν.

The most conclusive test that we can apply in a case like this, where

the variations are complicated, is that the readings rejected should be satisfactorily explained as alterations or corruptions of the reading accepted as original. But if (1) was original, there was really no sufficient reason for the endless vagaries of the scribes. If on the other hand (2) was original, it is surely easy to see how general the desire would soon be—as soon at any rate as the Gospel began to be copied by those to whom the Jewish law of descent was unfamiliar—to make a change at one point or another of the text. The first stumbling-block lay (as we have seen) in the words τὸν ἄνδρα: and a very early change, so early as to underlie both the earliest Syriac and the earliest Latin version, substituted for the marital term the more exact mention of betrothal and virginity. But obviously the most difficult statement of all, if literally interpreted, was the Ἰωσήφ ἐγέννησεν: and the Sinai Syriac stands alone among extant witnesses in retaining it. Possibly the translator of the Old Syriac version, a Semite himself, was less ignorant of Jewish ideas of heirship than contemporary Greeks or Latins: anyhow in all other authorities the offending phrase is modified. Ἰωσήφ as the nominative to ἐγέννησεν disappears, and the construction is mended in one of two ways. Those who had already written 'to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin' had only to make 'betrothed' a participle, and Μαρία became without further difficulty the nominative to ἐγέννησεν: the rest, who had accepted τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, might no doubt have proceeded with ἦτις ἐγέννησεν, but when change was being made at all it probably seemed more natural to avoid using the same mood of γεννάω for father and mother, and so we arrive at the ordinary reading (NB Tert., &c.) ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός.

If this reconstruction of the text and its history is correct, no one of our witnesses has preserved the original unaltered: the first part of the verse is correctly reproduced in NB and the Greek MSS, the second part in the Sinai Syriac, while in the Old Latin both parts have undergone modification. Conversely, in verse 24 the Sinai Syriac and the African Latin (S^k) are right against all the rest.

2. Luc. xiv 5 τίνος ὑμῶν υἱὸς ἢ βοῦς εἰς φρέαρ πεσεῖται, καὶ οὐκ εὐθέως ἀνασπάσει αὐτὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου;

υἱὸς ἢ βοῦς is the reading of A B, most Greek MSS, the African and Italian families of the Old Latin (efg), the Sahidic, and St Cyril.

ὄνος ἢ βοῦς is the reading of NL 1 33, &c., the European Old Latin and the Vulgate, the Memphitic.

πρόβατον ἢ βοῦς is the reading of D, and can be dismissed at once as an assimilation to Matt. xii 11 τίς ἔσται ἐξ ὑμῶν ἄνθρωπος ὃς ζεῖει πρόβατον ἐν, καὶ ἐὰν ἐμπέσῃ τοῦτο τοῖς σάββασιν εἰς βόθυνον, οὐχὶ κρατήσῃ

αὐτὸ καὶ ἐγερῇ; But as it is fairly clear that *υἱός* was more likely to be altered than *ὄνος* in this connexion, the reading which lies behind D is presumably not *ὄνος* but *υἱός*, and the evidence of D really goes with the group first enumerated.

As between *υἱός* and *ὄνος* the weight of external evidence inclines to the side of *υἱός*, even without the addition of D: the combination of B and the African Latin is not easily overcome. But the interest of the variation is that 'transcriptional' and 'intrinsic' probabilities—to use Hort's convenient terms—speak when cross-questioned with so certain a voice, and prove to demonstration at least the priority of the reading *υἱός* to the reading *ὄνος*.

The argument from 'transcriptional' probability is very simple. If *ὄνος* was original, we cannot conceive any reason why scribes should have altered it into *υἱός*. If on the other hand *υἱός* was original, a reader might well be startled by the oddness of the collocation 'son or ox', and just as the scribe of D (or of its archetype) borrowed *πρόβατον* from St Matthew, so other scribes would borrow *ὄνος* from still nearer parallels, such as Luc. xiii 15 *ἐκαστος ὑμῶν τῷ σαββάτῳ οὐ λύει τὸν βοῦν αὐτοῦ ἢ τὸν ὄνον ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης καὶ ἀπάγων ποτίζει*; or Exod. xxi 33 *ἐὰν δέ τις ἀνοίξῃ λάκκον ἢ λατομήσῃ, καὶ μὴ καλύψῃ αὐτόν, καὶ ἐμπέσῃ ἐκεῖ μὸσχος ἢ ὄνος κτλ.*

Again, as between the two alternatives, 'intrinsic' probability will also teach us that *ὄνος ἢ βοῦς* is not likely in itself to have been the author's phrase. For the order 'ass or ox' is impossible: St Luke must have written *βοῦς ἢ ὄνος*, in accordance with universal habit, with his own custom (xiii 15), and with a catena of passages in the Old Testament.¹

But to prove that St Luke did not write *ὄνος ἢ βοῦς* is not quite the same thing, of course, as proving that he did write *υἱός ἢ βοῦς*: and it may be asked whether, if the phrase *υἱός ἢ βοῦς* is so strange that scribes would naturally alter it, is not that almost the same thing as saying that St Luke would not naturally have written it? And it is quite true that we have to face here a standing difficulty of the textual critic: 'transcriptional' and 'intrinsic' probability have a way of pointing, at first sight, in opposite directions. Yet we are on safer ground in saying what are the likely vagaries of scribes than in saying what are the possible vagaries of authors. The scribe's business is

¹ Among some twenty enumerations of *ὄνοι* with other animals in O. T., there is only one instance of asses coming first, Is. xxx 6 *ἐπ' ὄνων καὶ καμήλαν.* Μόσχοι are placed after *ὄνοι* once only (1 Chron. xii 40 *ἐπὶ τῶν καμήλων καὶ τῶν ὄνων καὶ τῶν ἡμιόνων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μόνσχων*), *βόες* never: *βόες* . . . *ὄνοι* Gen. xxxii 5, xxxiv 28, xlvii 17; Num. xxxi 30, 34; Tobit x 10 (N text: B omits); Is. xxxii 20. In the passage where 'ox and ass' is most familiar to ourselves, in the Tenth Commandment, the LXX of Exod. xx 17 has *βοῦς* . . . *ὑποζύγιον.*

a humbler and more mechanical one than the author's, and, while authors have each their own individuality to be reckoned with, scribes are much more of a homogeneous class and the same foibles reappear with considerable regularity. In other words, we have more right to be sure that scribes would be tempted to alter $\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma \ \eta \ \beta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, than we have to be sure that St Luke would not have written it.¹

The reading 'son or ox' is prior then on internal evidence to the reading 'ass or ox', and it is better supported on external evidence. But of our two Syriac MSS, the Curetonian has 'son or ox or ass', the Sinaitic 'ox or ass'. Clearly the Curetonian is a conflation: either 'ass' has been added after an original 'son or ox', or 'son' has been prefixed to an original 'ox or ass'. In the absence of any knowledge of the reading of the Diatessaron, it is natural to suppose that the alternative which has the support of the Sinaitic MS represents the Old Syriac version. If that is so, we have to do with a case where that version is two degrees removed from the earliest text: $\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma \ \eta \ \beta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ becomes $\delta\nu\omicron\varsigma \ \eta \ \beta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, and $\delta\nu\omicron\varsigma \ \eta \ \beta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ —perhaps in the process of translation—is turned round into the more natural order of 'ox or ass'.

C. H. TURNER.

¹ If the abbreviation of $\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma$ into $\bar{\nu}\varsigma$ was early enough in use, and if the Jews had been in the habit of keeping the domestic pig, another conjecture might be hazarded as to what the Evangelist really wrote.

[NOTE.—In support of what has been said above—cf. pp. 180, 181, 202—of the Greek relations of the Edessene church, it is worth noting that Eusebius, *H. E.* iv 30, tells us that Bardesanes, 'a man of very great ability and a most accomplished Syriac writer', published Dialogues in his own language, 'which his numerous friends translated from Syriac into Greek'.]

THE RELATION OF PRIEST AND PROPHET IN THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL BEFORE THE EXILE.

THAT Prophecy, as developed among the Hebrews, has proved a world-force no one can well deny. Dr Cornill has aptly said 'Through Prophecy Israel became the prophet of mankind'.¹ Any question, therefore, which concerns itself with the history of Hebrew prophecy is *eo ipso* worth the asking. The very fact that the Prophets are held in such high estimation amongst us nowadays only makes us the more anxious to ascertain all that we may as to their relation to their immediate environment.

How did the Prophet strike his contemporaries? How far did he fit in with the ordinarily recognized institutions of his day, and what was his attitude towards them? Was he an original and essential factor in the life of the nation, or was he the creation of external and abnormal circumstances? Was Prophecy a necessary element in Israelite religion, or was it a protest against the official worship of the day? All these are problems which call for a solution, and that solution may probably best be found, not in abstract theories, but in the personal relations of Priest and Prophet in the national life before the Exile.

To discuss the relation of any one class of persons to any other it is necessary not only to view them as they appear to us at a given moment of their history, but also to try and discover something about their origin and early circumstances; for we may find that the earlier period of their connexion will to some extent explain what at first sight seems inexplicable in their subsequent relation. A further elucidation may also be obtained if we consider and compare the relation of such classes or types in other places and times than those of Old Testament history. Our method, then, must be at once evolutionary and comparative.

First, as to origins. It is commonly said that in remote

¹ Cornill *Hebrew Prophecy* p. 17.

antiquity priest and prophet are identical, the sorcerer being the ancestor of both alike. Thus Réville tells us: ' Dans les pays de la non-civilisation le sorcier, ou l'homme en rapport personnel avec les esprits, condense en quelque sorte en lui-même les éléments dont la divergence fera plus tard le prêtre, le prophète, le médecin, le juriste et même le philosophe et l'artiste.'¹

And primitive Semitic antiquity is apparently no exception to this rule, for there, we are told, 'the priest and the prophet started from a common base',² and 'the Arabian kâhin was both seer and priest'.³

But if there is a common origin, it is soon lost sight of, and, even in the most primitive races, priest and sorcerer are not identical. A differentiation of function takes place. Thus amongst the Zulus we find witch and witch-doctor, and 'black' and 'white' shamans in Siberia. And amongst the Arabs magic is still divided into 'high' and 'low', 'Divine' and 'Satanic'. The reasons for this differentiation may be variously explained. Dr Frazer would make the distinction between religion and magic responsible.⁴ Lord Avebury supposes difference of race to be the cause.⁵ Dr Jevons perhaps more rightly says as to the two types: 'The one class derive their powers from the god who protects and is worshipped by the community, the other from spirits who are bound by no ties of fellowship or goodwill to the community.'⁶

But whatever be the cause, the fact remains that 'une régularisation et une transformation de la sorcellerie primitive'⁷ is what really constituted the priesthood. In early times, also, the connexion between temporal and spiritual chief was always very close. Among primitive races priest-kings are still found, being considered, perhaps, as representatives of the national deity.⁸ In Babylonia and in Egypt alike the king was head-priest of

¹ Réville *Histoire des Religions* i 105.

² O. C. Whitehouse in Hastings *Dictionary of the Bible* iv 598^a s. v. 'Soothsayer'.

³ A. B. Davidson *ib.* iv 109^a s. v. 'Prophecy'.

⁴ Frazer *Golden Bough* i 64-69.

⁵ Avebury *Origin of Civilisation* 5th ed. p. 375 'the lower races of men have no priests properly so called'.

⁶ Jevons *Introduction to the History of Religion* p. 289.

⁷ Réville *op. cit.* ii 74.

⁸ Cp. Frazer *Adonis, Altis, and Osiris* pp. 12 ff, 378 ff.

the nation, and amongst the nomad Semites the sheik was the chief-priest of the tribe. Amongst the Israelites, however, the two types are by degrees separated, and when the king appears he is not merely the head of the national cult, but a warrior who delegates most of his inherent sacerdotal powers. So then there was a gradual crystallization of the priesthood, as it became differentiated alike from ruler and from sorcerer.¹

Now two points are to be noticed in regard to this process, which apply to Israel no less than to other nations.

First, priests tend to be an aristocratic body, as being recruited from the better born and more intelligent members of the community. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the poor are never priests. Secondly, a residuum is left of unauthorized 'religious' persons and practices which may be ultimately either abandoned, or absorbed, or perhaps allowed to exist on sufferance. Such a residuum is generally inferior to the 'established' order or cult, but yet, by its very freedom from recognition and from consequent restraint, possessed of great potentialities. This mass of undeveloped material lies ready for use by any new religious force or enthusiasm with which the authorized priestly body declines to be associated.

Such is the origin of priesthood, an institution which at the outset provides the opportunity for the growth and development of an independent prophecy. Let us see how this is illustrated by the history of the priests and prophets of Israel in their various relations to one another.

A word of warning is first necessary, however. We should remember that value does not necessarily imply dignity of origin; and secondly, that, even when we strike the roots of prophecy, we cannot always trace its subsequent growth continuously. Prophecy is full of sudden inspirations, in which 'the Spirit bloweth where it listeth', and neither can we, nor could the priests of Israel, or even the prophets themselves, ever wholly explain its phenomena.

¹ That the priesthood should retain certain 'magical' characteristics is only to be expected. Thus R. Smith in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* s.v. 'Priest' says: 'The *opus operatum* of the priest has the power of the sorcerer's spell.' In the figure of Balaam, the foreign (or perhaps Kenite) seer, prophet, priest, and magician all seem to be blended.

1. A discussion that concerns itself with the history of Israel must necessarily begin with Moses, the founder of the nation. The actual existence of Moses can scarcely be denied. Even if we allow to the utmost for 'tendency writing' in the various accounts of him which we possess, yet there must surely be a historical personage behind it all. The Exodus was the birthday of Israel and could never fade from its remembrance, and the events of the Exodus 'demand for their explanation such a personality as the sources give us in Moses'.¹ But granted the existence of such a person, what attributes may we legitimately predicate of him? Is it true to say that Moses was both priest and prophet, and that in him these two types found a real union? That Moses was a religious sheik or prince-priest after the manner of the Midianite Jethro seems fairly certain.² That he was the father of the priests is probably a historical fact, and best accounts for the origin of the priestly 'tribe of Levi'.³ But is it strictly accurate to speak of Moses as 'both priest and prophet',⁴ and as being the father of prophecy? In one sense Moses was certainly a prophet, for through him Yahweh was revealed to Israel. But to speak of Moses as a prophet, and the first of a continuous line of prophets, is something of an anachronism. The prophets of the eighth and following centuries preferred to think of Moses as a prophet rather than a priest, because in their eyes prophecy was the most direct medium of revelation. It is not unfair to say that the more important the individual prophet becomes in the history of the religion of Israel, the more is this position reflected in the accounts of Moses which we possess. The priest and the prophet have 'contended for' the person of Moses. The means which, according to the oldest tradition, Moses appointed for the perpetuation of the national worship of Yahweh as the God of Israel was not prophecy, but the priesthood of Levi⁵ and the priestly oracle of

¹ Kittel *History of the Hebrews*, English translation, p. 239.

² Cp. Cheyne *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel* p. 523: 'the prevalent North Arabian form of government was probably the theocratic, in which the ruler was God's viceroy and therefore also God's priest.'

³ Cp. Wellhausen *History of Israel* p. 397 n. 1 and p. 438.

⁴ W. R. Smith *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* p. 303, &c.

⁵ Cp. Judges xvii 13, with its preference for 'the Levite' Jonathan-ben-Gershom-ben-Mosheh.

Urim and Thummim. From the decisions of this oracle to the later Corpus of Jewish Law we can trace a gradual and continuous development. The priests, then, by means of the sacred oracle were to be the 'teachers of Israel'.¹ It is their failure in this respect which is denounced by the early writing prophets. But such failure was largely the result of degeneration, and not of inherent weakness. Mr Montefiore in his Hibbert Lectures strongly insists upon the importance of the priests in the early period of the settlement in Canaan. 'The one means by which the higher teaching of Moses could be maintained and handed down was the agency of the priests.' 'No other institution makes an impression of being so purely Israelite as the priesthood and its Torah. It is with good reason that they are referred back to Moses as their founder.'² Budde too gives the priests of this period an honourable place amongst the Champions of Yahweh.³ The fact that the worship of Yahweh was kept alive in the new territory says something for the priesthood of the day. No doubt the Ark of Yahweh was the centre of the best Mosaic tradition, and it is at Shiloh, the resting-place of the Ark, that we are introduced to Eli, who holds an important position as priest-in-charge of the Temple of the Ark.

But in the days of Eli we reach a transition period, and the tradition of the misconduct of his sons is probably a genuine intimation of undue Canaanite predominance in the worship of Israel.

2. The priests were, no doubt, assisted by the warriors of Israel in the continuance of Yahweh worship, for Yahweh was a God of war, and warfare in the name of Baal would have been impossible.⁴ 'Religious' and 'national' were synonymous terms. Every war of the invaders was a holy war in the name of Yahweh, who came from Sinai to help His people in their battles. It is easy to see that religious enthusiasm and military success were inseparably connected,⁵ and that a decline in adherence to the national God impaired the national efficiency. It was important,

¹ Cp. Deut. xxxiii.

² Montefiore *Hibbert Lectures* pp. 56, 71.

³ Budde *The Religion of Israel to the Exile* iii.

⁴ Cp. 'Song of Deborah,' Judges v.

⁵ R. Smith, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* s.v. 'Prophet', says: 'It was perhaps only in time of war, when he felt himself to be fighting the battles of Jehovah, that the Hebrew was stirred to the depths of his nature by emotions of a religious colour.'

then, to keep alive at all costs a trust in Yahweh as the God of Israel. In times of national depression, the priesthood seems to have proved unequal to the task. Deborah, an inspired woman,¹ was the soul of the Israelite revolt against the oppression of Sisera and his allies. And later it was not the priesthood but another religious force which roused the national enthusiasm to resist the Philistine supremacy. How was it that the priesthood was thus found wanting, and that nascent prophecy supplied a solution of the difficulty?

In the first place, the 'local' character of the priesthood was no doubt responsible. In old days when Israel was nomadic, this localization was not without its advantages. The priest was the settled servant of the sanctuary, and amid all the restlessness of the nomadic life he remained fixed to his post. But in Canaan this advantage ceased, and the increase in the number of religious centres tended to promote disunion. The old tribal organization, also, was beginning to disappear, and no proper territorial system of government was yet in force. Every town and village had its shrine and priest in attendance, and mountains, springs, and trees might all be 'places of worship', while festivals were local rather than national. Centralization both religious and political was sorely needed.

Secondly, the priesthood was not only local, it was rapidly becoming Canaanite. 'The seats of ancient Canaanitish heathenism had power to master the Israelitish conquerors of Canaan, who had from the very beginning been accustomed to a worship which was not dissimilar to that of the conquered.'² But it is scarcely true to speak of the Canaanites as yet 'conquered'. Many of the principal towns were either in the hands of Canaanites or still contained a large native element in their population.³ The Book of Judges lets us into the secret that the country was only very

¹ The later prose version of Judges iv makes her both 'prophetess' and 'judge'.

² Cp. Curtiss *Primitive Semitic Religion of To-day* p. 58.

³ Cp. Marti *Religion of the Old Testament* p. 104: 'In the case of the Israelites it is exceptionally easy to understand how the Canaanite culture came to be taken over. They learned agriculture from the inhabitants of the country, and naturally, at the same time, also the cultus which was so intimately connected with it.' For a somewhat similar 'superimposition of cults' we may compare the case of Greece with its Achæan and Pelasgian, Olympian and Clithonic deities—strata in religion corresponding to strata in population; vide Miss Harrison *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* passim.

gradually and very partially conquered, while excavators are now shewing that there is no violent break between the 'Canaanite' and 'Early Israelite' periods of the history of Palestine. The Philistine supremacy doubtless favoured the enemies of Israel, and there seems to have been a definite alliance between Canaanite and Philistine against the uncivilized invader. Of the oracles of Israel many were in the hands of the enemy, others were more Canaanite than Hebrew, while some perhaps, knowing the enemy's strength, cautiously 'Philistinized'. And last, and perhaps most important of all, the Ark, which was venerated as something more than a mere symbol of Yahweh's presence, fell into the hands of the enemy. The official religion must necessarily have come into disrepute, and the priest have declined in popular esteem.

Tradition tells us that it was Samuel¹ who changed all this, who rescued Israel from the Philistine, and restored the national religion. But, as in the case of Moses, we have to treat the later accounts with great caution. Three points, however, stand out clearly as regards Samuel: that he was a Seer, that he gave Israel a king, and that in his days the *benê nebi'im* first came into prominence. Seer, king, and prophetic guild were all in their degree signs of 'the same Spirit',² an awakened religious and national enthusiasm. The exact relation of Samuel to the new movement is hard to determine. The oldest account represents him as a local 'seer' of the Ephraimite hill country,³ to whom Saul has resort when he fails to find his father's asses. When visited, Samuel not only tells Saul that the asses are found, but that he is destined by God to be king over Israel.

The anointing of Saul as king is in this narrative the act of Samuel the Seer, as the result of a direct inspiration. In the later account, Saul is elected king by lot, in spite of Samuel's warning. This election by lot is possibly in accordance with the view of the narrator that Samuel was a priest,—the chief function of the priest being, as we have seen, the handling of the sacred lot or oracle.

¹ Cp. Lord Cromer *Modern Egypt* ii 63 (of Mahdism): 'A period of political hurricane, whether the scene be laid in savage Africa, or in civilized Europe, generally brings to the front some *individual* who appears to embody in his own person the genius of the principles which it is sought to assert.'

² The Books of Samuel, like Acts, are the Acts of the Spirit in the early Church.

³ The name of the town is not mentioned.

Now in the same way that we were compelled to ask the question whether Moses was really prophet as well as priest, so also we must enquire whether Samuel was priest as well as prophet. The later narratives imply that he was a priest in the full sense of the word. Are we to reject such a tradition entirely? When much smoke is seen, it is generally explained by the existence of some fire, however small; and it may be that this later tradition embodies a certain truth, when it tells us that Samuel was a temple servant at Shiloh under Eli. If this is fact, it throws some light on the position of Samuel with regard to the formation of the prophetic bodies, and probably signifies that, knowing the 'inner workings' of the official priesthood, he deliberately turned to the sons of the prophets from a reasoned preference for the newer institution.

It is probable that both Canaanite and Israelite sanctuaries contained a more numerous *personnel* than we have been wont to suppose. If Samuel was 'given to' Yahweh as a child born of the sanctuary,¹ his service may not have been of the dignity of Eli's, or even of that of Eli's sons. It seems probable that there were degrees of priesthood and 'minor orders', even in the earliest Israelite ministry.² Possibly the giving of the oracle was a privilege only of the few.

It is to be noticed that there is a 'prophetic' element even in Samuel's official ministry at the Temple of Shiloh. While sleeping in the sacred precinct he receives a divine message, probably in a dream.³ Perhaps Samuel was not the only

¹ For 'children of the shrine' cp. Frazer *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris* p. 81 ff, with reference to the burials in jars at Taanach, Jericho, &c. Possibly Jer. ii 27 and 1 Sam. x 12 contain allusions to the practice. Cp. also Curtiss *op. cit.* p. 153: 'One thus consecrated becomes (nowadays) a dervish if a Moslem, and a monk if a Christian.'

² As to 'degrees of priesthood' cp. Cheyne *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel* p. 523 f: 'A Mōsheh-clan arose which attached itself to the tribe of Levi, the tribe which combined religious enthusiasm with warlike energy, and became the guardian of the sacred objects. The higher priesthood existed side by side with the lower. The work of the former was to report divine oracles, and give decisions in the name of God; that of the lower, to attend to the cultus, to guard the holy vessels, and, if need were, to fight. Mōsheh, as has been noticed by Nielsen, represents the higher style of priest, Aharōn the lower. Both are connected by E with Levi.' It is worthy of notice that Samuel is to Eli as Joshua was to Moses.

³ For 'dreamers' cp. Strabo xvi 11 35 (Jerusalem). Sleeping-places for dreamers have been discovered on Sinai.

'young man' who 'dreamed dreams' in the sanctuaries of that day.

When we first meet with Samuel in the older narrative, he is an independent seer or 'man of God' resembling in many respects the later Elijah or Elisha. But even now he is not independent of the sanctuary. He goes up to the high place to bless the sacrifice at the local festival.¹ He lives in the city which was probably on the side of a hill below the sacred *bamah*.

The picture of Samuel the Seer which is thus given us points to the acknowledged existence of 'a man of God' of considerable local celebrity. Saul knows of the existence of such persons and knows how they are usually to be approached, i. e. with money in the hand. That there were professing clairvoyants of this kind need not surprise us, when we remember that from the first the establishment of a regular priesthood leaves very frequently a large residuum of unappropriated material. And if our conjecture be true as to Samuel's service at Shiloh, the official cult was not altogether without such methods. There seem, however, to be hints in the older narrative that the 'seer' was a person beloved of the people, and it may be that the Israelite priesthood of that day was, as is sometimes the case, an aristocratic and 'undemocratic' body.

We have spoken of Samuel at the sanctuary and Samuel as the seer²; it now remains to speak of him in connexion with the *benê nebi'im* or Sons of the Prophets. We are told by many writers on Old Testament history that Samuel was responsible for 'the regulation and organization of prophetism'.³ Such an assertion however depends upon the rendering of a doubtful passage in the Hebrew text. Not only is the reading doubtful,

¹ 1 Sam. ix 12-14.

² The relation between 'seer' and priest in primitive Semitism is obscure (cp. Balaam). The seers may have constituted an 'irregular' or decadent priesthood. Cp. the *kāhin* and *kōhēn*. Driver ap. *Priesthood and Sacrifice* p. 19 says: 'The *kāhin* gradually sank his connexion with the sanctuary and became a mere diviner; the *kōhēn* grew in importance, and acquired sacrificial and other functions.'

³ So Ottley *Bampton Lectures* p. 270. Cp. also Paton *Syria and Palestine* p. 173: 'It is safe to infer that he organized the ecstasies into communities, and thus made their influence more effective.'

but the date of the passage seems to be very late.¹ It may, however, be an independent addition, added by a redactor, but embodying a popular tradition. We may well believe that Samuel gave these enthusiasts his support, as being imbued with 'the same Spirit' which had led him to anoint Saul king²; but we cannot go further and regard him as their founder, organizer, and 'Superior'. That there was a distinction between the Seer and the prophetic bands is fairly clear,³ and no doubt this distinction was permanent, so that even the later Elijah and Elisha, though approving of the sons of the prophets, are consciously upon a higher level. The term *ro'eh*, seer, was applied to Samuel, but not to the prophetic bands, and later the individual prophet and the prophetic guild come into conflict.

The origin and history of these 'Sons of the Prophets' requires a more thorough treatment than it has yet received. The present investigation only takes them into account in so far as they came into contact with the priesthood of their time. That they had some connexion with the ordinary worship of the day we must inevitably suppose. Was their relation to it friendly or antagonistic? Did they merely oppose the official cult, and owe their continued existence to that fact, or were they not rather supplementary to, and gradually organized by, the recognized religious system?

We have already seen that the national depression under the Philistine supremacy required a re-awakening of the religious and national enthusiasm.

Now such re-awakenings in Semitic countries are fairly constant in their form of expression. The Dervish seems to be a common phenomenon of oriental history,⁴ and it is probably from a study of the Dervishes that light will come upon the

¹ Stenning in *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible* s.v. 'Samuel' puts the passage amongst the 'latest additions'. So also Kautzsch in his *Outline of Old Testament Literature* p. 238 attributes it to R, but cp. p. 120.

² That the Spirit was abroad and was 'infectious' we can judge from 1 Sam. x 6, 10 (J), &c. Cp. Davidson *Old Testament Prophecy* p. 44.

³ Cp. Kautzschmar *Prophet und Seher im alten Israel* p. 23. In modern times also 'besides those Dervishes regularly affiliated with an order there are individuals who travel from place to place, and by feats of strength or sleight of hand manage to earn a livelihood', *New International Encyclopædia* s.v. 'Dervish'.

⁴ Cp. also the outbreak of the Slave War in Sicily when a Syrian slave simulated the prophetic ecstasy.

vexed problem of the origin of the prophetic bands in Palestine. The biblical narratives give several intimations that these were 'nomadic' in appearance and in sympathy, and so presumably in origin. The occasion, then, of their appearance was foreign oppression. But does this also supply an adequate reason for their continuance? Did they remain merely as a 'standing army' of religion,¹ prepared for the emergencies of foreign invasions into the social and religious life of the nation? We do indeed find such a living protest against foreign and civilizing corruption, but that rather in the sect of the Rechabites, who were avowedly nomadic and primitive. If the sons of the prophets had been of such a character, there would have been little room for the Rechabites. It would seem that these prophetic companies gradually lost their 'nomadic' character and came more into line with the ordinary religion of the day.

We know that on their first appearance in the biblical record the sons of the prophets are connected with the service of the high place. They seem to seek their inspiration not only from their musical instruments,² but also from the sacred locality. Thus it is scarcely accurate to speak of them as 'wandering freely about the country'.³ There was something definitely 'local' in their origin, and in this they resembled the priests who were primarily 'servants of the shrine'.

We have already intimated—in our account of Samuel—that the ordinary conceptions of the *personnel* of the Canaanite sanctuaries, subsequently Israelite, require enlargement.⁴

Wellhausen's supposition that 'prophetic bands' existed amongst the Canaanites has been scouted as being unsupported by evidence. It is also said that Israel would not be likely to take over such an institution 'ready-made from her enemies'. But Wellhausen's assertion may be partly warranted by the facts of Semitic civilization.

Amongst the Phoenicians,⁵ a race akin to the Canaanites both

¹ Piepenbring in his *Histoire du Peuple d'Israël* p. 117 calls them Israel's Salvation Army.

² Cp. the *sikr* of the Dervishes.

³ Cp. Frazer *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris* p. 68.

⁴ Cp. also 1 Sam. ii 36, which seems to contrast the regularly installed priesthood with the hangers-on of the sanctuary.

⁵ The Tyrian Baal has both priests and prophets. Cp. 1 Kings xviii, 2 Kings x. Lagrange *Origines Sémitiques* ch. vi 'Les personnes consacrées', quotes an inscrip-

in origin and in civilization, we find a numerous temple 'service'. In Ahab's time we have the 400 prophets of the Tyrian Baal supported by Jezebel. We know also from modern travellers in Syria and Arabia,¹ that there are many 'holy men' who are in attendance at the various holy places in addition to the regular priestly guardians. In Babylonia² the priesthood was also a very comprehensive body, and haruspices, exorcists, and chanters all went to swell its ranks.

Does this evidence lead us to suppose the identification of 'sons of the prophets' and the *kedeshim*³—those persons who are represented in the Old Testament⁴ as marking the climax of heathenish worship? Such a conclusion is by no means inevitable. What we may say, however, is, that we have sufficient evidence for supposing that the sons of the prophets as an institution were favoured by the official priesthood, and may in some sense be regarded as supplementing that body. The Israelites had within their knowledge many precedents for adopting inspired persons or 'holy-men' amongst the personages of their religious cult. We saw at the outset how the history of religion involves a gradual authorization of the media for ascertaining the Divine will, and how the Israelite priesthood and sacred oracle owed their existence to such a 'recognition'. But we are nowhere told that the priesthood 'spoke in ecstasy'. Their methods would be almost entirely mechanical, and the answer by Urim seems to have been either 'Yea' or 'Nay'. The phenomenon of 'possession' required official acceptance, if it was to prove of national utility.⁵ Such recognition was

tion of Citium as including priests, barbers, scribes, sacred women, and '*qedéhim*' = *qchiens*, cp. Deut. xxiii 18; but he questions the identity of *kalabu* and *kemarim*. Lucian mentions Syrian prophets in connexion with the temples.

¹ Cp. Curtiss *op. cit.* for Syria, &c.

² For Babylonia cp. Lagrange *op. cit.*, and Jastrow *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*. Ebers *Ägypten und die Bücher Moses* p. 341 f notes the existence of prophets amongst the Egyptian priesthood.

³ Professor Kennett seems to so identify them, ap. Frazer *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris* p. 64 n. 6.

⁴ Only by the Deuteronomist, cp. 1 Kings xv 12, 1 Kings xiv 24, xxii 47, 2 Kings xxiii 7; cp. also Deut. xxiii 17, 'wages of a dog', and Josiah's reformation in 2 Kings xxiii 7.

⁵ In Greece the Pythoness of Delphi became the established oracle. At its best period that oracle was 'the conscience of Greece'. It is noticeable that

actually given in the support and approval of the regular established ministry. So then, whatever their origin, the sons of the prophets became an integral part of the religious system of Israel. The children of the Spirit became in their turn an institution, and no doubt, by so doing, declined in some degree from their original virtues.¹

3. We have said that king and prophetic-guild were both manifestations of the same spirit of awakening, and king and prophet are very often found in contact throughout the history of Israel.² Saul bears many signs of affinity to the wild sons of the prophets, and no doubt they worked together for the salvation of their country.

With the priests Saul's relations were not so happy. We have no reason for supposing that the priests objected to the establishment of the monarchy,³ but it seems that some of them at least transferred their allegiance from Saul. The Urim which had advised him so often in the conduct of his battles gave him now no response, and he could ascertain nothing either by dreams or from the prophets. In despair he turned to the 'black magic' of the wise woman of Endor, but only to be assured of his defeat.

While Saul was deprived of the support of the priestly oracle, we find that David was answered by it through Abiathar, the survivor of the massacre at Nob.⁴ And after Saul's death David is told by the oracle to go up to Hebron,⁵ and again, to wait

Apollo, the god of War and Inspiration, has many attributes in common with Yahweh.

¹ In Asia Minor an interesting parallel is to be found. Cp. Ramsay in Hastings *Dictionary of the Bible* s. v. 'Religion of Greece' on the *Hieroi*: 'The peculiar relation of the *hierodouloi* to the *Hieron* gave a power to the latter which was alien to the Hellenic spirit. . . . The relation of the *hieroi* to the *Hieron*, and their service at the *Hieron*, seem to have been more a voluntary matter.'

² In Phœnicia there was a close relation between the monarch and the temple cultus (e.g. Hiram). Frazer *op. cit.* p. 67 gives an instance of inspired royal pages at Byblus in the narrative of Wen-Ammon. The king was a sacred personage, and the prophets also were 'men of God'.

³ The priesthood at Nob shewed David hospitality because he was 'on the king's business', 1 Sam. xxi 2.

⁴ 1 Sam. xxx 7-8. David seems to have been the favourite of the priesthood as against Saul, the elected of the prophets, and it is possible that Levi and Judah were always connected, as being 'N. Arabian' tribes.

⁵ 2 Sam. ii 1.

for the rustling of the mulberry trees before attacking the Philistines in the valley of Rephaim.¹

The establishment of the Ark at Jerusalem was a master-stroke of policy on the part of David, for the Ark was at the least a symbol of Yahweh's presence. The recovery of this ancient object of veneration was the occasion for an outburst of religious enthusiasm on David's part not unlike that which had numbered Saul 'among the prophets'. David gave his support to priest and prophet alike. Gad the Seer, Nathan the Prophet, Abiathar and Zadok the Priests are all under royal patronage. David takes Nathan's advice on the subject of the building of the Temple—though the exact form of the advice is hard to determine²—and it was Nathan who rebuked David for his sin with Bathsheba. The priestly oracle seems to have been responsible for the blood-revenge taken upon Saul's sons, as the cure for the famine³; while 'the prophet Gad, David's seer', discovered the cause of a pestilence in David's numbering of the people.⁴ The anointing of Solomon was performed by both 'Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet'.⁵

So at Jerusalem the priest and the prophet seem to start on equal terms,⁶ both under the patronage of the reigning monarch. But the subsequent actions of the monarchy must have been largely responsible for the breach between priest and prophet soon to come. The royal patronage was not an unmixed blessing. The priests became the servants of the king.⁷ This sometimes

¹ 2 Sam. v 24.

² 2 Sam. vii 1-12, 14-29. 'Deuteronomistic redactor perhaps founded on an exemplar furnished by the Jerusalem-Source', Kautzsch *Literature of the Old Testament* p. 239.

³ 2 Sam. xxi 1-15 (Jer.).

⁴ 2 Sam. xxiv 1-25, 'a passage of unknown origin', Kautzsch *loc. cit.* Budde attributes it to the oldest source.

⁵ 1 Kings i 45, 'from a Judahite history of David of the tenth or ninth century', Kautzsch.

⁶ But note that in Judah, although we have individual prophets and seers, there is no mention of 'prophetic guilds'.

⁷ In Jerusalem the king seems to have been regarded as specially sacred. Perhaps there was a Canaanite tradition to that effect. The strange figure of Melchizedek may represent the old Canaanite priest-kings of Jerusalem. So David, making Jerusalem his capital, secured a like veneration for the Davidic dynasty. Professor Kennett has suggested that the *Molech* of 2 Kings xxiii 10 may have originally been the human king regarded as an incarnate deity. Cp. Frazer *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris* p. 401 ff.

brought them high political office, as under Solomon; but the kings often treated the priesthood arbitrarily; probably, however, with some good political reason. Thus Solomon changed the family of the Jerusalemite priesthood, and Jeroboam made his own arrangements for the royal sanctuaries of the northern kingdom. It is not easy to see what was the exact relation of these 'royal' sanctuaries to the rest, but the king's preferential treatment would have great weight with the nation at large.

The prophets also were correspondingly affected. With the royal patronage of a portion, at any rate, of the priesthood came a similar patronage of some part of the prophetic guilds. So best can we explain the royal prophets of Ahab who joined in opposition to Micaiah the son of Imlah. The prophets in the king's pay would naturally try to please their patron, and their prophecies would tend to be merely the reflexion of his wishes, in anticipation of his rewards. So then, in the prophetic guilds we probably get the starting-point for the 'false prophets' denounced in the canonical prophetic writings.

4. The division of the kingdom was not without its relation to prophecy.¹ The Ten Tribes had prophetic approval when they abandoned Judah to its despotic king with his synthesis of religions. Both the actual separation and the fact that Judah did not go to war with the new kingdom are attributed to the inspiration of the prophets, in the one case to 'Ahijah, the Shilonite', in the other to 'Shemaiah, the man of God'.² These were probably individual prophets of some renown, and Ahijah seems to have been the Samuel of the Northern Kingdom. We hear of him again in connexion with the sickness of Jeroboam's son.³

If, then, the Northern Kingdom was founded with a more or less definite charter of liberty, we can well understand that the king would never be allowed to assume the absolute power of an oriental despot without considerable opposition. He could never entirely disregard either the religious or the social traditions

¹ Cp. Kent *History of the Hebrew People* ii p. 47: 'The prophets favoured the division, because they hoped in the new kingdom to be able to realize their ideals.'

² 1 Kings xi 29, xii 22. There is considerable doubt about the date of these narratives in their present form, but the evidence seems to be cumulative.

³ 1 Kings xiv 1-18.

of his realm. It is in connexion with the resistance to such an attempt that we next meet with prophetism in the Northern Kingdom. The disaffection under Ahab and Jehoram differed only in degree from that under Solomon and Rehoboam. In Elijah the Tishbite we have a solitary figure,¹ consciously isolated from the official religion of his day, but not by any means the sole survivor of Yahweh worship in Israel. He rebuked the reigning monarch not only for his religious but also for his social policy. Of his relation, however, to the regular priesthood of the kingdom we are told nothing.² We can surmise from his complaint that 'the children of Israel have thrown down God's altars', that he was lamenting a persecution of those priests who remained faithful to Yahweh; while his mention of the slaughter of 'the prophets' must surely refer in part to members of the prophetic guilds—for we know that Obadiah at this time hid no less than 'an hundred men of the Lord's prophets', to save them from Jezebel's persecuting zeal. No doubt there were many amongst the priests and amongst the prophets who refused to recognize the Tyrian Baal, or combine his worship with that of Yahweh. The appearance of the foreign god produced a division in the ranks of cultus and people alike, and it was Elijah who realized that a *via media* with state support was impossible for true religion.

Whatever estimate³ we may form of Elisha, it is obvious that his methods were very different from those of Elijah.⁴ This, no doubt, was due to the fact that active persecution had ceased, and that Elijah's principles had gained some acceptance. His revival had been at any rate partially successful. The air was cleared by the storm, and the still small voice could now be heard.

Some would see in the 'call' of Elisha by Elijah a graphic

¹ Elijah bears many points of resemblance to a modern Mahdi. Note that he is not called *nabhi* except in 1 Kings xviii 22.

² Elijah still seems to hold a 'local' idea of Yahweh, and goes to Horeb as Yahweh's favourite sanctuary.

³ Dr Cornill is very bitter against Elisha, calling him 'demagogue, conspirator, revolutionist, and agitator', *Hebrew Prophecy* p. 33.

⁴ Elisha, like the prophetic guilds, was an adviser in war. Cf. Lord Cromer, of the Mahdi Wad-el-Nejumi: 'He was the Khalid of the Prophet's wars. He it was who prepared the stratagem which annihilated Hicks. He it was who crept silently round the shallow mud beyond the crumpled ramparts of Khartoum', *Modern Egypt* ii 65.

illustration of the ordinary manner of admission to the prophetic guilds.¹ On such a view these communities were nothing else than disciples of great individual prophets, and owed their existence to that fact. But this theory obviously does not cover all the circumstances of the case. Elisha was chosen not only to be a disciple, but also to be the successor of Elijah.²

That Elisha came into close contact with the prophetic guilds is plain from the Biblical narratives.³ They recognized him as the successor of Elijah, of the same spirit, though outwardly differing in many respects. The sons of the prophets do not strike us as being flourishing communities in Elisha's day. Perhaps their poverty was due to the fact that the royal support was now withheld from them. They still appear in connexion with local sanctuaries, and they seem to have been residential corporations.⁴ No doubt after the persecution of Jezebel they required such careful encouragement and supervision as Elisha could give.

Of the priesthood at this period there is no mention.⁵ It is probable that Yahweh's altars were not yet all restored, and the dispossessed priests may have joined in the disaffection against the ruling dynasty.

The revolution of Jehu had for its excuse the extermination of Baal-worship, and so was able to draw upon the more rigorous worshippers of Yahweh for their allegiance and support. Thus Elisha sends 'one of the sons of the prophets' to anoint Jehu to be king over Israel. And Jehu himself actively solicited the support of Jehonadab the son of Rechab.⁶

Amongst those whom Jehu slew in Jezreel are mentioned 'the priests of Ahab'.⁷ These may not have been actually servants

¹ Cp. Sanday *Oracles of God* p. 90: 'A group of young men would gather round some commanding figure—a Samuel or an Elisha—and would not only record or spread the knowledge of his sayings and doings, but seek to catch themselves something of his inspiration.'

² In 2 Kings i the sons of the prophets do not say 'our master' but 'thy master'. Cp. 1 Kings xix 16 'to be prophet in thy room'.

³ The modern 'convents' of Dervishes are obedient to a Sheik or Elder; and in 2 Kings iv 38 and vi 1 we read 'they sit before Elisha'.

⁴ Their connexion also with war is still preserved. Cp. 'the Ahab source', 2 Kings xx 13, 35.

⁵ That Elisha took part in religious festivals may be perhaps inferred from 2 Kings iv 23 'Wherefore wilt thou go to him to-day? It is neither new-moon nor sabbath'.

⁶ 2 Kings x 15, 16.

⁷ 2 Kings x 11.

of the Tyrian Baal, but only those who allowed his worship to co-exist with that of Yahweh. In the account of the 'solemn assembly for Baal' at Samaria 'all the prophets of Baal' and 'all the priests of Baal' are said to have been put to death.¹ Perhaps also amongst these were included the lukewarm adherents of Yahweh who bowed themselves in the house of Baal.

The Elisha narratives might lead us to suppose that the relations between prophet and prophetic guild in the Northern Kingdom were always most amicable; but there is another side to the picture. The story of Micaiah, the son of Imlah,² is only further significant of what we have already suggested, that prophetism in Israel was now 'divided against itself'.³ On the one hand, we have the servile company of royal prophets with one voice urging Ahab to go up to battle, and emphasizing their advice with extravagant symbolism. On the other hand we see the solitary prophet uttering his gloomy warning, only to be relegated to a dreary confinement.

Now it is to be noticed that, whereas Ahab was obviously persuaded by the prophetic band, yet Jehoshaphat, the king of Judah, declined to be so deceived. Perhaps he detected the note of uninspired adulation in their unanimous prophecy. We may well ask, however, what was his experience of prophetism in his own kingdom? Jehoshaphat himself was a more loyal adherent of Yahweh than was Ahab,⁴ and the question naturally arises whether this was not due to the influence of the prophets in Judah. But history gives us no information as to the state of

¹ 2 Kings x 17-28.

² 1 Kings xxii.

³ Skinner, *1 Kings* (Cambridge Bible), says on xxii 8: 'The passage is important, as the first instance of a *cleavage in the ranks of the prophetic body*, which runs through the whole subsequent history of the movement.' Note further in the anecdote of Eldad and Medad Num. xi 17, 25 ff (E, perhaps of this period): (1) 70 elders are thrown into a condition of rapture; cp. the nebi'ismus; (2) Eldad and Medad are inspired 'in the camp', i.e. away from the sanctuary; (3) the prophecy has a practical purpose, a national utility. This narrative probably represents the birth of a new prophecy distinct from the old cultus prophecy. The controversy as to the status of this new inspiration is settled by the reply of Moses in v. 29: 'Art thou jealous for my sake? Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, that the Lord would put his spirit upon them.' So there may have been an 'irreligious sollicitas' for the established prophecy in Northern Israel.

⁴ It is possible that he was compelled to join Ahab in the expedition as being a vassal-king.

prophetism in Judah at this period. The Chronicler has sought to remedy this defect by inserting occasional notices of prophetic advisers to the monarchy.

Two points, however, are to be noticed in regard to the slight history of this period. First, we read that Asa undertook certain religious reforms in the course of which 'he put away the *kedeshim* out of the land'.¹ Secondly, in the revolt against Athaliah, the daughter of Jezebel, it was the priesthood of the Temple that took the leading part, and not, as in the Northern Kingdom, the prophets. The inference to be drawn from these two facts is that the ordinary Temple cultus at Jerusalem was too powerful to allow of the existence of such guilds of the prophets as we meet with in Northern Israel. Possibly also in the earlier period their place was taken by the *kedeshim*.² The Temple was built according to Phœnician models, and Tyrian fashions may have been in vogue from the first. Asa put away the *kedeshim*, and his son, Jehoshaphat, realized the value of the true prophets of Yahweh. Possibly the two facts are not entirely disconnected.³ It is not unlikely also that while the Temple worship was of such a character, there was, as in the days of Eli, no 'widespread' or 'open vision'.⁴ It is not certain, however, that the abuses which Asa did away with were connected with Yahweh worship.⁵ They may have been merely the accompaniment of foreign cults.

But at least this is clear, that the priesthood was responsible, aided by the king, for the gradual improvement of religion in Judah. We are not told that Jehoiada met with opposition from his fellow-priests, or that he was unique in his desire for reforms. It must be remembered, however, that the Temple priesthood was not the only priesthood in Judah,⁶ and it has been thought that the apparent slackness in repairing the Temple fabric in the

¹ 1 Kings xv 12.

² Cp. 1 Kings xiv 23, where *kedeshim* are mentioned with 'high places, pillars, and *asherim*' in the time of Rehoboam.

³ 1 Kings xxii 47. Jehoshaphat also, we are told, 'put away the remnant of the *kedeshim*'.

⁴ The Judæan narrative is generally assigned to the reign of Jehoshaphat, so that 'prophecy' cannot have been entirely non-existent.

⁵ But cp. Deut. xxiii 18, 19, in connexion with Yahweh worship, 'the wages of a dog'.

⁶ Deut. refers to 'priests of the high places', and Kings to the *kemarin*, 'the idolatrous priests', and 'the priests out of the cities of Judah'.

reign of Jehoash was due to the fact that the local sanctuaries claimed their share in the priestly dues.

Amos tells us that the shrine of Beersheba was famous even in the northern kingdom. This fact suggests the idea that the separation of the kingdoms did not preclude an occasional union in worship. Amos may have gone to Bethel in a pilgrim company. And it may be also that sacred pilgrimages brought prophetic ideas into Judah in the days of Elijah and Elisha and the prophetic guilds. The priest of the south may have learnt from the prophet of the north.

Before proceeding to deal with the writing prophets of the eighth and following centuries it may be as well to summarize a few of our conclusions. In the first place, we saw that *the priestly oracle* was the regular but not the only means of consulting the Divine will. From early times prophetism is to be found in the individual seer, and in the companies of the sons of the prophets, who come into prominence at a time of national and religious distress. Secondly *a gradual recognition* of prophecy coeval with the transition from nomad to peasant takes place. The prophet comes to be regarded as a necessary part of the cultus. In politics and in war his advice is ever in demand. Royal patronage and official sanction make him too often a mere institution of the palace, or the complement of the ordinary priesthood. Hence a *division* appears in the ranks of prophecy—accentuated in the northern kingdom by persecution—between true and false prophet, between the professional adviser and the man directly raised up by God. From the days of Elijah and Micaiah onwards, true prophecy becomes less magical and institutional in character. Prophecy grows to be mystical and ethical, though it never so far forgets the circumstances of its origin as to lose touch with the national life. The prophet, as we shall see, was no mere quietist.

5. It is certainly true that Amos, at any rate, was no dreamer of the desert. When told by Amaziah, the royal priest, not to prophesy at the king's sanctuary, he gave as his answer, 'I was no prophet, neither was I one of the sons of the prophets; but I was an herdman, and a dresser of sycamore trees: and Yahweh took me from following the flock, and Yahweh said unto me, Go prophesy unto my people Israel'.¹ Reflexion in the prophet's

¹ Amos vii 14.

mind does not, in this case, end with itself, but issues in bold and prompt action, sending the prophet even beyond the borders of his native country.

Two points are to be noticed in the meeting between Amaziah and Amos. First, that the king's priest suspects this strange prophet of being a political revolutionary. There was every excuse for such an estimate, for the reigning dynasty was the result of a revolution in which the prophets, such as Elijah and Elisha, had taken no small part. Perhaps this is what Amos refers to, when he says 'I am no prophet', i.e. his object is directly ethical, and not to be accomplished by the political intrigue that was associated with prophets in the northern kingdom. Amos has received no command for the anointing of kings or for the destruction of dynasties. He is conscious of a higher message to proclaim to Israel. And he is conscious also of a high vocation, being no 'son of the prophets', no member of their guilds. He is no professional prophet to cultivate the art and receive fees for services thus rendered.¹ Such is the apologia of Amos to the king's priest. Like Socrates he had the *θεῖόν τι πάθος* which differentiated him from the ordinary teachers of the day. And, again like Socrates, he must have had a disciple who wrote down the substance of his teaching.²

Let us see what mention these writings make of the priests and prophets in Israel. Looking back over the history of the nation Amos says³ that Yahweh 'raised up of their sons for prophets and of their young men for Nazirites',⁴ but that they 'gave

¹ Cheyne in *Encyclopaedia Biblica* s.v. 'Amos', says that Amos scorns the idea of being one of the *bené nebi'im*. Harper, however, in his *Amos and Hosea* p. cvii says: 'We do not understand that this statement indicates on the part of Amos an utter contempt for the order of *nebi'im*. . . . He himself uses the technique of pre-prophetism, which had long years been taking form.'

² Budde *Religion of Israel* p. 131 regards the 'writing' of the prophets as due to their failure to impress the people by oral speech. By the time of Amos a prophetic diction seems to be already developed.

³ Amos ii 11-13.

⁴ The Nazirites were perhaps included in the companies of *bené nebi'im*. Their origin, no doubt, was martial. Arab warriors still leave their head unshorn during a war of revenge. Samson was not ordered to abstain from wine. Perhaps the later Nazirites undertook to abstain from wine as a 'Canaanite' product, and the consecrated warrior became the ascetic nationalist, as Yahweh became less prominently the God of War. On the sanctity of the head cp. Frazer *Golden Bough* i 362 ff. It seems probable that many of the Hebrew priests allowed their

the Nazirites wine to drink, and commanded the prophets, saying, Prophecy not'. Thus the prophet tells the people that they are responsible both for the perversion of the Nazirite and for the stifling of prophecy, the popular cultus and system of patronage being, no doubt, to blame. Of the priests Amos says nothing directly. He denounces Amaziah, the king's priest, personally, but of the priesthood in general he says nothing in set terms. The sacrificial system, however, comes in for his strongest rebukes, and in this no doubt he is attacking the priests of his day. Sacrifice, as we have seen, was intimately connected with the giving of the oracle.¹ But in the sacrifices which Amos denounced the oracular element was by no means uppermost. They were simply licentious feasts with devotion as their excuse. Hence it is the 'altars' of Israel which are more especially denounced. Finally, amongst the worst punishments which the days to come will bring is a famine—not such as the 'Baals' were supposed to bring—of bread and of water, but 'of hearing the words of Yahweh'.²

It was Hosea, however, a native of the northern kingdom, who gave further emphasis to this warning of the earlier prophet. The root of the whole matter, to the mind of Hosea, is that God's people 'are destroyed for lack of knowledge',³ and it is the fault of the priesthood that this is so. The 'non-preaching prelates' of northern Israel are to be rejected on this very score, and 'it shall be, like people, like priest: and I will punish them for their ways, and will reward them their doings'. Duhm has conjectured that Hosea himself was a priest, and such a conjecture is not improbable when we consider his insight into the religious condition of the people at that period. It was no good merely denouncing the sacrificial cultus or pouring scorn on the Baalim and the calf of Samaria. The real reason was the degeneracy of the priests,⁴ who not only neglected the teaching of the people,

hair to grow long. Cp. Ezek. xlv 20, 21 where long hair and abstinence from wine are mentioned together.

¹ 'In primitive times the only public aspect of religion is found in connexion with divination and the oracle to which the affairs of the community are submitted', P. Smith in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* s.v. 'Priest'. This public 'consultation' passed over to the prophetic bodies.

² Amos iii 14, ix 1.

³ Hosea iv 3-9.

⁴ The priests of Samaria are called *kemarim* in x 5.

but even profited by their ignorance, 'they feed upon the sin of My people'. That written 'knowledge of the Lord' was actually to be found in existence is demonstrated by the words 'Though I wrote for him my ten thousand *toroth*, yet they are counted as a strange thing'.¹

If Hosea was a priest, he may refer to the opposition of his colleagues when he says, 'As for the prophet, a fowler's snare is in all his ways and enmity in the house of his God.' But the story of Micaiah-ben-Imlah has already shewn us that the ranks of prophecy were by now divided, and Hosea may refer merely to such division. Of the part played by prophecy in the history of the nation Hosea has the very highest estimate: 'I have also spoken unto the prophets, and I have multiplied visions, and by the hand of the prophets I have used similitudes'; or again, 'By a prophet the Lord brought Israel up out of Egypt, and by a prophet was he preserved'.² And, no doubt, Hosea hoped that by his own prophecy Israel might once again be delivered from imminent destruction; for, amid all his denunciations, this prophet of the northern kingdom loved his native country with the love of a true patriot.

The southern kingdom, also, had its patriot in the prophet Isaiah. Hosea had hoped, but in vain, to save his country by his warnings. Isaiah, by his words and by his practical efforts, succeeded in preserving the virgin daughter of Zion, for a time at least, from the clutches of the invader. It is worthy of note that the southern prophet—like Jehoiada the priest before him—was a man of good birth, conversant with the court, and knowing well from the inside the social life against which he so strongly inveighed. Isaiah is, in a sense, to Amos what Elisha was to Elijah. The principles which Amos had asserted required not only re-asserting, but bringing into connexion with the ordinary political and social life of the nation. Thus we may hope to learn from Isaiah how the 'new' prophecy was regarded by its contemporaries.

Of the actual relation of Isaiah toward the priesthood we know very little.³ Uriah, the priest, is summoned by him as 'a faithful

¹ Hosea viii 12.

² Hosea xii 10, 13.

³ The elders of the priests are sent to Isaiah in Isa. xxxvii 2, apparently as court officials.

witness', i.e. perhaps simply as a responsible public person, trusted by the people.¹ It is a fact of some significance, however, that Isaiah, like Samuel, received his prophetic call in the sanctuary. It is hardly likely that the prophet would have drawn his inspiration from that sanctuary unless he had at the least approved of it. The inviolable character of Zion was, no doubt, due to the fact that Yahweh would protect His Temple. But although Isaiah thus favoured the Temple, yet there was much in the worship of the day which, in his eyes, called for reform.² Possibly Hezekiah's destruction of Nehushtan was due to prophetic influence. And there was much besides that required abolition. In times of national distress there is always a tendency to revert to the most primitive religious practices. Sorcery and witchcraft were rife, to the disparagement, no doubt, of the higher 'mantic' of prophecy.³ Isaiah describes the nation as 'a rebellious people, lying children, children that will not hear the law of the Lord: which say to the seers, See not; and to the prophets, Prophecy not unto us right things, speak unto us smooth things, prophecy deceits: get you out of the way, turn aside out of the path, cause the Holy One of Israel to cease from before us'.⁴ Note that it is the people, the nation as a whole, whom Isaiah, like Amos, blames for the degeneracy of prophecy. Isaiah himself held a high opinion of prophecy, though he acknowledges that 'the priest and the prophet' of the time 'have erred through strong drink'.⁵

The prophecies of Isaiah are merely emphasized by those of his younger contemporary, Micah, who, by reason of his lower social position, is more vehement against the nobles of Judah.⁶ It is probable that these included some of the priestly families,

¹ So Skinner *Cambridge Bible* 1 Kings p. 66.

² Cp. his attitude toward sacrifice, esp. in Isa. i 10.

³ Cf. Isa. ii 6: 'Because they are full of diviners from the East, and of soothsayers like the Philistines.' Balaam came from 'the mountains of the East'.

⁴ Isa. xxx 8. It is this perversion of prophecy which leads Isaiah to write down his prophecies and commit them to his disciples.

⁵ Isa. xxviii 7: 'These also in Jerusalem reel with wine, and stagger with mead; priest and prophet reel with mead, they are confused by wine, they stagger because of mead; they reel during their visions, they totter while giving judgement. All tables are full of loathsome disgorgements; filth everywhere,'—a sacrificial feast has been held. So Cheyne in *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*.

⁶ Isaiah had, however, called them 'rulers of Sodom', Isa. i 10.

and we certainly find that Micah is very bitter against the priesthood of his day, including also the ordinary prophet in his denunciation. Thus he says 'The heads thereof judge for reward and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money'. His reference here is no doubt to 'technical' prophets such as may have flourished in Judah in these troublous times. Micah also mentions the vinous habits of the prophets, while he denounces their avarice: 'Whoso putteth not into their mouths, they even prepare war against him.' The punishment for this is to be, 'the sun shall go down upon the prophets, and the day shall be black over them'. 'And the seers shall be ashamed and the diviners confounded.'¹ There seems at this period to have been a great influx of sorcery and magic into Judah, perhaps from Chaldaea, which was now the ruling power in Western Asia. Throughout his writings we feel that Micah is writing as a man of the people. Hence it is not the people he denounces so much as the priests and the prophets who receive payment for their falsehoods from a superstitious and deluded populace.

The teaching of the prophets in Judah at this period was no doubt responsible for the reforms carried out by the king, Hezekiah. Isaiah would have great influence at court, and he seems to have had a body of disciples² who would help to overcome opposition. The preaching of Micah, also, is expressly referred to in later days³ as having been responsible for some degree of repentance in Judah. But in the reign of Manasseh a reaction set in. All the superstitious cults and practices of the time of Ahaz came back and were established with the royal sanction. Foreign cults from Babylon and Assyria were also introduced. Witchcraft abounded and true prophecy seems to have been persecuted.⁴ The 'sins of Manasseh' were regarded by the prophets of a later age as the direct cause of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Captivity in Babylonia.⁵

To this reign we must, in all probability, assign a prophecy, attributed by a compiler to Micah: 'the Lord's controversy with

¹ Mic. ii 11, iii 5, iii 6 ff.

² Isa. xxx 8.

³ Jer. xxvi 17.

⁴ 2 Kings xxi 16, 'Manasseh shed innocent blood very much'.

⁵ 2 Kings xxiv 3; cp. also xxiii 26.

his people'.¹ Here we have at once an appeal to past history, to the great names of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam, to the answer of Balaam to Balak's consultation, and also a powerful rebuke of the present state of religion, referring to the practice, apparently then prevalent, of infant sacrifice. In this prophet we have a concise summary of the teaching of his three predecessors, Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah: 'To do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God.'

Before proceeding to deal with the Deuteronomic reformation, and the teaching of the prophet Jeremiah, it may be well to consider the general attitude of the prophets as a whole towards sacrifice. Originally sacrifice and the giving of the oracle were closely connected,² and 'word' and 'sacrament' might be said to supplement each other. Samuel the seer was wont to bless the sacrifice for the people, and Elisha seems to have been present at the country festivals.

But in the eighth-century prophets we find the sacrifices of the day so sternly denounced that some writers have even maintained that the prophets desired the total abolition of sacrificial worship.³ Such a view cannot, however, be supported. Even the strongest repudiations of the sacrifices of the day, such as we find in Amos and Isaiah, 'may as naturally be understood of a conditional as of an absolute rejection of sacrifice'.⁴ And in fact Hosea regards a future cessation of sacrifice as a national calamity,⁵ while Jeremiah definitely includes sacrifices in the reformed worship of the days to come.⁶ What, then, we may ask, were the objections of the prophets to the sacrificial system of their time? What did they consider noxious in the ordinary theory and practice of sacrifice?

¹ Mic. vi 2 ff.

² Thus Balaam offers sacrifice, Num. xxiii 1.

³ Cp. Marti *Religion of the Old Testament* p. 148: 'In almost every one you can read the flat rejection of the cultus'; also Kautzsch in *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible* s. v. 'Religion of Israel' (extra vol. 685^b): 'There are sayings of the prophets which cannot be understood except as absolutely disclaiming any demand on God's part for sacrificial gifts'; cp. Jer. vii 21, 22.

⁴ Cp. Paterson in *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible* s. v. 'Sacrifice', iv 335^b.

⁵ Hos. ii 11. Hosea's words may be taken as representing a calamity in the eyes of the people (Kautzsch). But he himself also may have regarded such a contingency as disastrous.

⁶ Cp. Jer. xxxi 14, xvii 24-26. The Exile was not regarded as a divine condemnation of Israel's system of worship. Ezekiel looked for a restoration of the Temple and its ordinances.

First, the sacrifices themselves were wont to be heathenish in character and object, as offered to other gods, or idols.¹ Secondly, sacrifices tended to become too costly in character, as well as too numerous.² The priests, no doubt, reaped a profit out of the number of such offerings, and did nothing to reduce 'the multitude of sacrifices'. Thirdly, the sacrificial feasts are those most severely denounced, owing to the licentious practices to which they gave sanction. Such sacrifice was of a joyous character. So Hosea says 'I will also cause her mirth to cease, her feasts, her new moons, and all her solemn assemblies'.³ Drunkenness and licence were not infrequent.⁴ Now it is to be noticed that the objections of the prophets are to the 'accretions'⁵ of the cultus, such as were natural in a civilized country which was given to agriculture. The joyous worship of the Baals, the 'harvest festivals' of Canaan, were very different from the gloomy rites of desert life. Amos feels the contrast and 'appeals to the first centuries' of Israel's existence.⁶ Thus it is not the principle so much as the practice of sacrifice to which the prophets object.⁷ But reform in principle was necessary. Sacrifice had become practically co-extensive with religion; a revaluation was necessary. 'Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice and to hearken than the fat of rams.'

Such a revaluation took practical shape in the *Book of Deuteronomy*, the central portion of which cannot but be the

¹ Hos. xi 2, Jer. xi 12.

² Isa. i 11, 'the multitude of your sacrifices'; Amos iv 4, 'multiply transgression'; Mic. vi 7, 'thousands of rams, ten thousands of rivers of oil'.

³ Hos. ii 11.

⁴ Cp. Amos ii 7, Hos. iv 13, Isa. xxviii 7.

⁵ On Amos v 25 Harper says: 'A prophet who has nothing to say against the use of images will surely not go so far as to object altogether to sacrifice. Moreover, neither Amos nor any other Israelite, preceding the exile, could have dreamed of a period in Israel's history when no sacrifices were to be offered. This would actually have involved a purely vegetarian diet,' *Amos and Hosea*, Intr. cxix. (Harper renders: 'Was it (only) sacrifices . . .?')

⁶ Sacrifice was not the most important duty of the earliest priesthood; cp. Deut. xxxiii. The prophets, no doubt, protested against these 'sacrificing priests' of the peasant sanctuaries, and the *opera operata* of the non-preaching prelates.

⁷ Cp. in modern times: 'The spirit of all sacrifices made at the shrines . . . is contrary to Islam. Through them worship is rendered to the saints. As in ancient Israel there is syncretism,' Curtiss *op. cit.* So the Wahabis, the most orthodox of Moslems, took to destroying the local sanctuaries,—in the manner of Josiah's reformation.

'book of the law found in the house of the Lord' in the reign of Josiah. In the finding of this book both priest and prophet had his share, and in its composition priest and prophet have their place. It is perhaps natural, however, that the prophetic element should be predominant. Dr Driver describes Deuteronomy as 'a prophetic law book', while Steuernagel calls it 'the tangible and practicable expression of more than a century's efforts after reform'.¹ The book itself gives expression to a high estimate of the prophet and his work. Moses was only the first of a continuous line of Hebrew prophets.² But the priest has some place in the Deuteronomist's conceptions, for the existence of the priesthood could not be overlooked.³

In Judah, as we have already seen, the priesthood was capable of great things. Jehoiada of Jerusalem led the revolt against Athaliah⁴, and it was Hilkiah, who found the law book in the Temple.⁵ But this only concerns the priests of the capital. We are not told that Jehoiada was supported by the priests of the high places, or that Hilkiah's discovery was welcomed by them.

So then, in Deuteronomy we have a literary product of prophetic teaching, sanctioned by the Jerusalemite priesthood. The doctrine of the 'central sanctuary' was acceptable to king, prophet, and city-priest alike. It involved, however, two great and important issues, the reform of sacrifice, and the readjustment of the priesthood.

The central sanctuary was intended to do away with the abuses of the high places. Uniformity would abolish local diversity and would lessen the field exposed to the invasion of foreign cults. A certain prestige, also, was attached to the Temple at Jerusalem, since the destruction of the northern kingdom, and the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib. So the prophets might well hope for better things from the new orientation of the cultus.

The Deuteronomic regulations for sacrifice are of the nature

¹ Vide H. W. Robinson *Deuteronomy* (Century Bible) p. 33.

² Deut. xviii 15.

³ The priest's duty was not to be a mere 'vanum praedicandi evangelii ministerium' (*Conc. Trid.*).

⁴ 2 Kings xi.

⁵ 2 Kings xxii.

of a compromise.¹ The high places are to be abolished, but the joyous nature of worship is largely retained. 'And there shall ye eat before the Lord your God, and ye shall rejoice in all that ye put your hand unto, ye and your households, wherein the Lord thy God hath blessed thee.'² The 'mirth' of Israel in its religion is to be regulated, but not abolished.³ The important point in the mind of the reformers was the change of environment. Sacrifice was to be retained, but not sacrifice on the high places. In olden days the rule had been 'one God, one nation'; now 'one God, one altar' was to be the order.

This unification, however, had one result which was not altogether beneficial. It divorced 'religious' and 'secular' in the life of the people, and tended to accentuate the distinction between clergy and laity, and even ultimately in some degree to 'take God out of the world'. No longer was every meal a sacrifice, and the village place of worship was now closed. Sacrifice became a matter for the expert, and the priest lost his character of teacher, becoming a mere skilled official. The 'parish-priest' was now a person of the past, though there is reason to believe that he was often long in dying.⁴

The abolition of the local sanctuaries inevitably meant a reduction in the numbers of the priesthood. Deuteronomy, in accordance with its general principles of humanity, recommends the dispossessed priests to the charity of the community, allowing them also to officiate at the central sanctuary, if so disposed.⁵ But this seems to have been somewhat in the nature of 'paper legislation' and not carried out in practice.

The functions of the priest in Deuteronomy are clearly set forth: to bear the Ark, to minister to the Lord, and to bless in His name.⁶ This definition seems to include both oracle and sacrifice, though the oracle is not expressly mentioned. The judicial powers of the priest are insisted upon,⁷ and disobedience

¹ Deuteronomy regulates rather than directly encourages sacrifice (Kautzsch).

² Deut. xii 7.

³ Cp. H. S. Holland in *Priesthood and Sacrifice* p. 85: 'The process by which the sacrifice is *moralised* is, not by dropping the external offering, but by raising the moral quality of that which it expresses.'

⁴ 2 Kings xxiii 9.

⁵ Cp. Deut. xviii 7 and 2 Kings xxiii 9.

⁶ Cp. xviii 5, &c.

⁷ Deut. xvii 9 the civil judge and the priest are co-ordinated.

is to be visited with death.¹ Leprosy is made a matter of priestly jurisdiction. The sacrificial portions and dues are to be sufficient support for the priests, who are to have no portion nor inheritance in Israel.

We have already remarked upon the high regard of Deuteronomy for the prophet's mission. Three points are noticeable in the treatment of prophecy. First, it is the antidote to witchcraft, sorcery, and heathenish divination. Secondly, the prophets are to be men of renown, of national importance, such as Moses. Thus they must necessarily be native-born Israelites, 'of thy brethren', to the exclusion of all foreign soothsayers. Thirdly, the test for prophecy is fulfilment. This requirement is not of such an ethical character as we might expect, but it is nowhere implied that prediction is the sole duty of prophecy. Moses, the model prophet, though in Deuteronomy he legislates for the future, is far more than a mere prognosticator.

The relation of Deuteronomy to the writings of the prophet Jeremiah is most complicated, and does not immediately concern the present investigation. It is sufficient to say that while the prophet bears considerable resemblance to the Deuteronomic author in style, yet he cannot have been wholly in sympathy with the reformation of Josiah as it actually took place. Jeremiah directly opposes the doctrine of the inviolable sanctity of the temple,² and is recognized in this as the successor of Micah. The impression conveyed is that Jeremiah knew Deuteronomy and did not altogether approve of it.³ The resemblance in style may be accounted for partly by the common diction of the period, partly by the fact that the Book of Jeremiah seems to have gone through several redactions.

We have said that Deuteronomy was in some sense the joint product of prophet and city-priest. Jeremiah was of priestly family, from Anathoth, possibly descended from Abiathar. On this account he may have disliked the Jerusalemite priests—'the sons of Zadok', as Ezekiel calls them in later days. Certainly he met

¹ Deut. xvii 12 'that man shall die'.

² Jer. vii 4, xxvi 18. The doctrine had probably been perverted by some of the disciples of Isaiah.

³ Cp. Jer. xxxi 33, 34, esp. also viii 8: 'How do ye say, We are wise, and the law of Yahweh is with us! But, behold, the false pen of the scribes hath wrought falsely.'

with considerable opposition from the priests of the capital, as was only to be expected when he persisted in prophesying the overthrow of 'the Temple of the Lord' in which they ministered.

The degeneration of religion which followed the death of Josiah is vividly reflected in the pages of Jeremiah. 'Both priest and prophet are profane; yea, in my house have I found their wickedness, saith the Lord.'¹ 'A wonderful and horrible thing has come to pass in the land; the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule at their hand; and my people love to have it so.'² Prophet, priest, and people all have their share of rebuke.³ In Jeremiah's day it would seem that prophecy was no corrective to the degenerate priesthood, but rather was in the priests' employ. Jeremiah definitely compares the prophets of his day to 'the prophets of Samaria',⁴ and no doubt there was much to warrant such a comparison. The *entente* of Deuteronomy had merely stilled the voice of prophecy by its prophetic concessions. Prophecy was won over, but prophetic reforms were not yet carried out. The false prophets denounced by Jeremiah seem to have been very numerous, having no direct vocation from God.⁵ They pretended to see visions, and to dream dreams.⁶ Finally, they are directly associated with the temple: 'Yea, in my house have I found their wickedness, saith the Lord.' Jeremiah lived to see 'the false prophets' discredited, and in the last days of the siege he asks the question, 'Where are now your prophets which prophesied unto you, saying, The King of Babylon shall not come against this land?' He makes this the basis of his request to be delivered from the house of Jonathan the scribe 'lest I die there'.

Both priest and prophet joined in the persecution of Jeremiah. Pashhur the priest was a person of some secular authority, being chief officer in the house of the Lord, and therefore probably in royal employ. The priestly recognition was given to those prophets who cried 'Peace, peace, when there is no peace', and

¹ Jer. xxiii 11. Possibly, as Dr Sanday says, 'an extreme state of things', *op. cit.* p. 93.

² Jer. v 30 f.

³ Cp. Jer. vi 13 f.

⁴ Jer. xxiii 13.

⁵ Jer. xxiii 21 'I spake not to these prophets . . . yet they prophesied'; xiv 13 'the deceit of their own heart'.

⁶ Jer. xxiii 25 'I have dreamed, I have dreamed'.

who supported both throne and priesthood by their words.¹ Zephaniah, the chief superintendent of the priests, makes his appearance as a messenger of king Zedekiah. The court had declared against Jeremiah, and king, priest, and prophet were all his enemies. So the prophet Zephaniah, also, denounces the princes, judges, prophets, and priests of Judah.² The Church was merely the creature of the court and her leaders were corrupt. Sacrifice under such circumstances was a mere mockery: 'When they fast, I will not hear their cry: and when they offer burnt-offering and oblation, I will not accept them: but I will consume them by the sword, and by the famine, and by the pestilence.'³

The Exile closes down upon a very gloomy picture of Church life in Judah; but doubtless Jeremiah had his followers, if not in the royal circle, yet at any rate among those who 'came not to court', and probably the example of that suffering servant of Yahweh did much to inspire the captive Jews in their efforts to preserve their religious unity.⁴

6. Before closing our subject it may be useful to consider what part priest and prophet respectively played in the composition of *the pre-exilic literature*. The preservation of the utterances of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah was probably due to the devotion of disciples, as also in the case of Jeremiah. Deuteronomy, as we have seen, was to some extent the joint product of prophet and priest. What are we to say of the composition of the earlier literature?

It is impossible to determine the exact shares of prophet and of priest in the earliest writings. The Song of Deborah is the song of a prophetess, but it may have been perpetuated in the sanctuary worship of northern Israel. The Book of the Wars of Yahweh may have been written either by the early seers, or composed by the priests who accompanied the Ark. Nothing is in any degree certain. Judges xviii 14 means us to infer that writing was

¹ Cp. Jer. xxi 1, xxxvii 3, xxix 25 f, 29. ² Zeph. iii 3 f. ³ Jer. xiv 12.

⁴ In *Messianic prophecy* the king overshadows both prophet and priest; or, rather, prophet and priest are combined in his person. Thus (1) he is anointed; priests, however, are anointed only in the later literature; (2) the spirit rests upon him, as upon the prophets (cp. Saul, the first king): see Oesterley *Evolution of the Messianic Idea* p. 190 ff; also see above on the Priest-king at Jerusalem, Melchizedek.

disseminated amongst the common people of that day, but no actual proof can be adduced. Kautzsch¹ says, 'It must be acknowledged as possible that as early as this, perhaps at sanctuaries now long famous, such as those at Shiloh and Bethel, amongst a hereditary priesthood of old standing, the writing down of ancient songs or of the histories of these sanctuaries was taken in hand.' The Blessing of Jacob and the Balaam Discourses are in some sense 'prophetic', but their form is very largely oracular.² We cannot precisely say what was their origin.

After the division of the kingdom we get definite established centres for a national worship of Yahweh, at Bethel and Dan, and at Jerusalem. Correspondingly we get the 'Hero-stories' of the Book of Judges, and the early 'Saul Stories' and 'David Stories'.

The royal sanctuaries were, no doubt, 'central points where a higher culture could be developed in the midst of an honoured priesthood'.³ And it is exceedingly probable that the priests played a considerable part in the preservation,⁴ if not in the composition, of the early literature of Israel.

This does not, however, exclude the influence of the prophetism of the period. The bands of the prophets were always connected with the sanctuaries, and poetical utterances may have been extemporized at the ordinary popular festivals. In fact the early literature only bears out what we have already seen, that priest and early prophet were both included in the cultus.

The Elijah and Elisha stories are probably the products of the *nebi'ismus*.⁵ It is quite possible that they exaggerate the importance of the prophetic orders in the history of the time on this account, and it is not unlikely that they were composed within the limits of those orders which in those days assumed a much more institutional character.

The question is even more complicated when we come to consider the relation of priest and prophet in the composition of the

¹ *Outline of the Literature of the Old Testament* p. 10.

² Deut. xxxiii seems to be a poetical product of a northern Israelite sanctuary, temp. Jeroboam II.

³ Kautzsch *op. cit.* p. 18.

⁴ Curtiss tells us that in Syria and Arabia the priest is 'the repository of the legends of the shrine'. *op. cit.* p. 149.

⁵ Their miraculous character may point to a popular rather than to a sacerdotal origin.

two earliest strata of the Pentateuch. A few points are worthy of consideration.

First, as we have already intimated, the priests at the local sanctuaries may well have been the historians of those sanctuaries.¹ Secondly, royal patronage tended to increase the importance of Bethel, Dan, and Jerusalem, and it may have been at these centres that the traditions of the local sanctuaries were collected and compiled. Thirdly, the prophetic element is much greater in E than in J. Personalities are of more importance, and the interest is much less tribal. Prophetism was always more prominent in the northern kingdom. Prophetic influence at the sanctuary may have been due to the fact that the prophet was generally to be found in its vicinity. Lastly, the sanctuaries were responsible for the formulation of the early law code.² Even in the time of Deuteronomy the judge and the priest are not entirely differentiated. The tendency of the priestly torah was to become less mechanical and more ethical and judicial in character.

Such is an outline of priestly and prophetic influence in the pre-exilic literature. A more detailed treatment is not relevant to our purpose, i. e. an account of priest and prophet in the history of Israel. It is well to remember, however, that in the 'Historical Books' of the Old Testament as we now have them, the prophetic element almost everywhere predominates, owing to their redaction by the Deuteronomist. And in the Bible generally we may say that, apart from the definite Priestly Code, the prophet has prevailed over the priest. Or it is truer, perhaps, to say that in the

¹ Note that, although the interest in both J and E to a very large extent centres in the high places of Palestine, yet the diction is not, as we might expect, 'hieratic'. There are very few priestly formulae or technicalities in either J or E. Possibly the pre-exilic priests were not formal or technical in style. But it is almost impossible to decide what is priestly and what prophetic in the two narratives. Thus Harper *Amos and Hosea* p. lxxxii, says: 'E possesses a larger interest in priestly matters than J, but this is wholly subordinate in comparison with his prophetic tendency.'

² The sanctuaries, with the exception of Shiloh, were situated on the main roads and trade routes. Hence they were readily susceptible of foreign influence in the codification of laws, world-myths, ethnologies, &c. As to the composition of the laws cp. Kent *Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents* Introduction. Harper, however, *op. cit.* p. xciv, says: 'The early codes contain no reference to a priest; the whole matter is custom, not law.' Cp. also 1 Sam. xxx 23, 24, where the framing of the law of Booty is not ascribed to the priests but to David, and see H. P. Smith *in loco*.

pre-exilic literature the prophet predominates, in the post-exilic the priest.

Such, then, is our account of the relation of prophet and priest throughout the history of Israel down to its extinction as a nation at the Exile. We have noted how the priest became the regular medium of consultation, and how at times he proved insufficient for his task. Then again we have seen how prophecy itself became 'recognized', and so deteriorated. Lastly, how the 'new' prophecy was a protest against the old which had allied itself with both priest and king—an alliance which not even the book of Deuteronomy could render effectual—the true prophet being from the first, consciously or unconsciously, a protest against the priest.

The priest as the guardian of the shrine and the interpreter of the oracle might have proved himself independent of the prophet. But it is only in accordance with human nature for the priesthood to be conservative, being by its very nature an unelastic body. The attempt to restrain the Spirit within the personages of the official cultus was also a failure. The conflict between 'official' and 'charismatic'¹ has not yet been solved. But this much is certain, that it was to the Prophets that Israel owed its greatness as 'the holy nation',² by means of whom the world was to be taught religion. If the Priest was only a foil to the Prophet, he was something. But he was more than that in intention,³ and probably often also in fact. The Prophet's complaint against the Priest is not that he is essentially valueless, but that he has degenerated from his true function to bring God to the people, and the people to God. Both Priest and Prophet are really personifications of that ideal 'Mantic' which 'fashions the friendship between God and Man'.⁴ That a higher Personification was required in the Person of our Redeemer, who is both Priest and Prophet in His work for us, need not deter us from giving our due respect to those by whom 'God spake in divers manners' by word and oracle.

E. F. MORISON.

¹ It is obvious that the 'psychopathic' temperament is not a matter of office (priesthood), or of cultivation (prophetic school), but rather of the individual (whether priest or prophet).

² The prophets were, in some sense, the national 'sub-consciousness'.

³ Cp. Deut. xxxiii.

⁴ Cp. Plato *Symposium* 188 c "Ἐστὶν ἡ μαντικὴ φιλίας θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων δημιουργός.

DOCUMENTS

NOTES ON THE COPTIC VERSIONS OF THE LXX.

I

THE following corrections should be made in the collection of Sahidic Old Testament fragments published by Maspero¹ :—

Page 8. Gen. vii 13. $\overline{\omega\omicron\alpha\epsilon\tau}$ $\overline{\pi\sigma\upsilon\iota\alpha\epsilon}$

ib. ver. 15. There is a gap between $\overline{\Delta\tau\beta\omega\kappa}$ and $\overline{\epsilon\tau\kappa\iota\beta\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma}$. Perhaps $\overline{\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta}$ might be supplied, or some shorter word.

ib. ver. 23. $\overline{\mu\epsilon\Delta\tau\Delta\Delta\epsilon\gamma}$ $\overline{\mu\epsilon\eta}$ $\overline{\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\mu\epsilon\epsilon\Delta\epsilon\gamma}$ $\overline{\mu\epsilon\eta}$ $\overline{\tau\kappa\tau\beta\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma}$. The critical note as to the reading of the Sahidic version in the larger Cambridge LXX is therefore unnecessary.

p. 9. Gen. viii 5. $\overline{\rho\epsilon\mu}$ $\overline{\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\tau\mu\epsilon\eta\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon}$ $\overline{\eta\epsilon\beta\omicron\tau}$

ib. ver. 6. $\overline{\eta\omega\upsilon\epsilon}$

ib. ver. 12. $\overline{\Delta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\omega}$

ib. ver. 12. $\overline{\Delta\tau\omega}$ [$\overline{\mu\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\omicron}$] $\overline{\tau\epsilon\gamma\omega\upsilon}$

p. 12. Gen. xxv 6. $\overline{\Delta\tau\omega}$ $\overline{\Delta}$ $\overline{\Delta\beta\tau\epsilon\gamma\Delta\epsilon\mu}$

p. 13. Gen. xxviii 12. $\overline{\omicron\tau\tau\lambda\omicron\omicron\omicron\epsilon}$ (*sic*)

ib. ver. 13. $\overline{\pi\epsilon\chi\Delta\epsilon\gamma}$ $\overline{\Delta\epsilon}$ $\overline{\chi\epsilon}$

ib. ver. 15. $\overline{\epsilon\iota\gamma\Delta\tau\gamma}$

p. 14. ver. 18. $\overline{\mu\epsilon\pi\omega\eta\epsilon}$ $\overline{\eta\Delta\iota}$ $\overline{\eta\tau\Delta\epsilon\gamma\kappa\Delta\Delta\epsilon\gamma}$

p. 15. Gen. xxix 14. $\overline{\tau\Delta\varsigma\Delta\tau\gamma}$ $\overline{\Delta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\omega}$

p. 18. Gen. xxxi 12. $\overline{\eta\pi\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau}$ $\overline{\epsilon\tau\beta\omega\omicron\epsilon}$ $\overline{\epsilon\gamma\tau\alpha\iota}$ $\overline{\epsilon\chi\eta}$ $\overline{\pi\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\omicron\tau}$ $\overline{\mu\epsilon\eta}$ $\overline{\eta\beta\Delta\Delta\epsilon\mu\epsilon}$: thus corresponding with the Borgian text.

p. 19. ver. 19. $\overline{\eta\pi\iota\Delta\omega\lambda\omicron\eta}$

ib. ver. 25. $\overline{\rho\epsilon\mu}$ $\overline{\pi\tau\omicron\omicron\tau}$ $\overline{\Delta}$ $\overline{\lambda\alpha\beta\Delta\eta\eta}$ $\overline{\tau\Delta\gamma\epsilon}$ $\overline{\eta\gamma\varsigma\eta\eta\tau}$ $\overline{\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\tau}$ $\overline{\rho\epsilon\mu}$ $\overline{\pi\tau\omicron\omicron\tau}$ $\overline{\eta\tau\Delta\lambda\Delta\tau}$:

ib. ver. 29. $\overline{\Delta\tau\omega}$ $\overline{\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\tau}$ $\overline{\beta\epsilon\epsilon\beta\omicron\mu\epsilon}$ $\overline{\eta\tau\Delta\beta\iota\chi}$

p. 22. Gen. xxxv 17. $\overline{\epsilon\pi\kappa\Delta\gamma}$

ib. Gen. xli 43. $\overline{\eta\gamma\Delta\tau\epsilon\epsilon\Delta}$

p. 23. ver. 53. $\overline{\Delta\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon}$. Omit (*sic*).

p. 25. Gen. xliii 25. $\overline{\mu\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon}$

¹ *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique française du Caire*, 1897, t. vi. The collation is of the historical books alone, and I owe the suggestion to Mr Crum, and the possibility of carrying it out to the generosity of the Managers of the Hort Fund.

p. 29. Gen. 1 5. [ΧΕ] & ΠΔΕΙ[ΩΤ ΤΡΚΟΙ] ΕΠΔ[ΤΓ]ΕΟΥ
ΕΓ]ΧΩ ΕΕ[ΕΕΟC ΧΕ ΤΩ]ΕΕC : . . . In the critical note, there-
fore, in the larger Cambridge LXX, the Sahidic version should be added
to those authorities which contain the addition clause *πρὸ τοῦ τελευτῆσαι*.

p. 51. ver. 10. $\pi\epsilon\tau\pi\alpha\alpha\tau'$ $\pi\alpha\kappa'$. Omit (*sic*).

Page 51. Note 9, *F.* πῦρ ~~αἰ~~ *ice* (*sic*).

p. 57. Lev. vii 18. ὄρχωζε παρ πε·

ib. ver. 19. ΕΥΘΕΟΤΕΛΕΔΥ.

ib. ver. 21. πῆλδος.

p. 58. ver. 35. **εὐαγγέλιον ἀποστόλων**

ib. Lev. viii 3. еѡтѣ ере про птескѣнн

ib. ver. 7. ἀρχὴν πτεροειδῆς (but πτεροειδῆ πτερω-
ειδῆς.)

p. 65. Lev. xi 10. A few words can be read: $\Delta\tau\omega\ \bar{\eta}]κα\ \eta\iota\epsilon\epsilon$
 $\epsilon\tau[\epsilon\ \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\eta}\ \tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\gamma}\ \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}]$ $\sigma\tau\alpha\epsilon\ \psi[\bar{\eta}\gamma\epsilon\ldots$

ib. ver. 14. **ΠΕΤΤΗΤΩΝ** ερος.

ib. ver. 17. πκαταγρα[κ]της· [ατω] φιλω[ς] ειπ
ππε[ρφτριων] (?)

ib. ver. 21. ΕΥΧΩΣΤΕ

ib. ver. 22. Delete **αὐτῶ** π^οτ^ηνλ· **ἐπ** πετ^τη^των
ероу·

p. 66. ver. 24. A few words can be read: $\Delta\tau\omega$ ϵ $\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon$ -
 $\chi\omega$ $\xi\eta$ $\xi\eta$ $\eta\alpha\iota$ \cdot $\omicron\tau\omicron\eta$ $\eta\alpha\epsilon$ $[\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\chi\omega]$ ξ $\epsilon\eta$ τ -
 $\alpha\alpha\omicron\omicron\tau$ $[\eta\eta\eta\tau\omicron\tau]$ $\eta\eta\alpha\psi\eta\eta$ $[\epsilon\eta\alpha\xi\eta\eta]$ ψ Δ $\eta\eta\alpha\tau$
 η $[\rho\tau\eta\xi\cdot\omicron\tau]$ $\eta\alpha\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau$ $[\eta\alpha\eta\eta]$ $\eta\epsilon\tau\alpha\alpha\omicron\omicron\tau$
 $[\eta\eta\eta\tau\omicron\tau]$ ϵ $\eta\epsilon\psi\omega$ $\alpha\alpha$ $\eta\eta\epsilon$ η $[\xi\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\cdot\cdot\cdot\cdot]$

ib. Lev. xiii 11. օրհաճը

p. 68. ver. 30. ΕΠΕΡ̅Ϟ̅ϛ̅ · ΔΥΩ ΕΙΣ ΠΕΥΣΜΟΤ

р. 69. ver. 48. $\sigma\tau\psi\alpha\delta\rho\div$ и $\chi\epsilon\pi\ \psi\alpha\delta\rho\ \pi\iota\epsilon\lambda$.

p. 70. Lev. xviii 13 sqq. are extant in Par. cod. Copt. 129¹ (57)....
 τοικί]ως γαρ τε[σ]ω]νε πτεκελλετ τε ¹⁴ ταςχ]νεο-
 στνη επσον επεκειωτ ππεκβολπс εβολ ατω
 ππεκβωκ εροτη συα τεψсг]ιее пекстггепнс γαρ
 πε· ¹⁶ ταςχ]νεοστνη πτεκшелеет ππεκβολпс
 εβολ· сг]иее γαρ επεκшнре те· ππεκβολпс εβολ
 птес[αс]χ]νεοστνη. ¹⁶ [ταςχ]νεοστνη [птсг]иее
 επ]ексо[п ππεκβολп]с εβο[λ· ταςχ]νεос]τη[н...
 ¹⁷ πтесшеере πпекхитс εб[ωλп] εβολ
 птесαсχ]νεοστνη· пекпекοικеиос (*sic*) γαρ
²¹ α]τω πпекхωг]е επραп εтотααβ хе
 апок пе пхоиc. ²² ατω πпекепкотк επ от-
 гоотт.....

p. 72. Lev. xix 16. πεκρ,εθος·

p. 73. ver. 31. $\Delta\tau\omega$ $\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\rho\tau\eta\tau\tau\eta$ for $\epsilon\rho\omicron\tau\eta$

р. 76. Lev. xxi 24. אֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה לְכֹהֵן

Page 76. Lev. xxii 3. **ⲡⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲏⲣⲉⲛⲉⲁⲩ**·

ib. ver. 8. **ⲟⲩⲛⲕⲁ ⲉⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩ**· Accordingly the critical note in the larger Cambridge LXX, which describes the omission of *θησιμαίων* in the Sahidic version, should be deleted.

p. 77. Lev. xxiii 8. **ⲡⲛⲉⲧⲏⲣ̄ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ**

ib. ver. 15. **ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲡⲉⲱⲡ ⲛⲏⲧ̄ⲛ ⲭⲓⲛ**

ib. ver. 15. **ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲕⲡⲁⲁⲩ**

p. 78. ver. 24. **ⲉϣⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ**·

p. 79. ver. 40. **ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲧ̄ⲥ**

p. 80. Lev. xxiv 3. **ⲡⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲙⲟⲛ ⲱⲁ**

ib. ver. 9. **ⲉ̄ⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲗ**

ib. ver. 9. **ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ**

p. 81. ver. 19. **ⲡⲟ̄ⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲥⲁⲁⲥ**

ib. ver. 20. **ⲉⲧⲥⲡⲁⲧⲁⲁⲥ**

p. 82. Lev. xxv 7. **ⲡⲉⲕⲧ̄ⲃⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ, ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲕⲉⲙⲣⲓⲟⲛ**

ib. ver. 17. **ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱⲥ**·

p. 83. ver. 25. **ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲟⲛ̄ ⲉⲧⲡ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲕ**

p. 84. Lev. xxvii 28. The last word of this verse can be read :

. . . **ⲙⲙⲓⲛⲕⲟⲉⲓⲥ**

p. 85. ver. 33. **ⲉϣⲱⲩⲱⲡⲉ**· . . .

ib. ver. 34. **ⲡⲁⲓ̄ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ**

ib. ver. 34. **ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲙⲙⲱⲩ̄ⲥⲏⲥ**

ib. ver. 34. **ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲱⲛⲣⲉ**

p. 87. Num. i 16. **ⲡⲁⲓ̄ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲁⲉⲗⲙ**

p. 88. ver. 27. The second MS has **ϥⲧⲟⲩⲱⲛ**, as in ver. 29.

ib. ver. 30. Delete footnote 7.

p. 89. ver. 32. In both MSS **-ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁ · ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲛⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁⲛ · ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲡⲉ**

ib. ver. 37. **ⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲗⲙ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲓⲣⲉ**· . . . The second MS has **ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲗⲙ ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲥⲉⲓⲣⲉ**· . . .

p. 90. Num. ii 7. The first words of this verse can be read in Par. cod. Copt. 129¹ (69): **ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲧⲡⲁⲉⲗⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲧⲓⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲧⲉⲩⲗⲏ ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲁⲃⲟⲩⲗⲱⲡ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲡ**· . . . agreeing exactly with the Borgian text.

ib. vers. 12 and 14. **ⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱⲥ**

p. 92. Num. iii 12. **ⲁⲓⲭⲉ**

p. 96. Num. v 3. **ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲉⲙⲃⲟⲗⲏ · ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲙⲥⲱⲱⲥ ⲛⲡⲉⲧⲡⲁⲣⲉⲙⲃⲟⲗⲏ · ⲡⲁⲓ̄**

p. 97. ver. 12. The reading **ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ** represents the LXX reading *ἀνδρὸς ἀνδρός*.

ib. ver. 19. **ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ**· (omit **ⲉⲃⲟⲗ**)

Page 98. ver. 21. $\overline{\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha}$ $\epsilon\rho\rho\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\pi$ $\sigma\tau\sigma\alpha\rho\sigma\tau$ · $\alpha\tau\omega$
 $\epsilon\rho\rho\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\pi$ $\sigma\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\psi$

ib. ver. 22. $\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ · $\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ ·

p. 99. Num. vi 4. $\lambda\alpha\alpha\tau$ $\pi\overline{\pi\kappa\alpha}$

ib. ver. 14. $\chi\beta\iota\pi$ $\epsilon\overline{\iota\omega\omega\varsigma}$

p. 101. Num. vii 9. $\pi\kappa\alpha\alpha\theta$

ib. Num. xi 9. $\pi\alpha\alpha\pi\alpha$ $\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\kappa\tau$ $\epsilon\chi\omega\varsigma$

p. 103. ver. 21. $\chi\epsilon$ $\sigma\sigma\sigma\tau$ $\pi\psi\epsilon$ $\pi\psi\sigma$ $\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$. Delete the brackets, as all is legible.

ib. ver. 31. $\overline{\alpha\epsilon\tau\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\mu\beta\sigma\lambda\eta}$ $\pi\pi\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon$

ib. ver. 33. $\overline{\alpha\epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\sigma\tau\omega\chi\eta}$ ·

ib. ver. 34. $\pi\tau\epsilon\pi\iota\theta\tau\mu\epsilon\iota\alpha$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\pi\tau\alpha\tau\tau\omega\mu\epsilon$

p. 104. Num. xii 6. $\sigma\tau\pi\rho\phi\eta\tau\kappa\varsigma$

ib. ver. 10. $\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\omega\varsigma$

ib. ver. 12. $\pi\sigma\tau\rho\sigma\tau\rho\epsilon$ $\epsilon\varsigma\pi[\eta]\tau$ $\epsilon\beta\sigma\lambda$

p. 105. Num. xiii 7. $\pi\overline{\iota\epsilon\phi\sigma\eta\kappa}$ ¹

ib. ver. 10. $\pi\beta\epsilon\pi\iota\alpha\mu\epsilon\iota\pi$

p. 106. Num. xviii 15. $\epsilon\tau\sigma\tau\omega\pi$ $\pi\tau\sigma\sigma\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\beta\sigma\lambda$ $\epsilon\pi$
 $\sigma\alpha\rho\overline{\epsilon}$

ib. ver. 19. $\tau\alpha]$ $\iota\alpha\theta\tau\kappa\eta$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\pi\tau\epsilon[\epsilon\rho\alpha\lambda]\sigma\varsigma$ $\psi\alpha$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho$

p. 107. Num. xix 22. $\pi\epsilon\tau\chi\alpha\rho\mu\mu$ $\pi\alpha\chi\omega\epsilon[\mu\mu$ $\epsilon]\rho\sigma\varsigma$ ·
 (omit $\pi\alpha\chi\omega\epsilon$)

ib. Num. xx 1. $\pi\epsilon\beta\sigma\tau$ ·

ib. ver. 8. $\mu\pi\beta\epsilon\rho\omega\beta$ ·

p. 108. ver. 10. $\mu\eta$ $\tau\overline{\pi\pi\alpha\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon}$

ib. ver. 11. $\sigma\tau\mu\sigma\sigma\tau$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha[\psi\omega\varsigma]$ ·

ib. ver. 13. $\alpha\varsigma\tau\beta\beta\sigma$ $\epsilon\rho\rho\alpha\iota$

ib. ver. 19. $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\tau$

p. 109. Num. xxi 3. $\overline{\mu\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\pi\alpha\pi\iota\varsigma}$

p. 110. ver. 8. $\epsilon\tau\sigma\tau\pi\alpha\lambda\sigma\kappa\varsigma\varsigma$

ib. ver. 9, fin. On p. 150 there is printed a variant reading from a fragment : $\epsilon\rho\sigma\tau\pi$ $\epsilon\overline{\rho\mu}$ $\pi\rho\sigma\beta$ $\pi\psi\sigma\mu\pi\tau$ $\psi\alpha\varsigma\omega\pi\overline{\epsilon}$

p. 112. Num. xxii 22. $\pi\mu\mu\mu\alpha\varsigma\varsigma$ ·

p. 113. Num. xxiv 8. $\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\tau\kappa\alpha\varsigma$

p. 114. ver. 10. $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\rho\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\kappa\sigma\mu\sigma\tau$ $\alpha\kappa\mu\sigma\tau$ $\epsilon\rho\sigma\varsigma$

ib. ver. 12. $\epsilon\rho\sigma\tau\pi$ $\epsilon\rho\pi$ $\beta\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa$

p. 115. Num. xxix 17. $\pi\rho\iota\epsilon\iota\beta$

p. 117. Deut. i 11. $\epsilon\tau\rho\epsilon\tau\pi\alpha\psi\alpha\iota$ ·

¹ The Rev. A. E. Brooke's collation has $\pi\overline{\iota\epsilon\phi\sigma\eta\kappa\eta\kappa}$.

Page 117. ver. 11. ΕΥΕΚΛΟΥ

p. 118. ver. 12. $\eta\epsilon\epsilon$ $\epsilon\epsilon$

ib. ver. 15. **ΖΕΝΔΑΠΥΕ** **ΛΗ** **ΖΕΝΔΑΠΤΔΙΟΥ**

p. 123. Deut. xxviii 64. **ΠΡΟΚΕΡΟΥΤΕ** **ΕΝ** **ΥΕ**

ib. ver. 65. πρῶτος

р. 124. Deut. xix 8. **ⲙⲫⲏⲗⲏ**

ib. ver. 11. **ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ** occurs once only.

p. 125. Deut. xxxii 46. εἴρεται ὁ κύριος ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ.
εἰρετῆζων

ib. ver. 51. ΕΠΑΥΔΧΕ in MS 1; ΕΠΑΥΔΧΕ in MS 2.

ib. ver. 51. $\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}$ $\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ in MS. 1; $\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}$ $\tau\eta\rho\eta\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ in MS 2.

p. 131. Jos. vii 7. εβολ· εἰπῶ

p. 133. Jos. xxi 28. **niçaxap**.

p. 135. Jos. xxiv 19. οὐποῦτε πε εὑοῦααβ.

p. 138. Jud. v 5. **ἀπχοεῖς** ἔπ σῖπλ **ἀπεετο** ἐβόλ
ἀπχοεῖς πποϋτε

p. 139. ver. 11. **Ἰ**ησοῦς

ib. ver. 16. ἐπερροον ἡἡαγγελος

ib. ver. 19. ἀπολλέει

ib. ver. 19. $\bar{\alpha}\alpha\alpha\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega$

p. 141. Jud. vi 13. ΕΧΩΝ ΔΥΟ ΕΤ ΤΩΝ

p. 143. ver. 28. **ⲁⲩⲁⲣⲁⲱⲣⲥ**

ib. ver. 32. & ငှာယျာယာယျာ

ib. ver. 38. $\alpha\mu\omicron\tau\hat{o}$ εβολ $\overline{\rho\mu}$

p. 144. Jud. ix 45. אַפֶּרֶן לֶאֱדָר,

ib. ver. 45. ཨྱུ་ལྟོ་རྒྱུ་འདྲི་པའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་

p. 145. Jud. xii 1. A few letters can be read $\pi\epsilon\phi[\rho\alpha\iota\epsilon$
] $\epsilon\rho[\dots]\Delta[\dots]\pi[\dots]\epsilon\dots$, and of ver. 3 :
 $\pi\psi\kappa\rho\epsilon]$ $\pi\alpha\epsilon\epsilon[\epsilon\omega\pi\Delta\tau\omega\Delta\sigma\tau]$ $\pi\chi\theta[\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\alpha\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\theta\theta$
 $\epsilon\rho,\rho\alpha\iota$ $[\rho\pi\tau\Delta\sigma\iota\chi\Delta\tau\omega[\dots]]\tau\pi\dots$

ib. ver. 5. ΠΤΚ ΟΥΦΡΑΙΘΕΟΣ ΗΤΟΚ· ΠΕΧΔΥ

p. 146. Jud. xiii 8. ΕΤΑΥΝΑΧΠΟΥ

p. 147. ver. 21. **отъѣз,**

ib. ver. 24. ΔΣΧΠΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΔΣΛΟΥΤΕ ΕΠΕΣΥΡΑΠ

p. 148. Jud. xiv 8. բայց աբառոյի

р. 149. Jud. xv 4. **ΠΟΤΛΑΕΠΑΣ ΕΤΕΗΤΕ**

ib. ver. 5. &τροκζ,

p. 150. ver. 9. πᾶλλοφυλος δὲ αἰωνοῦ [...]
αἰεῖ

ib. ver. 10. πὰρ χε ἦτανεῖ ἐρραῖ ἐμοῦ

- Page 150. ver. 12. ΕΤΟΟΤ[ΟΥ] ΠΠΑΛΛΟΦΥΛΟΣ
 ib. Ruth, description of MS: see on p. 110, Num. xxi 9.
 p. 158. 1 Kings xxxi 5. **ΞΑΥΔΑΥ**
 p. 160. Footnote 1. **ΞΑΡΕ ΟΥΔΑ...**
 p. 164. 2 Kings i 10. **ΔΗ· ΔΙΥΙ ΠΤΕΒΡΗΠΕ...** Delete (*sic*).
 p. 165. ver. 10. **ΔΙΛΕΟΝΤΥ**
 ib. ver. 13. **ΧΕ ΠΤΚ ΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΩΠ ΠΤΟΚ·**
 ib. 2 Kings i 18. **ΠΧΩΞΕ**
 ib. ver. 20. **ΠΒΙ ΠΨΕΕΡΕ ΠΠΑΛΛΟΦΥΛΟΣ**
 p. 166. ver. 24. **ΠΟΤΕΠΠΟΤΒ**
 ib. 2 Kings ii 4. **ΓΑΛΔΑΤ**
 p. 171. 3 Kings xxii 10. **ΕΥΧΩ ΞΞΕΟΣ ΘΥ ΠΔΪ ΧΕ ΤΩΟΥΠ**
 p. 175. 4 Kings ix 7. **ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΠΕ· ΔΥ ΠΚΕCΠΩΩΥ ΠΠΑΚΕΥΞΕΘΑΛ**
 ib. ver. 7. **ΠΕΖΔΒΕΛ**
 ib. ver. 11. **ΠΤΩΤΠ ΘΩΤΕΠ ΕΤΕΤΠCΟΟΥΠ**
 p. 176. 4 Kings xi 15. **ΠΠΘΕΚΑΤΟΠΤΑΡΧΟΣ·**
 ib. ver. 16. **ΠΠΕΥΤΩΩΡ ΞΠΚΗ ΞΠΡΡΟ**
 p. 177. ver. 19. **ΟΥCΟΠ' ΞΠΡΡΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΘΞ ΠΚΗ ΞΠΧΟΕΙC**
 p. 178. 4 Kings xii 18. **ΠΕΡΡΩΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΙΟΥΤΔC**
 p. 179. ver. 30. **ΞΞΡΡΕ ΠΨΟΧΠΕ**
 ib. 4 Kings xiii 2. **ΞΠΕΥCΑΘΩΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΠΕΥΠΟΒΕ·**
 ib. ver. 8. **ΠΕΥΚΕΒΟΞ**
 p. 180. ver. 17. **ΠCΑ ΕΙΚΒΤ**
 p. 182. 4 Kings xiv 6. **ΘΑ ΠΕΙΟΤΕ**
 ib. ver. 8. **ΔΞΕCΪΔC**
 p. 184. 4 Kings xv 2. **ΠΡΟΞΠΕ ΠΤΕΥΡΡΟ· ΔΥ ΤΔΙΟΥ CΠΟΥCΕ ΠΡΟΞΠΕ ΕΥΘ**
 ib. ver. 5. **ΠΕΥΘΞΟΟC ΠΕ (om. ΔΕ)**
 ib. ver. 11. **ΕΠΧΩΞΕ ΠΠΨΑΧΕ ΠΠΕΥΟΟΥ ΠΠΕΡΡΩΟΥ**
 p. 185. ver. 16. **ΞΠ ΠΕΤΠΘΗΤC ΤΗΡΟΥ·**
 ib. ver. 26. **ΠΕΠΤΑΥΔΑΤ**
 ib. ver. 26. **ΠCΕΥΗΤ**
 p. 186. ver. 30. **ΠΗΛΑ ΔΥCΩΟΥΘ ΕΘΟΥΠ ΠΟΥCΟΥΘC ΕΧΞ**
 ib. ver. 30. **ΠΪΩΔΞΞ**
 ib. ver. 31. **ΞΠ ΠΕΠΤΑΥΔΑΤ**
 ib. ver. 31. **ΕΠΧΩΞΕ ΠΠΨΑΧΕ ΠΠΕΥΟΟΥ ΠΠΕΡΡΩΟΥ**
 ib. ver. 32. **ΘΠ ΤΞΕΥCΠΤΕ**

Page 187. 4 Kings xvi 5 and 6. ραασσων

p. 284. Tobit, title. τωβιτ

ib. Tob. i 1. πωρη παπακλ.

p. 285. ver. 22. ἡδίοικτης· ὅτι εκλοισιτης· αὐῶ

p. 286. Tob. ii 8. ἀπρ̄τρεττακος

p. 287. Tob. iii 2. εὐωοον ὅτι οὐαα ἀπ̄ οὐαε·

ib. ver. 3. ἡπαείότε πεπτατάατ ἀπεκεῖτο εβολ·

ib. Tob. iii 6. ταρκαρ·

p. 288. A leaf of the same MS, not used by Maspero, exactly fills the gap between where his text leaves off (Tob. iv 7¹) and where Ciasca's begins (iv 16). The text is as follows:—

6. . . . κπα]αατε ππεκρβητε· αὐω οτοπ πια
ετερε πταϊκαιοστην·

7. Ἀρι ἀπ̄τνα εβολ ὅτι πετεποτκ πε· ἀπρ̄κτε
πεκρο εβολ ἡλαατ ἡρκε· αὐω ἡρ̄πακτε περ̄ρο
εβολ ἀπ̄ ἀαεοκ.

8. πθε ετεοσπτακ κατὰ πεκρονο· ἀρ̄ι ἀπ̄τνα
ἡρ̄κτοτ· κατὰ πκοτι ετεοσπ̄τακ· ἀπ̄ρ̄[ρ]̄]οτε
ε† ἀπ̄τνα πρ̄κτ̄

9. Οὐαρο γαρ επαποτ̄ πετεκπασοοτ̄ρ̄ εροσπ
ῥαε περοοτ̄ πταπαγκη·

10. εβολ κε τλεπ̄τνα π̄ασπερ̄αε πρωαε εβολ
ῥαε παοτ̄· αὐω αεεσκαατ̄ εβωκ εροσπ επκακε·

11. Οὐαωροπ επαποτ̄ τετ̄λεπ̄τνα ἡτοσπ πια
ετερε ααεοσ ἀπ̄π̄ετο εβολ ἀπετχοσε

12. Ἰρ̄τηκ εροκ παωρη επορ̄πια πια· αὐω
ἡωορ̄π χιςρ̄ιαε πακ εβολ ῥαε πεσπερ̄αε ἡπε-
κειοτε· ἀπ̄ρχιςρ̄ιαε πακ π̄ωααεο· ποτ̄ εβολ ἀπ̄
τε ὅτι τεφ̄τλη ἀπεκειωτ̄·

Χε ἀποπ πωρη ἡπεπροφ̄ητης πωρε· ἀβρα-
ραε· ἰσαακ· ιακωβ̄ πεπειοτε πε χιπ̄ ἀπαιω[η]

Ἀριπαεετε [πα]ωρη· κε παι τηροτ̄· ἀτ̄χι-
ςρ̄ιαε πατ̄ εβολ ὅτι πετ̄σπ̄κτ̄· αὐῶ ἀτ̄χιαεοτ̄
ὅτι πετ̄ωρη· αὐῶ πετ̄σπερ̄αε ἀτ̄κληροποαεῖ
ἀπ̄καρ̄·

¹ iv 6 in the ordinary editions of the LXX.

13. Τε ποτ θε παψηρε μερε πεκспηт. ατω εχп
 пψηρε· μεп пψεερε μεпекλαос· χисβιμεε пак εβολ
 пρηтот· хе ере птако ψооп ατω οтψτορτ̄р
 епαψωγ· εп т̄εп̄тхасιρηт ατω πεβρωωρ μεп
 пψωт етпαψωγ· етψооп εп т̄εп̄татψαт·
 т̄εп̄татψαт γαρ т̄εα[αт̄ ме]пλοиεос [те·]

14. Πβεке μεпρωεε етпαρωαβ̄ ραρτηк·
 мепертρεψωск ит̄оот̄к· αλλα таαγ паγ птет-
 пот· екψαп̄ρ̄εεραλ̄ меппотте· ϕпαтотιο пак.

†ρτηк ерок παψηρε εп πεκρβηте тηροт. ατω
 птψωпε ёко пр̄εп̄сβ̄ω εп т̄εкапασтrophη тηрс·

15. ατω πετεκεοосте̄ μεεογ· μεпρααγ̄ п̄λααт·

Упрсе ηрп ет†ρε· οт̄αε̄ мепр†ρε ψωпе
 [п̄ε]μεак̄ [εп̄ πεκρ̄ιο]οте

16. † меп[ет]ρ[ка̄ε̄т̄ е]βολ̄ εп [пек̄о]ε̄ικ̄

Ατω п̄т[†] ρ[β̄с̄ω] ппеткη [ка]ρηт̄ εβολ̄ εп
 πεκρ̄ο̄те· пет[п̄ᾱρ̄ε̄ο̄т̄ο̄.....

Page 291. Tob. viii 2. п̄εᾱ ψ̄εψ̄ с̄т̄ο̄ι

ib. ver. 3. п̄тере п̄ᾱῑεοп̄ιοп̄ ψ̄ᾱ ме̄п̄ε̄с̄т̄ο̄ι

ib. ver. 6. п̄т̄ок̄ ᾱκ̄т̄ᾱε̄ε̄ε̄ ᾱᾱε̄ε̄

ib. ver. 13. πεк̄пет̄ο̄т̄ᾱᾱβ̄· ατω πεк̄с̄ωп̄† т̄ηροт̄
 ме̄п̄ πεка̄г̄т̄ε̄л̄ο̄с̄ ме̄п̄ πεк̄с̄ωп̄†п̄

p. 293. Tob. xi 1. Ατω πετ̄ε̄ε̄ο̄ο̄ψ̄ε̄

ib. ver. 2. п̄ᾱψ̄ п̄с̄ε̄ο̄т̄·

ib. ver. 3. пет̄ρ̄ορ

ib. ver. 5. πεк̄ψ̄ηρε ϕп̄ηт̄

ib. There is a leaf, not used by Maspero, from the same MS, from
 which came chapters i-iv. I give the variants:—

p. 293. Tob. x 12. е̄ψ̄ε̄χ̄ῑт̄к̄ е̄ρᾱт̄γ̄ ме̄п̄ε̄ке̄ӣω̄т̄ е̄κο̄т̄ο̄х̄.

ib. εβολ̄ εп̄ с̄ᾱρ̄ρᾱ

ib. ме̄п̄ε̄т̄ο̄ ме̄п̄χ̄ο̄ε̄ῑс̄. ε̄ῑс̄ т̄ᾱψ̄ε̄ε̄ре̄ ††̄ ме̄ε̄ο̄с̄
 е̄т̄ο̄ο̄т̄к̄ εп̄ ο̄т̄п̄ᾱρᾱθ̄ηк̄к̄ ме̄п̄ρ̄†̄ λ̄т̄п̄к̄ п̄ᾱс̄.

ver. 13. т̄ω̄β̄ӣᾱс̄ δ̄ε̄ ᾱϕ̄ε̄ε̄ο̄ο̄ψ̄ε̄ е̄ϕ̄с̄ε̄ο̄т̄ е̄п̄п̄ο̄т̄те̄
 ε̄βολ̄ х̄ε̄ ᾱϕ̄с̄ο̄ο̄т̄†п̄ п̄т̄ε̄ϕ̄ρ̄ῑη̄..

ib. ε̄ᾱп̄ᾱ (om. ρ)

Tob. xi 1. πετ̄ε̄ε̄ο̄ο̄ψ̄ε̄

ib. п̄ε̄х̄ε̄ ρ̄ᾱг̄ο̄т̄η̄λ̄ (sic).

ib. ε̄ρ̄ο̄т̄п̄ ε̄п̄

- Page 293. Tob. xi 1, ver. 2. $\overline{\text{ϩ}}\overline{\text{π}} \text{ ⲁϣ } \text{ⲡⲥⲙⲟⲧ}$
 ib. $\text{ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲓⲣⲱⲣⲡ } \text{ⲡⲧⲉⲕⲥⲣⲓⲙⲉ}$
 ver. 3. $\text{ⲁⲧⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ } \text{ⲁⲉ } \text{ⲁⲧⲱ } \text{ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲟⲣ}$
 ver. 4. $\text{ⲡⲥⲣⲙⲟⲟⲥ } \text{ϩⲡ } \text{ⲧⲉⲣⲓⲛ } \text{ⲉⲥⲟⲱϣⲧ } \text{ⲉⲃⲟⲗ } \text{ϩⲡⲧ̄ϥ}$
 ⲙⲡⲉⲥϣⲡⲣⲉ
 ver. 5. $\text{ⲡⲧⲉⲣⲉⲥⲓⲟⲣⲉϥ } \text{ⲁⲉ } \text{ⲉϥⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ}$
 Tob. xi 5. ⲡⲧⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ
 ver. 7, beginning. $\text{ⲡⲧⲟⲕ } \text{ⲁⲉ } \text{ⲡⲟⲧⲭⲉ } \text{ⲡⲧⲉⲭⲟⲗⲓⲛ } \text{ⲉⲡⲉϥ-}$
 $\text{ⲃⲁⲗ } \text{ⲁⲧⲱ } \text{ⲉϥϣⲁⲛⲣⲱⲣ,}$
 ver. 8. $\text{ⲧⲉⲡⲟⲧ } \text{ⲃⲉ } \text{ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲓⲙⲟⲧ}.$
 ver. 9. $\text{ⲧⲱⲃⲓⲁ } \text{ⲁⲉ } \text{ⲁϥⲉⲓ } \text{ⲉϥⲡⲡⲧ } \text{ⲉⲃⲟⲗ } \text{ϩⲓⲣ̄ⲙⲉ } \text{ⲡⲣⲟ}.$
 ⲁϥⲭⲱⲣⲡ
 ver. 10. $\text{ⲡⲉϥϣⲡⲣⲉ } \text{ⲁⲉ } \text{ⲁϥⲧ̄ } \text{ⲡⲉϥⲟⲧⲟⲓ } \text{ⲉⲣⲟϥ } \text{ⲁϥⲧ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ}$
 ver. 11. om. ⲁⲧⲱ
 ib. ⲡⲕⲱⲗⲧⲙⲉ
 ib. ϩⲉⲛⲗⲉⲧⲕⲱⲙⲉⲁ
 ver. 12. $\text{ⲁϥⲣⲓⲙⲉ}.$ $\text{ⲁⲧⲱ } \text{ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ } \text{ⲭⲉ } \text{ⲕⲥⲙⲉⲙⲉⲁⲁⲧ}$
 ib. ϥⲥⲙⲉⲙⲉⲁⲁⲧ
 ib. $\text{ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲧⲧⲉⲗⲟⲥ } \text{ⲧⲡⲣⲟⲧ } \text{ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲁⲁⲃ}$
 p. 294. ver. 13. $\text{ⲭⲉ } \text{ⲁⲕⲙⲉ[ⲁⲥ]ⲧⲓⲡⲟⲧ } \text{ⲙⲉⲙⲟⲓ}$
 ver. 14. ⲉⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲉ[ⲉ]
 ib. $\text{ⲉⲛ[ⲉ]ϣⲡⲡⲣⲉ } \text{ⲧⲡ[ⲣⲟⲧ]}.$ With the next word, ⲡⲧⲁⲧ-
 ϣⲱⲡⲉ , begins the following leaf of the same MS, used by Ciasca.
 ib. Tob. xii 7. $\text{ⲙⲉⲡⲣⲟ } \text{ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲧ } \text{ϩⲟⲡ̄ϥ}$
 p. 295. ver. 10. $\text{ⲙⲉⲡⲧⲁⲧⲱⲛⲣ}.$

II

The Cambridge University Library possesses three Sahidic fragments, all from the same Katameros, containing parts of Num. xi 18-23, Deut. i 1-30, Jos. i 1-3.

It is in a hand very similar indeed to that of Plate VII in vol. i of Ciasca's publication.¹ I give the variants from the texts published by Maspero and Ciasca.

Add. 1876⁷ begins at Num. xi 18, but only some words are legible down to ver. 22. The collation is with the text in Maspero, p. 102 sq.

ver. 18. ⲡⲣⲉⲛⲁϥ (twice)

ver. 21. $\text{ⲡϣⲉ } \text{ⲡϣⲟ } \text{ⲡⲣⲉⲙⲣⲁⲧⲟⲧ } \text{ⲡⲉ } \text{ⲡⲗⲁⲟⲥ}$

¹ *Sacr. Bibl. Fragmenta Copta-Sahidica Musei Borgiani*, studio P. Augustini Ciasca Romae, Congr. de Prop. Fide, 1885.

ver. 22. $\overline{\pi\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\sigma\tau} \overline{\mu\pi} \overline{\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\sigma\tau} \cdot \Delta\tau\omega \overline{\epsilon\pi\epsilon}$

ib. $\overline{\eta} \overline{\pi\tau\tilde{\kappa}\tau}$

ver. 23. $\overline{\mu\mu\mu\omega\tau\sigma\eta\varsigma} \cdot \chi\epsilon \overline{\mu\pi} \overline{\tau\beta\iota\chi}$

ib. $\overline{\epsilon\pi\iota\Delta\eta} \overline{\kappa\eta\Delta\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon} \chi\epsilon \overline{\pi\Delta\psi\Delta\chi\epsilon} \overline{\pi\Delta\tau\Delta\sigma\kappa} \chi\iota\pi$
 $\overline{\mu\mu\mu\omicron\pi} \cdot$

The next lesson, beginning at Deut. i 1, has a heading very like that of the corresponding Katameros leaf published by Maspero, p. 116: $\overline{\rho\omicron\mu\mu\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma} \overline{\pi\mu\epsilon\rho\psi\omicron\mu\pi\tau} \overline{\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\tau}$.

ver. 1. $\overline{\mu\pi\iota\eta\lambda}$

ib. $\overline{\tau\omicron\phi\omicron\lambda}$

ver. 2. $\overline{\mu[\pi\tau]\omicron\tau\epsilon} \cdot \overline{\pi\rho\omicron\sigma[\tau]}$

ib. $\overline{\rho\eta} \overline{\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\kappa}$ corrected from $\overline{\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\kappa}$

ib. $\overline{\eta\sigma\eta\epsilon\iota\rho}$

After ver. 2 nothing is legible (except four words¹ in ver. 4, agreeing with Maspero's text) until the last word of ver. 6 $\overline{\pi\tau\omicron\sigma\tau}$.

ver. 7. $\overline{\pi\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\delta\omega\kappa} \overline{\epsilon\rho\omicron\tau\eta} \overline{\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\sigma\tau}$

ib. $\overline{\rho\eta} \overline{\Delta\rho\Delta\Delta} \overline{\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\sigma\tau}$

ib. $\overline{\rho\eta\Delta\iota} \overline{\epsilon\pi\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron} \overline{\pi\pi\omicron\sigma} \overline{\eta\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron}$

ver. 8. $\overline{\pi\epsilon\tau\kappa\epsilon\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\mu\mu}$

After ver. 10 nothing is legible except the letter ϕ of $\overline{\pi\sigma\phi\omicron\varsigma}$ in ver. 13. Add. 1876⁶ begins with the words $\overline{\epsilon\tau\chi\omega} \overline{\mu\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma}$ in Deut. i 28. The variants are given from the text published by Ciasca, op. cit., p. 119.

ver. 28. $\overline{\rho\eta\pi\kappa\omicron\sigma}$

ver. 29. The order is changed: $\overline{\mu\pi\rho\bar{\rho}\rho\omicron\tau\epsilon} \overline{\omicron\tau\Delta\epsilon} \overline{\mu\pi\rho\psi\tau\omicron\rho\tau\bar{\rho}}$

ver. 30. $\overline{\pi\epsilon\pi\pi\omicron\tau\tau\epsilon} \overline{\pi\epsilon} \overline{\pi\epsilon\tau\mu\omicron\omicron\psi\epsilon}$

The lesson ends with the word $\overline{\pi\mu\mu\mu\eta\kappa\tau\eta}$ in ver. 30. The next (Jos. i 1) is headed $\overline{\rho\omicron\mu\mu\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma} \overline{\pi\mu\epsilon\rho\psi\omicron\mu\pi\tau} \overline{\tau\epsilon\tau\psi\eta}$. The variants are given from the text published by Maspero, op. cit., p. 130.

ver. 1. $\overline{\tau\rho\epsilon\psi\mu\omicron\tau}$

ib. $\overline{\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma} \overline{\pi\eta\varsigma} \overline{\pi\psi\eta\epsilon}$

¹ Here begins the second leaf, Add. 1876⁵.

ver. 1. ⲉϣⲁⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϥ.

ver. 3. ⲙⲙ ⲛⲙⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲧⲁⲃⲉ

The fragment breaks off at ⲁⲧⲱ, the first word of ver. 4.

III

To the list of the Bohairic MSS of the Pentateuch given by Mr Brooke¹ may be added the Holy Week Lectionary at the British Museum (Add. 5997, No. 1247 in Mr Crum's *Catalogue*). It is dated A.M. 990=A.D. 1274, and is therefore earlier than any of the other MSS except V. It contains Genesis 11-23, 215-324, 65-97, 181-23, 221-19, 241-9, 481-19; Exodus 121-14, 1317-22, 1413-151, 171-15, 191-8, 3230-335; Numbers 201-13, 211-9; Deuteronomy 819-924, 3239-43. Its text is distinctly of the class ACOL: it habitually agrees with A against V. For critical purposes it is most valuable in the comparatively few passages where it disagrees with A, though doubtless as a liturgical text it should be used with caution.

The distinction between the two groups of MSS is curiously shewn in Gen. 36^{15, 16, 29, 40-43}, in which the word *ἡγεμών* occurs so often. By MSS of the A group this is represented by the Coptic transcription **ⲙⲧⲉⲙⲱⲛ**, by the V group as **ⲉⲛⲧⲉⲙⲱⲛ**. In the other verses of the same chapter both groups have **ⲉⲛⲧⲉⲙⲱⲛ**.

B (Cod. Par. 57), a late and not particularly interesting MS, seems alone to have preserved the true reading in Gen. 35¹⁸, unless it is a correction. Whereas Lagarde's text and A give **ⲛⲧⲙⲁⲣⲓ ⲙⲛⲉⲙⲓⲕⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲧ**, and V **ⲛⲧⲙⲁⲣⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲓⲕⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲧ**, both of which are equivalent to *υἱὸς ὀδύνης*, B alone has **ⲛⲧⲙⲁⲣⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲉⲙⲓⲕⲁⲉ**, which represents the LXX *υἱὸς ὀδύνης μου*. But this is the only passage where I could find any independence.

S. GASELEE.

¹ *J. T. S.* iii p. 258.

NOTES AND STUDIES

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S BIBLE AND THE *ITALA*.

I

FOURTEEN years ago, in 1896, I published a book in the Cambridge *Texts and Studies* called 'The Old Latin and the Itala'. In that book I attempted to prove, amongst other things, that the Latin version of the Bible which S. Augustine mentioned in the *De Doctrina Christiana* ii 22, under the name *Itala*, was none other than the new Revised Version of S. Jerome, now known as the Vulgate. My attention has now been called to a couple of articles in the *Biblische Zeitschrift*, published at Freiburg in Baden, one by Dr H. J. Vogels (1906), the other by Herr J. Denk (1908), both of Munich. Both articles are definitely opposed to the positions I took up, and both to some extent do raise new questions. It seems therefore not inappropriate to make a fresh examination of the general relation of S. Augustine to versions of the Bible, of which his mention of the *Itala* in the *De Doctrina Christiana* is only a single detail.

Together with the theories of Herr Denk and Dr Vogels it will be convenient to consider the theory brought forward in Dr F. Wehrich's admirable edition of Augustine's *Speculum* (*CSEL* xii), published in 1887, to the effect that the Biblical text of that work does not come direct from S. Augustine's Bible, but is a later accommodation to the Vulgate. This theory, not disavowed in Wehrich's admirable edition of the *De Consensu* (1904), is assumed as true by Dr Vogels, so that it demands a definite examination here.

I may as well begin by restating the positions which I actually took up in my book *The Old Latin and the Itala*. These positions are three in number :—

(1) 'To the end of his days in short easily remembered phrases from the Gospel S. Augustine often used the Old Latin' (p. 57).

(2) 'During S. Augustine's episcopate, from about A.D. 400 onwards, the Church at Hippo read the Gospels from S. Jerome's version, though for the Acts it retained a very pure form of the Old African Latin' (p. 57).

(3) 'In the Old Testament . . . while habitually using the LXX—i. e. the Old Latin—he [S. Augustine] values the new translation highly, and occasionally uses it for comparison' (p. 63).

On the opposite side Herr Denk contends that Augustine's use

of *caerimoniae* (*Retr.* ii 37), a word which does not occur in the Old Latin, but does occur in the Vulgate, proves that Augustine's *Itala* cannot be Jerome's new version. Dr Vogels contends that the Gospel-text in the *De Consensu*, which is practically pure Vulgate, is not the text put there by Augustine, but that the Vulgate has been substituted for Augustine's text. Dr Weihrich contends that the same thing has happened in the case of the *Speculum*.¹

It is perhaps easier to discuss these questions in England than in Germany, because with us 'Itala' is, happily, not a naturalized word. As every one knows, the *Itala* is only named once by Augustine, viz. in the *De Doctrina Christiana* ii 22. Dom Sabatier understood Augustine's phrase to mean 'the Latin version called *Itala*, which I prefer and therefore use'. Building upon this, he attempted to reconstruct Augustine's Bible, which he (Sabatier) called *Itala*, and to which he always, when possible, gave the place of honour in his great collection of pre-Vulgate Latin quotations and texts. Sabatier's collection, still indispensable to the student, had so great an influence that continental scholars took to calling all pre-Vulgate texts *Itala*. In other words, 'Itala' means in German what we in England call 'Old Latin', and especially the 'European Old Latin', i.e. the texts of such MSS as *a b ff g*, texts quite different from anything to be found in any of Augustine's works. Thus 'Itala' means sometimes the Old Latin, sometimes 'European' texts of the Old Latin, sometimes the text of Augustine's Bible, sometimes a text so named by him in a certain place. To avoid confusion I shall use it in these pages only in reference to *De Doctrina Christiana* ii 22, not for Augustine's Bible generally. It will, however, introduce no confusion to call S. Jerome's Revised Version by the familiar name of the Vulgate.

Let us begin by considering two very well-known passages, where Augustine's use of Jerome's version is undisputed. In *De Doctrina Christiana* iv 16 he quotes Amos vi 1-6 from the Vulgate,² and proceeds in the following four sections to comment in detail upon the passage. It is not Augustine's usual custom to quote the Old Testament from Jerome's version,—I certainly never contended that it was,—and therefore this departure from custom must have a definite cause. The cause, of course, is perfectly obvious from the context. S. Augustine, to use the modern phrase, is making an 'appreciation' of Biblical eloquence. For the moment he is not concerned with

¹ The work in question is the collection of texts beginning *Quis ignorat*, perhaps not published before Augustine's death in 430. It has nothing to do with the ps.-Augustinian *Speculum*, commonly quoted as *m*.

² *Vae qui opulenti estis . . . super contritione Ioseph.*

allegory, but with rhetoric. He has just given an analysis of 2 Corinthians xi 16-30, and he goes on to give an example of the eloquence of the Prophets. Let me give Augustine's reasons for his choice of a passage in his own words (c. 15):—

‘Dicendum ergo mihi aliquid esse uideo et de eloquentia Prophetarum, ubi per tropologiam multa obteguntur. Quae quanto magis translatis uerbis uidentur operiri, tanto magis cum fuerint aperta dulcescunt. Sed hoc loco tale aliquid commemorare debeo, ubi quae dicta sunt non cogar exponere, sed commendem tantum quomodo dicta sint. Et ex illius prophetae libro potissimum hoc faciam, qui se pastorem uel armentarium¹ fuisse dicit, atque inde diuinitus ablatum atque missum ut Dei populo prophetaret. Non autem secundum LXX interpretes, qui etiam ipsi diuino Spiritu interpretati, ob hoc aliter uidentur nonnulla dixisse, ut ad spiritalem sensum scrutandum magis admoneatur lectoris intentio; unde etiam obscuriora nonnulla, quia magis tropica, sunt eorum: sed sicut ex hebraeo in latinum eloquium presbytero Hieronymo utriusque linguae perito interpretante translata sunt.’

This passage is surely as clear as words can make it. Augustine says in effect: ‘I want an example of eloquence from the Prophets. They are often obscure from excess of meaning, and the Septuagint (from which of course the Latin version in ecclesiastical use was taken) sometimes even adds to the obscurity, by introducing fresh inspired meanings. I will therefore quote this time from the plain rendering made direct from the actual Hebrew words of the Prophet by Jerome, a most competent scholar.’ *Pro hac vice* Augustine wants not an inspired version, but the words of Amos, and so he goes to that interpretation which is *uerborum tenacior* combined with perfect perspicuity. The fourth Book of the *De Doctrina*, in which this quotation from Amos appears, belongs to the second edition of the work and was published in 426, but the general attitude of Augustine towards revisions and versions of the Bible seems to me to remain very much what it had been nine and twenty years before, when the first three Books were issued. It is the attitude of many an English ecclesiastic towards the Revised Version.

The other passage, equally well known, is *De Ciuitate Dei* xviii 44. In the two preceding chapters S. Augustine has told the story of the Seventy Interpreters who made the translation for Ptolemy Philadelphus, and has gone on to assert that the work of the Seventy was inspired by the same Spirit that was in the ancient Prophets themselves. Whatever, he says, is to be found in the Septuagint, but is not in the Hebrew codices, the Spirit preferred to say by the inspired

¹ As a matter of fact the Old Latin of Amos vii 14 has *pastor*, while Jerome has *armentarius*, for the trade of the Prophet.

interpreters rather than by the inspired seers. 'But,' he continues (xviii 44) 'some one will say, How am I to know what the prophet Jonah said to the Ninevites, whether *Triduum et Nineue euertetur*, or *Quadraginta dies*? For who does not see that both cannot then have been said by the prophet, who had been sent to frighten the city by the threat of imminent catastrophe? If the destruction was to be on the third day, it could not be on the fortieth day; but if on the fortieth day, then not on the third day?' Here was a definite case of difference, and it cannot be said that Augustine does not put the alternatives clearly. The LXX, followed of course by the Old Latin, has 'three days' in Jonah iii 4, while the Masoretic text, followed by Jerome, has 'forty days'. What then is Augustine's solution? He distinguishes. 'Si ergo a me quaeritur,' he says, 'quid horum Ionas dixerit, hoc puto potius quod legitur in Hebraeo *Quadraginta dies et Nineue euertetur*.'¹ Septuaginta quippe longe posterius interpretati aliud dicere potuerunt quod tamen ad rem pertineret et in unum eundemque sensum, quamuis sub altera significatione concurreret, admoneretque lectorem utraque auctoritate non sprete ab historia sese ad tollere ad ea requirenda propter quae significanda historia ipsa conscripta est.'² That is to say, when we are only concerned with the plain historical sense Augustine is as faithful as Jerome himself to the *Hebraea Veritas*, which is now accessible to the Latin-speaking world through Jerome's translation. No doubt Jonah wrote forty days, not three days. But, he goes on to assert, we ought for religious purposes to raise ourselves above history, and then we shall find a fresh source of inspiration in the Seventy. In the present instance Augustine sees in Jonah a type of Christ, who was with His disciples forty days after His resurrection, which is further hinted at by the 'three days' substituted in the LXX for the 'forty days' of the original Hebrew.

The typological exegesis of S. Augustine does not concern us here. What I have quoted him for is to exhibit his view of the relative values of the Hebrew and of the Septuagint text, because it is only when we keep these views, to us so strange, steadily in mind, that we can understand how Augustine could prepare his *Speculum* from the text of

¹ The MSS of the *De Ciuitate* vary between *euertetur* and *subuertetur*. The Vulgate has *subuertetur*, as also Lucifer and Jerome in his own commentary. The temptation to scribes of the *De Ciuitate* to assimilate the verb to that in the previous quotation (which has *euertetur*) would be quite as strong as the temptation to assimilate it to the Vulgate. For *Septuaginta quippe* the new CSEL edition (p. 339 line 8) has *Septuaginta quinque* by a slip.

² Augustine in the next sentence shews his dependence on the really original thinker Tyconius, whose views on general principles and special illustrations in Scripture history Augustine has adopted (see *Liber Regularum* iv 41 line 24; 42 line 2).

Jerome's Vulgate, while he himself in the preface to that work continues to use the Old Latin.

It will be seen from what I have already said that Herr Denk's argument about *caerimoniae*, from which he concludes that my theories about the 'Itala' involve a 'sprachliche Unmöglichkeit', is, if I may venture to say so, somewhat off the point. Herr Denk (p. 229) observes that Augustine excuses himself in *Retr.* ii 37 for having used the word *caerimoniae* for Jewish observances, *quod nomen non est in usu sanctorum litterarum*. That is to say, *caerimoniae* is an 'un-Biblical' word. Herr Denk goes on to shew, at some length, that *caerimoniae* does not occur in any extant fragment of the Old Latin,¹ apparently because the word had heathen associations. Therefore, concludes Herr Denk, Augustine did not know the Vulgate even in 427, when he wrote the *Retractations*, because in the Vulgate *caerimoniae* is freely employed.

This would be a very good argument against any one who was rash enough to maintain that the Vulgate Old Testament was in Church use at Hippo during Augustine's episcopate. But that is exactly the contrary of what I have maintained. The only part of what we now call the 'Vulgate' that I imagine to have been in Church use during Augustine's episcopate is the Gospels, in which the word *caerimoniae* does not occur at all in any Latin text. I quite agree with Herr Denk that during Augustine's time *caerimoniae* was a word not much in Christian use and that it had an un-Biblical sound. But that is no argument against the use of the Vulgate *Gospels* at Hippo. As I have already suggested, Augustine's attitude towards the Vulgate Old Testament was that of many a conservative Anglican towards the Revised Version: can we not imagine at the present day an English clergyman writing about (say) 'Eternal Punishment', who might find it convenient to use the word 'Hades'? Very likely he would make some apology for using this un-Biblical word. But it would not prove that he was unacquainted with the Revised Version. As matters stand to-day, it might quite well be said of 'Hades', as Augustine said of *caerimoniae*: '*quod nomen non est in usu sanctorum litterarum*.'

This linguistic argument can perhaps be turned round the other way, so far as the Gospels are concerned. What about *porro*? I do not suppose that *porro* had any heathen associations, but whatever be the cause it certainly is not *in usu sanctorum litterarum* before the Vulgate. Jerome, on the other hand, is quite fond of it and uses it freely in the Vulgate O. T. as a variation for *autem*.¹ In the Vulgate

¹ Tertullian's use of it is no exception, for Tertullian's vocabulary is quite un-Biblical.

² e. g. Susanna 31 and 38, where Lucifer has *autem*.

N.T. it occurs four times (Matt. viii 27; Lk. x 42, xi 20; 1 Cor. vii 35), but never once in any Old Latin text. In Matt. viii 27 (*porro homines mirati sunt*) nine Old Latin MSS are extant; they all have *autem*. The evidence in Lk. x 42 is given below: no Old Latin text, revised or unrevised, has *porro*. In Lk. xi 20 (*porro si in digito Dei*) ten Old Latin MSS are extant; four have *si autem*, six have *sed si*, while the Patristic evidence varies between *quod si*, *si enim*, and *si autem*. In 1 Cor. vii 35 the Old Latin evidence varies between *autem* and omission. When, therefore, we find *porro unum est necessarium* in Augustine's quotations of Lk. x 42 (*Serm.* 104 and 169) we may be sure it is derived from the Vulgate. The whole clause is absent from every unrevised Old Latin text (*abcdeffilr* Ambr.); the revised texts have *unum est autem opus* (*f*) and *unius autem est opus* (*g*). I have not, however, made a special study of the sources of Augustine's Sermons or his methods of quotation in them; it is conceivable that the word *porro* is due in each case to a later editor, though I do not know any evidence for this. That Augustine himself attests ἐνὸς δὲ ἔστιν χρεία (against the consensus of genuine Old Latin texts) is clear;¹ it is therefore not very easy to see whence he would have been likely to get this reading, if not from the Vulgate.

Coming now to the *Speculum*, it will be remembered that this work was prepared about 427, some three years before S. Augustine's death, and therefore after the *Retractations* had been already published. It is not a collection of proof-texts arranged under headings, like Cyprian's *Testimonia*, but consists of a series of extracts from most of the Books of the Bible in the Biblical order, from the Decalogue in Exodus to Apoc. xxii 16. Short prefaces are placed in front of the extracts from the various divisions of the Bible, with a longer preamble at the beginning, explaining the plan and object of the work. Dr F. Weihrich, who edited the work for the Vienna Corpus in 1887 (*CSEL* vol. xii), based his text on five MSS, two of the ninth century (*M*, *C*), two of the tenth (*P*, *S*), and one of the thirteenth (*R*). Of these *MPCR* form one family, *S* keeping somewhat apart. But all the MSS agree in this, that, whereas the occasional Scripture quotations in the prefaces present an Old Latin text, the extracts themselves, including those from the New Testament, all are taken from the Vulgate. Dr Weihrich therefore concludes (p. xviii) that the Biblical text, as we have it, does not come from Augustine, but only the prefaces, some later editor having substituted the Vulgate for the text of the Old Version.

¹ See also *Quaest. Ev.* ii 20. It looks to me as if Augustine sometimes quoted from himself, i.e. from memory: *circa multa es occupata* is neither the reading of any Old Latin text nor a literal rendering of the Greek.

There is, it must be confessed, something attractive in this theory. The composition of the *Speculum* would lend itself to such a wholesale substitution, because the extracts are arranged in the biblical order. It is very likely that Augustine never wrote out the work himself. All he would need to do was to write the Prefaces, and then to mark the passages to be transcribed from a codex or codices of the Bible. The corresponding passages might with a little trouble be marked in a Bible made from another text, and these passages might be fitted to the Prefaces.¹ The theory of substitution is undoubtedly far more probable in this case of the *Speculum* than in that of the *De Consensu*, presently to be considered. Yet even here it is my belief that it is erroneous, and that the MS tradition gives us the work substantially as intended by Augustine.

The reason which led S. Augustine to cling to the LXX was, as we have seen, not its faithfulness but its inspiration. It had more 'tropology' than the bare Hebrew, and therefore it gave the Christian more to know and believe. It had more divine mysteries, some of which were difficult to solve. But such things were not the only use of Holy Scripture. It was also useful for direct instruction in morals and Christian love, and for such instruction, the plainer it was the better. For such instruction the *Speculum* was directly intended. 'Who does not know,' he says in the Preface, 'that in the Holy Scriptures some things are placed simply to be known and believed, such as that "in the beginning God made² heaven and earth" and that "in the beginning was the Word", and whatever deeds of God or man are narrated merely to be known. But some things are so commanded, that they may be observed and done, or prohibited that they should not be done, such as "Honour father and mother" and "Thou shalt not commit adultery". Of these commands and prohibitions, some are hidden mysteries, come to an end with the Old Dispensation, e. g. the Sabbath and unclean foods. But others are still in force for Christians *ad uitam piam exercendam moresque*, and these are collected in this *Speculum*, together with a few words about the rewards and punishments of the good and bad. Scripture history and Scripture mysteries may be sought for elsewhere: here is something for the plain believer to do or avoid.' I have greatly abbreviated the Preface, but what I have left gives the plan of the work; it does not seem to me impossible that with such an object in view Augustine should have chosen the text of the Revised Version of Jerome, without in the

¹ Dr Weihrich (p. xiii) further urges that in Possidius's Life of Augustine (c. 28) he mentions the *Speculum* immediately after telling us that Augustine left several works unfinished at the time of his death in 430.

² *Quod . . . fecerit*, i.e. Augustine in his own person follows the LXX ἐποίησεν, not the Vulgate creauit.

least abating the claims of the ecclesiastical text or any intention of abandoning it for the future.

Dr Weihrich's theory is that the author of this Preface and of the shorter Introductions to Proverbs, Canticles, and Acts, an author who habitually quotes from the 'Old Latin', cannot be the person who arranged the extracts from the Vulgate which form the bulk of the *Speculum*. But it appears to me quite possible, if that person was S. Augustine, writing with the declared object of exhibiting only the plain commands and prohibitions of Scripture. In fact, the compiler of the *Speculum* almost apologizes for not inserting some familiar proof-texts, on the ground of their unsuitableness and mystery. He says¹ that almost the whole Book of Proverbs, if properly understood, is suitable for teaching moral conduct; but here he will leave out certain passages which are really deeper and more mysterious than appears on the surface. 'For what seems clearer and at the same time more silly, if you take the literal sense, than *Ab aqua aliena abstine te et de fonte alieno ne biberis?*'² Then he quotes two other verses from the Old Latin, the latter of which is *non enim nascuntur filii malignis*,³ adding 'All such things we are leaving out of the *Speculum*, that its contents may be quite clear to those who wish to live well and only desire to be plainly told what to do'. Of course the famous proof-text *Ab aqua aliena*, which is one of the additions to the Book of Proverbs found in the LXX but not in the Masoretic text, would really have suited Augustine's moral purpose very well, because it obviously means 'Do not commit adultery'. But the African Church from Cyprian and Nemesianus onwards applied it as a warning against heretical baptism. No doubt, therefore, Augustine regarded the distich as a clear example of the prophetic inspiration of the Seventy. Nevertheless this use was an applied one, something to be made by the Church rather than the individual layman, and for the *Speculum*, designed for laymen rather than theologians, it would give Augustine no qualms to use a version of the Bible in which a famous but metaphorical saying had no place.

The section devoted to Canticles (pp. 74, 75) consists of a Preface (*Restat ille . . . caritatem*), followed by four short quotations from the Vulgate text. The quotations in the Preface are from the Old Latin, including two from the N. T. No doubt S. Augustine was quoting from his own memory, his own knowledge of the Divine Library, and so he does it in the version most familiar to him. Even John xv 13 is given according to the Old Latin with *caritas* instead of *dilectio*, and without *quis*. S. Augustine was no pedant in such matters. In *De*

¹ CSEL p. 48 f.

² Proverbs ix 18^b (LXX).

³ Proverbs xxiv 20 (LXX).

Ciuitate xiv 7 he expressly controverts those who thought *aliud esse Dilectionem siue Caritatem, aliud Amorem*.

With Augustine's avowed ethical purpose in compiling the *Speculum*, and his peculiar views about the inspiration of the variations and additions introduced by the LXX, it is possible to understand how he was prepared to edit a book of extracts from the Vulgate. But on the assumption of Dr Weihrich that the Vulgate text was introduced by a later editor, it is difficult to see why this later editor let the Old Latin quotations stand in the Introductions. The two parts are quite continuous, as follows:—

'Unde ne ad ipsum solum hoc [i.e. John xv 13] pertinere uideretur, ait Iohannes in epistula sua *Sicut Christus pro nobis animam suam posuit, sic et nos debemus animas pro fratribus ponere*:¹ hoc ergo est quoad usque uelit.² Legitur etiam in eodem Cantico *Ordinate in me caritatem*.³

'Christus quoque ipse ibi dicit: *Pulchra es, . . . Hierusalem*.⁴ Et alibi: *Quam pulchra . . . in deliciis*!⁵ Et alio loco: *Pone me ut signaculum . . . aemulatio*.⁶ Et post unum uersum: *Aquae multae . . . despicient eum*.⁷

Here the chapter on Canticles ends and the extracts from Job begin. It seems to me very difficult to understand why a compiler, who according to Weihrich's theory has put the last four extracts into the Vulgate text, should not at the same time have altered *Ordinate in me caritatem* into *Ordinavit in me caritatem*. It must be remembered that at the time when Augustine wrote the only method of indicating the 'texts' was either transcription, or else marking the passages in a codex. There was no numeration of chapters in most of the books, and certainly no system of verses. Cant. ii 4 is a symbol that for us may stand either for the words in the Vulgate or in the Old Latin, but any system of indication known to Augustine must have contained the word *Ordinate* or *Ordinavit*. And if the system actually adopted by the Bishop of Hippo was to make marks in a codex (for mechanical transcription by others) then it is not a work of mechanical transcription but a work of Biblical erudition to identify the passages in a Vulgate codex that really correspond to the marked passages in the hypothetical Old Latin codex. The theory that Augustine marked his extracts for

¹ 1 John iii 16 (not vg).

² Cant. viii 4, quoted previously, from the LXX.

³ Cant. ii 4 (LXX).

⁴ Cant. vi 3 (vg).

⁵ Cant. vii 6 (vg).

⁶ Cant. viii 6 (vg).

⁷ Cant. viii 7 (vg): *despicient eum* (sic, P² R S) is no doubt the genuine text of the *Speculum* and of Jerome's version as well (sic, CUL Dd. 8. 12), but Cod. Amiatinus and many MSS have *despiciet eum*, while most late MSS and the Clementine Vulgate have *despiciet eam*.

the *Speculum* in a Vulgate codex has its difficulties, but Wehrich's theory of the systematic substitution of one text for the other appears to me much more difficult, when we attempt to imagine it in detail.

The greatest difficulty that I find in accepting the traditional text of the *Speculum* as being really Augustine's compilation is that it implies a use of the Vulgate text of the whole of the N.T., not only of the O.T. and the Gospels. If the *Speculum* be, as the Maurists took it, and as I am attempting to take it, a compilation made at Hippo in 427, then it is the earliest tangible evidence we possess for the Vulgate N.T. apart from the Gospels. Apart from the Gospels, the Vulgate N.T. was certainly not in ecclesiastical use at Hippo during Augustine's episcopate. Indeed, it appears to me not so very improbable that Augustine may have considered that the best use to which he could put Jerome's scholarly revision of the Bible was to mark for private study those passages which were ethically useful, seeing that in his opinion the version, as a whole, whatever its scientific merits, was not suitable to replace the other ecclesiastical text in the services of the Church. In all this, of course, an exception has to be made for the Vulgate Gospels, which will be considered presently.

The evidence afforded by Augustine's remarks on the 'Apostolic Decree' (*Speculum*, p. 199) does not seem to me more decisive than his quotations from the Old Latin of Proverbs or Canticles. He gives the three texts in which are enumerated the things from which Gentiles are required to abstain (Acts xv 20, xv 29, xxi 25) according to the Vulgate text, i. e. with the four categories of 'what is offered to idols', 'blood', 'what is strangled', 'fornication'. He then goes on to point out in his own words that the general meaning of the Decree was to take away the burden of the Old Law from Gentile believers, except for certain general rules, not (as some thought) to declare that the only deadly sins were Idolatry, Homicide, and Fornication, meaning by the last term all unlawful sexual intercourse. Thus in his own words he speaks of *three* prohibitions, like the Old Latin generally, while the extracts from the Vulgate attest the addition of *καὶ πνικτῶν*, and so seem to make *four* prohibitions.

That Augustine should use the Old Latin in his own remarks while giving the extracts from the Vulgate is, as I have shewn, only what he does elsewhere in the *Speculum*. It is also clear that both Augustine and the Vulgate text are agreed that the 'Apostolic Decree' is meant to forbid certain particular practices, not to define the only deadly sins. It might seem, however, inconceivable that Augustine should speak of three prohibitions just after having given extracts from the Bible which enumerate four. But is it quite certain that the Vulgate does enumerate four categories? Is it not likely that Gaudentius really

does represent the meaning, at least of the Latin Vulgate, when he says *a sanguine, id est suffocatis*? That is to say, that the addition of *suffocato* or *suffocatis* really serves to define *sanguine*, not to create a new category of prohibited things. Certainly the true text of the Vulgate in Acts xv 29 appears to be *ab immolatis simulacrorum et sanguine suffocato et fornicatione*, without *et* before *suffocato*.¹ With such a text before him any one who had been hitherto accustomed to speak of three prohibitions might still consider himself at liberty to do so.

It is certain, at least, that Augustine's exegesis of the passage never changed. To him abstinence *a sanguine* meant neither a forbidding of homicide as Tertullian thought,² nor of animal food as Faustus the Manichee would have liked. '*A sanguine*,' says Augustine to Faustus (xxxii 13), '*id est, ne quicquam ederet carnis cuius sanguis non esset effusus. quod alii non sic intellegunt, sed a sanguine praeceptum esse abstinendum ne quis homicidio se continet*'.³

Probably I have said enough to make my point of view sufficiently clear. As I confessed at the beginning, Weihrich's theory is in some ways attractive, and the plan of Augustine's *Speculum* makes a wholesale substitution of text not so improbable as it would be in any other work of Christian antiquity. But I think the theory raises more difficulties in detail than it solves. On the other hand, the very peculiar views of Augustine about the LXX, viz. that it was precious rather for its inspiration than for its fidelity to the original, coupled with the avowed ethical and unallegorical aim of the *Speculum*, do in my opinion explain how Augustine could compile a book of extracts from the Vulgate while retaining the current ecclesiastical text both for his own literary use and for public worship. I have compared Augustine's attitude towards the Septuagint with that of many Anglicans towards the Authorized Version. It is surely not so very hard to imagine an Anglican parish priest who would stoutly resist attempts to have anything but the Old Version read in Church, who nevertheless would be quite willing to prepare a set of suitable passages from the Revised Version to be learnt by heart in Sunday School. That is the modern analogy that I suggest to illustrate the textual phenomena of Augustine's *Speculum*.

F. C. BURKITT.

¹ This is clearly also the text of the *Speculum* p. 198 line 17 (*om. et CS*).

² See *De Pudicitia* § 12.

³ Augustine goes on to explain that there is really no law against Christians eating hare which has only been knocked on the head.

THE PERAEAN MINISTRY.

IF it is permissible in the present state of synoptic opinion to find a weak point in St Mark, that point might be discovered in the description of the period which immediately precedes the last week at Jerusalem. So meagre is our information as to the events which must have filled the interval between the feeding of the five thousand and the transition chapter (x), that Prof. Burkitt suggests a period of some eight months spent in the comparatively lengthy journey which carried our Lord northward through Tyre and Sidon. By supposing such a period it is possible to fix January A.D. 29 as the date of the southward journey of Mark x 1, after allowing a month or two for the feeding of the four thousand and the events near Caesarea Philippi. It is the object of this paper to suggest that the months of which St Mark gives us no satisfactory record were not spent in seclusion in Phoenicia or the Lebanon, but were occupied by the Judaeian and Peraean ministry, of which we have a fairly detailed account in St John's Gospel. Such a theory might also go far to remove the difficulty which lies in the opening words of St Mark x *καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἀναστὰς ἔρχεται εἰς τὰ ὄρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας (καὶ) πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*.

To mention briefly the ordinary view of the course of events: crossing the Jordan by the fords south of the Lake of Galilee, our Lord and His disciples journeyed southwards through Peraea, thus avoiding Samaritan territory. In the course of this journey, the Pharisees asked their question concerning divorce, the children were blessed, and our Lord gave His warning against riches. There followed a reannouncement of the Passion, St James and St John preferred their request for future precedence, and the travellers reached Jericho, apparently about a week before the crucifixion.

In view of the awkwardness of translating *καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου* 'by the trans-jordanic route', Prof. Burkitt suggests that the western reading, which omits *καί*, is correct, and that the party divided, some with St Peter travelling through Peraea, others with St James and St John and our Lord through Samaria. From his point of view in Peraea, St Peter could then speak of our Lord's journey as *πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*.

To discuss this view first.

(i) It is a strange thing that describing the journey so long after-

wards St Peter should adopt this point of view. Surely διὰ Σαμαρίας would have been the natural phrase. Further, *πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου* seems to be practically a technical term for Peraea in the New Testament; and it would be almost otiose if, as here, the 'borders of Judaea' were mentioned.

(ii) In Mk iii 8 we have the phrase following the preposition ἀπό, after other words have intervened, where there can be no doubt that it represents the country known to the LXX as ἡ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου and called by Josephus ἡ Περαιά (cf. Swete *St Mark* p. 55). In that passage the author of Mt. makes no change, as there is no difficulty in the obvious meaning. But here (Mk. x 1, Mt. iv 25) supposing the *NB* reading in Mk. to be correct, Mt. omits the καί apparently because he believed that the territory beyond Jordan was of necessity visited before Judaea, and not later than Judaea, as the words seem to imply. Hence he tried, as did the versions, and the Western and later authorities, to refer the difficult words to the *route* which our Lord followed on His way to Judaea. To one without other definite information on the point, such a conclusion from the surface 'run' of the story in St Mark is not unreasonable, and it is not difficult to see how the καί may have been *omitted*. On the other hand, if we are to suppose with Prof. Burkitt that the Western reading (ομι καί) is correct, it is not easy to account for the insertion of καί in *NB*, except as a careless error. The internal evidence seems to be in favour of its retention.

(iii) The question of divorce, which would be natural enough in Peraea, Herod's territory (especially if Prof. Burkitt's suggestion be accepted, that ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπολύσασα τὸν ἄνδρα refers to Herodias's action), would be much less easy to understand in Judaea.

(iv) In Mk. x 28 we find St Peter in company with our Lord, *before* they reach Jericho.

On the whole, there seems no adequate justification for Prof. Burkitt's suggested division of forces. The reading on which it is founded is not by any means certain, and it raises its own difficulties.

At the same time the traditional view is also unsatisfactory, on other grounds than that of the reading. There is a hint of a break at Mk. x 32, and the words ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναβαίνοντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα may suggest a new situation or a progress temporarily checked. Mt.'s μέλλων δὲ ἀναβαίνειν may give the same impression. This impression is strengthened by the incident of the blessing of the children, where Dr Salmon feels so strongly that the account suggests that the mothers knew our Lord well, that he associates it with the farewell to old friends in Galilee. The gathering of the crowds, and the teaching by parables, suit far better a period of ministry than

a journey among the pilgrim crowds. When we add to this the fact that there is no mention of Jerusalem as the final goal in Mk. x 1, it seems not impossible that at any rate the source of St Mark's information did not treat our Lord's movements during the transition stage as a continuous progress.

Is there, then, any possibility of re-interpretation? St Matthew seems to follow St Mark so closely in general outline that he does not help us, while St Luke confuses the reader so much that one is driven to suspect that even his zeal for chronology was baffled. But St John is definite, and writes with a calm certainty which is astonishing. His story, written, no doubt, with full knowledge of the version widely current through oral tradition and the Synoptic Gospels, is this. In the autumn of 28 A.D. our Lord was in Galilee. His brethren were going up to the Feast of Tabernacles. They dared our Lord to go too. Probably they misinterpreted His new policy of retirement from popularity and opposition alike. Our Lord refused to accompany them. He wished to appear in Jerusalem independently: His public reception in the city was for a later, His own, time. This agrees remarkably with His attitude as represented in Mk. ix 30 *οὐκ ἤθελεν ἵνα τις γινῶι*, immediately before the departure of Mk. x 1. As He had said, He did *not* go up to keep the Feast, for He arrived in Jerusalem late for it, but He devoted Himself to teaching. Once more He was unsuccessful, and officers were sent to arrest Him. A few days later He narrowly escaped stoning. It can hardly be doubted that after this He retired for a time, and no place seems more likely than Peraea. But He refused to give up hope of the Holy City. We are reminded of St Paul's untiring efforts to win over his own nation as we see our Lord boldly returning to His dangerous work at the Dedication Feast in December of the same year. His stay was short, for His arrest was again attempted. He retired again, this time we are definitely told *πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*, to the place where John had been baptizing. Peraea, then, was still a safe retreat for Him, far enough from Herod's court at Tiberias, and the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem. It had evidently been a narrow escape, for, when news came that His friend was ill, the disciples were urgent against such a perilous step as a visit to Bethany (Jo. xi 8). None the less, after a short delay, perhaps in order that there might be less popular excitement if He did not at once respond to the message, He made the venture, and His disciples accompanied Him; to certain death, as they thought (Jo. xi 16). As so often, daring carried the day, but discretion suggested not only a hurried flight, but a change of refuge. Our Lord now retired to a lonely spot on the west of the river, a town called Ephraim, overlooking the Jordan Valley and

the Dead Sea. It is easy to imagine the relief of His companions, and their dismay when He once more took the southward road and passed with the crowd of Passover pilgrims through Jericho and up to Jerusalem.

Here then we have a coherent and reasonable account of a winter season devoted to a last attempt to win over the heart of the Jewish nation. It would appear that it was only when feast times brought up crowds of pilgrims from Galilee, and when to the authorities a disturbance was specially undesirable, that our Lord delivered His message in the capital, and we cannot doubt that those whom He chose as His followers on these occasions would view each new approach to the Holy City with greater apprehension. How does this account bear on the difficulties discussed above?

(i) It gives some explanation of the curious reading of $\aleph B$ in Mk. x 1. According to it our Lord may very well have taken the Samaritan route (Jo. vii 14), especially if it was the less frequented one. St Luke seems to have found clear traces of such a journey (Lk. ix 52). St Peter, remembering that in that winter of rapid movements, Judaea was first visited, may have expressed the events compendiously. The Lord paid visits to Judaea and visits to Peraea. Thinking of these various visits he says $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\alpha\ \delta\omicron\rho\iota\alpha\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \text{Ἰουδαίας}$, and not $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \text{Ἱερουσαλήμ}$; and we seem to have traces of such a ministry in the parable of the Good Samaritan, in that of the Pharisee and the Publican, and in the scene at Bethany (Lk. x 30, xviii 9, x 38). But selection was necessary, and to St Peter this ministry did not seem of primary importance.

(ii) The interval between Tabernacles and Dedication of 28 A.D. may have been filled by public teaching in Peraea, which district had not hitherto been visited to any extent by Christ. The Pharisees heard of it and tried to induce our Lord to commit Himself definitely in the matter of Herod's matrimonial relations. If, as Dr Verrall suggests (*J. T. S.* vol. x pp. 325 ff), Herod was not disposed to take a violent line against our Lord, they may have hoped to rouse the same resentment which had proved fatal to the Baptist. It may even be that their attack closed a period of parabolic teaching.

(iii) On this hypothesis the earlier part of Mk. x (verses 1-31) may contain a few incidents of a Peraean ministry late in 28, and verse 32 may mark the point where the small party started on their last journey to Jerusalem, from the city Ephraim. At first the disciples were dazed and hung back; when our Lord called up the Twelve and uttered the fatal word 'Jerusalem', they were more disposed to credit the prediction of death, than the promise of resurrection. But as they met the bands of pilgrims on the road their spirits revived; the old visions

of successful nationalism returned, and St James and St John began to think that they should secure pre-eminence in the coming Kingdom. In this spirit they passed down to Jericho, and up to Jerusalem.

It may be objected, however, that St Peter cannot well have been ignorant of the course of events, and would hardly have passed over such a critical period with so brief a notice. In reply it may be said :—

(i) That St Peter's chief interest was evidently in our Lord's miracles and in the gradual steps by which he and his fellow-apostles were led to faith. He was anxious to produce the same effect on his hearers. But the period in question here was one of much apprehension and considerable discouragement. Hence only a few incidents are recorded, which struck him as homogeneous with the previous story.

(ii) Inasmuch as the active life was more attractive to St Peter than the contemplative, the Jerusalem controversies can have produced but little impression on him. They played no part in his own personal passage to faith, which was rather on the emotional than on the intellectual line, and at the date of his Roman preaching their particular message had not been called to his remembrance by the rise of false doctrines.

But of course the crucial point is the incident of Lazarus, and the difficulty of reconciling St John's passion for truth with a supposed misleading lapse into metaphor. The whole setting of the story is so marvellously circumstantial and even unexpected in its course, that were its climax other than the raising of the dead it could hardly fail to be taken literally. But such a miracle, it is claimed, (i) is alien in its consequences to the developement of the story in St Mark, and (ii) could never have been left untold by St Peter.

In regard to the second point, it is perhaps permissible to ask whether St Peter was necessarily present at all. On such a perilous expedition, our Lord may well have taken with Him only one or two personal companions, among them Thomas. A small party would be less likely to attract hostile notice. On the other hand, if St Peter was present and knew the details, he may not have found the event one of the turning-points in his own faith, and so may not have pressed it in his preaching. Galilee was to him the scene of his rise, Jerusalem of his fall. Again, and this touches the first objection raised, he may not have seen its connexion with the final arrest of our Lord. An exaggerated value is put nowadays on the Marcan account, as if, because it is vivid and practical, it was necessarily adequate. It may be suggested that it is the course of history as seen by one who simply judged from external events. Not realizing the deeper motives

which actuated the religious Jews and their leaders, he found in the cleansing of the Temple the explanation of the tragedy: St Luke, from his briefer account of that cleansing, would seem to have thought that it was over-emphasized in Mark. In any case, had the cleansing been a really great disturbance, the Roman Governor could not have failed to notice it, and it would surely have been brought in definite evidence before Pilate, who had so recently taken bloody vengeance on Galileans. When we add to this St John's deliberate change of situation for the incident, it is surely not impossible that the common Synoptic story is not only not exclusive of any other account, but is not even in itself adequate. Now the writer or the ultimate authority for the fourth Gospel seems certainly to have had some knowledge of the Sadducean aristocracy, and came to the deliberate conclusion that it was the danger of popular defection to a strong belief in a future life which brought them into action. The scene in the Sanhedrin in Acts xxiii is sufficient to shew how strong the feeling ran on this point. It was the Resurrection which secured the Sadducean hatred of the early Church; and it gives a continuity to their sentiment if we can accept the statement that their hostility was first aroused by a raising of the dead. Are the Synoptic Gospels wholly out of sympathy with this point of view? We must in any case reckon with the question put by the Sadducees (Mk. xii 23). They could not put Lazarus back into the tomb, but they could try to reduce the doctrine to an absurdity, and, no doubt, account for Lazarus's case as one of apparent death or of demon intervention. Unless our Lord had given rise to some uneasiness on the question, we can hardly see why the question was put. On the other hand, if, as St Matthew narrates, the authorities were so anxious to make the Tomb secure, they must have had some tangible ground for apprehension. The mass of the evidence is strongly against any theory of an intended fraud on the part of the disciples by theft of the Body. If the authorities were afraid, they must have feared a repetition of some such case as that of Lazarus, whatever the excuse they gave to Pilate. So far as we are told, our Lord's predictions of His resurrection were given to His own followers, and were simply unintelligible to them. It is difficult enough to believe that when they filtered through to His enemies they gave ground for disquiet. But if the Lazarus incident be true, we can form some idea of the course of reasoning which led up to the setting of the watch and the sealing of the tomb.

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THE EARLY CULTUS OF THE RESERVED EUCCHARIST.

IN re-editing last year the *History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain* by the late Fr Bridgett, I ventured, perhaps a little rashly, to commit myself in a footnote to the following statement: 'The strange thing is that in all the Christian literature of the first thousand years no one has apparently yet found a single clear and definite statement that any person visited a church in order to pray before the body of Christ, which was kept upon the altar; while, on the other hand, we do begin to find such statements by degrees more and more explicitly made from the twelfth and thirteenth century onwards.' In a notice of this work which appears in *The Church Quarterly Review* of October 1909, the writer quotes the first part of this sentence and expresses his dissent. 'Is not,' he asks (p. 203), 'the passage in the *Orations* of St Gregory of Nazianzus, in which he describes how in her illness his sister Gorgonia by night "betook herself to the Physician of all, and fell down before the altar in faith, calling on Him who is honoured thereon" such an instance?'

This passage (*Orat.* viii 18) is of course a very well-known one. Both by Corblet (*Histoire de l'Eucharistie*) and by Raible (*Der Tabernakel einst und jetzt*), to which books I had referred in the same note, it is quoted as evidence of an early practice of visiting the Blessed Sacrament.¹ The latter writer indeed calls it 'ein klassisches Beispiel der Besuchung oder Visitatio SS. Sacramenti'. I should be glad enough to be able to interpret the passage in the same sense as the reviewer and Messrs Raible and Corblet; but surely it offers some serious difficulties. As the question of the cultus of the reserved Eucharist in the early Christian centuries is one of importance in its bearing upon modern practice, I am encouraged to ask for space to discuss these difficulties here.

The text of the passage runs as follows:—

Τί οὖν ἡ μεγάλη καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀξία ψυχῇ, καὶ τίς ἡ ἰατρεία τοῦ πάθους; ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἤδη καὶ τὸ ἀπόρητον. Πάντων ἀπογνοῦσα τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπὶ τὸν πάντων ἱατρὸν καταφεύγει, καὶ νυκτὸς ἁωρίαν τηρήσασα, μικρὸν ἐνδούσης αὐτῇ τῆς νόσου, τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προσπίπτει μετὰ τῆς πίστεως, καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τιμώμενον ἀνακαλουμένη μεγάλη τῇ βοῇ καὶ πάσαις ταῖς κλήσεσι, καὶ

¹ The passage is also constantly referred to by Bossuet and his opponents in the controversy upon the question of Communion under two kinds. See Bossuet *Œuvres*, ed. 1827, vol. xi pp. 48 and 374.

πασῶν αὐτὸν τῶν πρόποτε δυνάμεων ὑπομνήσασα, σοφὴ γὰρ ἐκείνη καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ νέα, τέλος εὐσεβῆ τινα καὶ καλὴν ἀναισχυντίαν ἀναισχυντεῖ· μιμεῖται τὴν τοῖς κρασπέδοις Χριστοῦ ξηράνασαν πηγὴν αἵματος. Καὶ τί ποιεῖ; Τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐαυτῆς προσθείσα μετὰ τῆς ἰσῆς βοῆς, καὶ δάκρυσι τοῦτο πλουσίους, ὥσπερ τις πάλαι τοὺς πόδας Χριστοῦ, καταβρέχουσα, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἀνῆσειν, ἢ τῆς ὑγιείας τυχεῖν ἀπειλοῦσα· εἴτα τῷ παρ' ἐαυτῆς φαρμάκῳ τούτῳ τὸ σῶμα πᾶν ἐπαλείφουσα, καὶ εἰ πού τι τῶν ἀντιτύπων τοῦ τιμίου σώματος ἢ τοῦ αἵματος ἢ χεῖρ ἐθισαύρισε, τοῦτο καταμιγνύσα τοῖς δάκρυσιν, ὡ τοῦ θαύματος, ἀπῆλθεν εὐθὺς αἰσθομένη τῆς σωτηρίας, κούφη καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ διάνοιαν, μισθὸν ἐλπίδος λαβοῦσα τὸ ἐλπιδόμενον, καὶ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς εὐρωστίᾳ κομισαμένη τὴν τοῦ σώματος. Ταῦτα μεγάλα μὲν, οὐ ψευδῆ δέ.

Now, of course, if we start with the conviction that by the words 'Him who is honoured thereon' (τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τιμώμενον) is meant Christ who is continually present upon the altar, the question is at an end. But have we any reason to assume that the arrangement which we commonly see in churches at the present day, and according to which the Blessed Sacrament is reserved upon the high altar, was practised in the days of St Gregory? I know of none, except such reason as is furnished by what we find in the remainder of this extract. Taken by itself it seems to me that when we read in any early document of a person visiting a church to pray to 'Him who is honoured upon' the altar,¹ we cannot legitimately infer more than that the devotee wished to pray to God who is honoured and present 'upon' that altar every time the holy Liturgy is celebrated there. In other words, as I conceive, the early Christians visited a church, not as the place in which Christ constantly dwelt, but as a place which He frequented. If there were evidence forthcoming *aliunde* that at this period the reserved Eucharist was permanently kept upon the altar, the case would be different; but is there any evidence sufficient to prove this? The passage of Optatus of Milevis which is often appealed to in this connexion (*de schis. Don.* vi 1; Migne *P. L.* xi c. 1066) seems distinctly to tell the other way. The altar is there no doubt called *sedes et corporis et sanguinis Christi*, and it is even referred to as the place *ubi corpus Christi habitabat*; but on the other hand all this must be interpreted according to the words which describe the altar in the same context as the place 'where Christ's body and blood dwelt for a certain brief space' ('Quid vos offenderat Christus cuius illic per certa momenta corpus et sanguis habitabant?')

None the less, I may possibly be told, it is precisely what follows in the present extract which puts the matter beyond dispute. Did not

¹ It has been suggested to me that ἐπ' αὐτῷ need mean no more than 'at it.'

Gorgonia put forth her hand, take from the altar the Body and Blood of Christ, and anoint herself therewith ?

The passage is by no means clear, and I am not even sure what is the precise interpretation adopted by my critic ; but there seem at any rate to be three main possibilities.

(a) Gorgonia brought with her in her hand, or fetched from her chamber, a portion of 'the antitypes of the precious body *or* blood'.

This is clearly the interpretation followed by Bossuet and Corblet, and is perhaps the most common.

(b) Gorgonia took from a receptacle upon the altar 'the antitypes of the body or blood' which she mingled with her tears.

This I imagine to be the interpretation preferred by my critic, because otherwise he has no reason to suppose a visit to the Blessed Sacrament to be meant, or to assume that the Eucharist was reserved in the church. As already observed, the prayer 'to Him who is honoured upon the altar' by itself does not prove this.

This also appears to be the interpretation implied in Dr Darwell Stone's translation of the passage in his *History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*.¹

'Placing her head on the altar, with another great cry and with a wealth of tears like one who of old bedewed the feet of Christ, and declaring that she would not let go until she was made well, she then applied to her whole body this medicine which she had, even such a portion of the antitypes of the honourable body and (*sic*) blood as she treasured in her hand and mingled with this act her tears.'

(c) Gorgonia visited the altar as God's resting-place, and then put out her hand in the hope of finding some few crumbs or traces of the sacred species, such as would hardly fail to be left where the liturgy was frequently celebrated.

This, though not free from difficulty, is the explanation which seems to me the most satisfactory.

And first, the puzzle obviously created by interpretation (a) is this. Why, if Gorgonia already had the Blessed Eucharist in her possession, did she consider it necessary to go to the church and throw herself before the altar? Still more, why should she do this at the dead of night, waiting until there was some temporary amelioration in her illness? If she had wished to 'anoint' herself with the sacred species, as of course we know from St Cyril of Jerusalem that Christians did in a partial way when receiving the chalice, it would have been easy for her to do this in her chamber when her illness was at its worst. Even if we assume that the Eucharist was reserved upon the altar, the

¹ Vol. i pp. 106 f.

description given by St Gregory, and especially the oratorical effect as of a climax of pious audacity—a sudden inspiration—which is conspicuous in the passage, does not seem to me to fit the case of one who had deliberately brought the Holy Eucharist down with her in her hand knowing quite well what she was going to do.

With regard to interpretation (b), it has been pointed out to me that the aorist ἐθησαύρισεν implies a momentary act of appropriation. It is not, as Dr Stone's rendering implies, that Gorgonia 'treasured' something she already possessed, but that she then and there 'made' something 'her treasure', 'took possession of' it. And the whole indefinite form of the statement and especially the conjunction ἡ, instead of καί (εἰ πού τι τῶν ἀντιτύπων τοῦ τιμίου σώματος ἢ τοῦ αἵματος ἢ χεῖρ ἐθησαύρισεν), which Dr Stone ignores in his translation, seems ill to describe the act of one who deliberately opens a receptacle and takes out what is contained there. Besides, it is, to say the least, doubtful, whether the Eucharist was so commonly reserved under the species of wine as to make it likely that St Gregory would suggest such an alternative.

I am inclined then to regard (c) as offering the most probable solution. Gorgonia, after protracted suffering, awaits an opportunity when she can throw herself unobserved before the altar of God. Moved with the spirit of the woman with the issue of blood, she clings to the altar and tells Him she will not let go until she be made well. She bedews her body not with 'this already mentioned remedy she had', but with 'this remedy which came from herself' (τῷ παρ' ἐαυτῆς φαρμάκῳ τούτῳ), i.e. her tears—tears of faith like those of the woman who was a sinner—mingling with these tears whatever crumbs or traces of the species of the sacred body or blood her (moist) hand had enriched itself with. Dr Darwell Stone seems to understand 'this medicine which she had' as the Blessed Sacrament itself, and he makes the following καί explanatory, 'even such a portion of the antitypes', &c.; but I do not clearly see the need for this violence.

There is one more difficulty, a historical one. Had Gorgonia received baptism at the time this incident occurred? When she died, it is Gregory himself tells us so, she had only *recently* been baptized (*Orat.* viii 14 and 20). But this sickness from which she recovered by miracle was not her last sickness. Moreover, Gregory speaks with admiration of her keeping the miracle concealed, and he implies (cap. 16) that he and Faustinus, bishop of Iconium, who alone shared the secret, had known it and kept silence for some time. If we may suppose that Gorgonia was still unbaptized when this miraculous cure took place, her pious audacity in clasping the altar and watering it with her tears is thrown into higher relief; moreover, we can conceive that one unbaptized might adopt this course, seeing that to receive, touch,

or even look upon the Holy Eucharist in the ordinary way with the rest of the initiated was necessarily denied her. Like the Canaanitish woman she may have bethought herself that the whelps also eat of the crumbs that fall from their master's table.

In any case—and that is the only point for which I am contending—this story of the miraculous cure of Gorgonia offers too many points of ambiguity to allow us to appeal to it for proof that the Christians of the fourth century were accustomed to visit the churches in order to pray before the Blessed Eucharist reserved there. I should be glad enough to meet with evidence which would establish satisfactorily the high antiquity of such a practice; but I do not think that we can find it in the passage before us.

HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

THE RULE OF ST BENEDICT.

I

THE BENEVENTO MS.

IN a review of the Monte Cassino edition of the *Regula S. Benedicti*, 1900, in *J. T. S.* of April 1902,¹ I sketched in outline the broad facts of the MS tradition of St Benedict's Rule, and indicated the chief problems that an editor has to face. As I now have in hand myself, not a scientific edition (for this is in course of preparation by Dr. H. Plenkens for the Vienna Corpus), but an 'editio critico-practica', aiming at providing a good text in a form suitable for everyday use in Benedictine houses, I wish to clear up a point of great critical importance left open on the former occasion; in order that I may be able in my edition to use the result without more discussion than a reference to this Note.

The point at issue is one raised by the late Prof. Traube in his admirable *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*.² Not to repeat what was said in the former article, it will suffice to state that at Monte Cassino in the eighth century was a copy of the Rule believed to be St Benedict's autograph. Whether really the autograph or not (and eminent critics, as Traube, hold that it was), it certainly contained the best text of the Rule known to us, and an editor's duty is to get back to it as closely as the extant materials will allow. A copy of it was made for Charles the Great, and of the offspring of this copy several members still exist. A Cassinese MS (Cassinense by origin) of the early part of the tenth century contains a text of the Rule manifestly derived from the 'autograph'; and the question at issue is: Is it one of

¹ Vol. iii p. 458.

² München, 1898, pp. 107-109.

the 'Carolingian group', i.e. of the group derived from Charles's copy; or does it go back to the 'autograph' by an independent line of descent?—a question manifestly of primary importance for the textual criticism of the Rule. The presumption would be that this MS represents an independent Monte Cassino tradition; but in my previous article the reasons were summarized which induced Traube to surmise that it also is a member of the Carolingian group, and so of no independent critical value.¹ It was explained also that the verification of Traube's surmise depends on the textual relationship between the copy of the Rule contained in this Cassinese MS, and that contained in a Benevento MS of the same date ('Saec. ix-x'), now Barberini xi 64, in the Vatican Library.

I have obtained photographs of cc. 7, 8, 9 of the Rule in the Barberini MS, material amply sufficient for the investigation in hand. I find that, as might be expected from the other contents of the volume, the Barberini MS presents a Carolingian text of the Rule, but in a very contaminated form, having in a high degree undergone that process of correction whereby the later scribes eliminated the Low Latin element and other irregularities of the text as St Benedict wrote it, thus producing the 'Textus Receptus' now in use.² This process is discernible also in the Cassinese MS, but in a far less degree. But the process of correction appears to be quite different in the two MSS, so as not to suggest any near relationship—indeed so as to suggest quite the opposite. To shew that this is so, is the object of the present Note. The following symbols will be employed:—

Carl = reconstructed text of Charles the Great's copy of the 'autograph'; and so presumably the text of the 'autograph' itself.

Cass = Cassinese MS 175.

Barb = Barberini MS xi 64, now numbered 421.

T. R. = Textus Receptus, which had been formed by the ninth century, and even earlier.

(1) In c. 7 (towards beginning of First Degree of Humility) we read:

Carl et custodiens se omni hora a peccatis et vitiis, id est cogitationum, linguae, manuum, pedum, vel voluntatis propriae, sed et desideria carnis.

Here the grammar is at fault,³ and T. R. corrects it by adding at the end *amputare festinet*. *Barb* has this correction, but not *Cass*.

(2) In c. 8 (fin.):

¹ Art. *ut supra* pp. 462, 463.

² See my article, 'The Text of St Benedict's Rule', *Downside Review*, Dec. 1899.

³ Traube's suggestion, to read *sedet* (from *sedare*), is unconvincing and inadmissible.

Carl sic temperetur hora, ut Vigiliarum Agenda parvissimo intervallo, quo fratres ad necessaria naturae exeant, mox Matutini . . . subsequantur.

Here *Agenda* is a noun (= a canonical office, v. Du Cange) and is governed by *subsequantur*: 'let the hour be so regulated that Matins (i. e. Lauds) may follow the office of Vigils after a short interval.'

T. R. corrects as follows:—sic temperetur hora Vigiliarum agenda, ut parvissimo intervallo, quo . . . exeant, custodito, mox Matutini . . . subsequantur.

Here *agenda* is turned into a sort of gerundive agreeing with *hora*, translated usually 'the hour for saying the Vigils'. This is in reality by no means an improvement grammatically.

Barb agrees with T. R.; *Cass* with *Carl*.

(3) In c. 9 (init.):

Carl Hiemis tempore suprascripto inprimis versu tertio dicendum : Domine, labia mea aperies . . . ; cui subiungendus est tertius psalmus.

T. R. brings the passage into conformity with later usage, whereby the Vigils, like all the other offices, began with *Deus in adiutorium*, thus:—

Hiemis tempore, praemisso inprimis versu : Deus in adiutorium meum intende . . . in secundo dicendum : Domine, labia mea, &c.

Here again *Cass* agrees with *Carl* (but has *versum* and *dicendum est*); *Barb* agrees with T. R.

More significant are the cases in which the process of correction is discernible in both *Cass* and *Barb*, but has been carried out not on quite the same lines.

(4) In c. 7 (First Degree of Humility, init.):

Carl Semper sit memor omnia quae praecepit Deus, ut qualiter et contemnentes Deum gehenna de peccatis incendat, et vita aeterna, quae timentibus Deum praeparata est, animo suo semper evolvat.

T. R. reads : in gehennam de (al pro) peccatis incedunt (al incidunt), and corrects *omnia* into *omnium* and *vita aeterna* into *vitam aeternam*.

Cass tallies exactly with *Carl*, except that it has *omnium*. *Barb* retains *omnia*, but has *vitam aeternam*; and it reads: *in gehenna in peccatis incedat*.

(5) At beginning of c. 7 St Benedict quotes Ps. cxxx 2 :

Carl Si non humiliter sentiebam, si exaltavi animam meam. Sicut ablactatus super matrem suam, ita retribuisti in anima mea.

The Clementine Vulgate is : Si non humiliter sentiebam, sed exaltavi animam meam : sicut ablactatus est super matrem suam, ita retribuit in anima mea.

There has always been a tendency to assimilate the text to this form, and *Cass* and *Barb* both exhibit traces of this tendency. They both

read *ablactatus* (and they both have *in animam meam*, with many other MSS). But *Cass* has *sed* and *matre sua*; whereas *Barb* retains *si* and *matrem suam*, but reads *retribues* (with many other MSS, and probably the T. R. reading).

(6) In c. 7 (at middle of First Degree of Humility) St Benedict uses a combination of Prov. xvi 25 and xiv 12, as follows:—

Carl Sunt viae quae videntur ab hominibus rectae, where *ab* represents LXX παρά, O. L. *apud* (see Traube *op. cit.* 13).

This passage has been corrected in the later MSS in a twofold manner: either *ab* has been omitted; or *videntur* has been turned into *putantur*. *Cass* adopts the first correction, *Barb* the second. As the two MSS are of about the same date (± 900), this seems to afford positive evidence of their independence of each other.

It is the case that *Cass* and *Barb* are members of the same family of MSS, that which has descended from the Cassinese 'autograph'; but the evidence here recited all points to the conclusion that they are not closely akin—not brothers, but only distant cousins. In the section of *Barb* at my disposal, covering 300 lines of the text in the Monte Cassino edition, I have detected nothing that points the other way; and, did a close relation exist between the two MSS, it would surely reveal itself in so considerable a portion of the text.

Traube's surmise as to the origin of *Cass*, that it is one of the MSS derived from *Carl*, was based on the expectation that the copies of the Rule in *Cass* and *Barb* would prove to be closely related, even twin texts. This expectation was based, not on any examination of the text, for Traube had not seen *Barb*, but on the similarity of the other contents of the two MSS. It was only a surmise awaiting verification; and now that the case has been tested, it is found not to be justified by the facts.

It hardly need be pointed out that the close resemblance of *Cass* to *Carl* affords no reason whatever for supposing that *Cass* is derived from *Carl*; it means no more than that they both faithfully reproduced the text of the 'autograph'. Of course what has been brought forward does not precisely *prove* that *Cass* is not derived from *Carl*: it only removes the one specific reason that has been alleged for suspecting that it was. Thus we must fall back on the general likelihood of the case. In my former contribution (already referred to) I shewed that all the circumstantial evidence favours the presumption that the Cassinese monk who wrote *Cass* used a MS of the Rule embodying the domestic tradition of the text.

Thus it may be taken that the 'autograph' is now represented not only by the Carolingian group of MSS derived from *Carl*, but also by a Cassinese group, the protagonist of which is *Cass*, that goes back to

the 'autograph' independently of *Carl*. Consequently the editor of the Rule will be justified in regarding *Cass* as a witness to the Cassinese tradition of the text of the 'autograph', independent of, and collateral with, *Carl*.

II

ST BENEDICT AND THE *DUAE VIAE*.

The fourth chapter of St Benedict's Rule, entitled 'Quae sunt instrumenta bonorum operum', is a list of seventy-three moral precepts, or fundamental maxims of Christian conduct. It has been maintained that they are in large measure based on the early document the *Duae Viae*, which forms the first half of the *Didache*. As one of the features of my edition of the Rule will be an attempt to indicate St Benedict's sources, I wish to investigate the question thus raised, and to ascertain whether, and how far, St Benedict was indebted to this work. From the nature of the case attention may be confined to the Latin evidence.

The chief definite tangible reason for supposing that St Benedict was indebted to the *Duae Viae* is the form in which, in three places, he cites the 'Golden Rule'. His ninth Instrument in c. iv is:

'Et quod sibi quis fieri non vult, alio ne faciat.'

Similarly cc. lxi and lxx end with the words:

'Quia scriptum est: Quod tibi non vis fieri, alio¹ ne feceris.'

The latter is manifestly the more formal citation. In Matt. vii 12 (and the parallel passage, Luke vi 31) the Golden Rule is given in the positive form:

'Omnia ergo quaecunque vultis ut faciant vobis homines, et vos facite illis.'

But in the *Didache* (i 2) it is found in St Benedict's negative form:

'Omne autem quod tibi fieri non vis, alio non feceris' (Latin version, ed. Schlecht).

Also in the *Didascalía* (ii):

'Quod tibi fieri ab alio non vis, tu alio ne feceris' (Latin version, ed. Hauler).

It has been supposed that here there is a definite instance of St Benedict's dependence on the *Didache*. But the negative form of the Golden Rule may be traced back ultimately to one of two Biblical sources.²

¹ *Alio* is a well-recognized dative form (see *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*).

² The instances cited in the ensuing investigation are taken from Sabatier, Wordsworth and White, and Funk's long note on p. 4 of his edition of the *Didache: Doctrina XII Apostolorum*, 1887.

(1) Tobias iv 16 (15):

O.L. 'Et quod oderis, alio ne feceris': *or* 'quod oderis fieri tibi, non facias alio'.

Vg. 'Quod ab alio oderis fieri tibi, vide ne tu aliquando alteri facias.'

(2) A 'Western' addition to the Apostolic Decree, Acts xv 20 and 29. For 20 Wordsworth and White cite of Latin authorities only Cod. Bezae and the Armagh MS, and Irenaeus. But in 29 they cite a number of Latin authorities. The MSS, except Cod. Bezae, agree in the following text:

'Et (ea) quae vobis fieri non vultis, aliis ne feceritis.'

Cod. Bezae reads:

'Et quaecumque non vultis vobis fieri, alii ne feceritis.'

Verse 29 is quoted by Iren. (iii 12): 'quaecumque non vultis fieri vobis, aliis ne faciatis'; by Cyprian (Test. iii 119): 'quaecumque vobis fieri non vultis, alio (*al.* alii, aliis) ne feceritis'; and by Caspari's 'Auctor pelagianus' in the same form as Cyprian.

Moreover the negative Golden Rule occurs in various places as a maxim not referred to any source. The following Latin instances are prior to St Benedict:

Lampridius in *Vita Alexandri Severi*, c. 51: '. . . a quibusdam sive Iudaeis sive Christianis audisset . . . : Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris. Quam sententiam usque adeo dilexit ut et in palatio et in publicis operibus perscribi iuberet.'

Augustine *Serm. de Symbolo* ii 6:

'Lex ista est generalis: Quod tibi non fieri vis, alii ne feceris.'

Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* xxxii 9:

' . . . illa regula qua praescribitur quod tibi (*al.* tu) nolueris, alii ne feceris.'

Valerianus of Cemele *Hom.* xiii 7:

' . . . respicientes ante omnia ad illam sententiam quae dicit: Quod tibi non vis, alio ne facias.'

A Christian epitaph in Iulia Concordia (Porto Gruaro, in Venetia) cited by De Rossi (*Bollettino*, 1874, p. 137) concludes:

'Scriptum est: Quod tibi fieri non vis alio ne feceris.'

Lastly, in the *Clementine Recognitions* viii 58 we find:

'Omnis propemodum actuum nostrorum in eo colligitur observantia, ut quod ipsi pati nolumus, ne hoc aliis inferamus.'

These instances shew that the saying under discussion was widely current and well known as a maxim or proverb of Christian conduct. St Benedict may have cited it from some Biblical text either of Tobias or of the Acts; or he may merely have repeated a proverbial saying in common use. The fact that he introduces it in c. lxi, with the formula 'Scriptum est', is no proof that he took it from the Bible; because

in c. vii he introduces with the same formula, 'scriptum est', and even with the formula 'dicit Scriptura', sayings which are in no sense whatever biblical. St Benedict knew the Bible very well; but in days when there were no Concordances, it must have been natural to attribute to the Bible anything that seemed to have a Scriptural ring.¹

However, in the light of the evidence here adduced, it may safely be concluded that the presence in St Benedict's Rule of the words 'Quod tibi non vis fieri, alio non feceris' affords no ground whatever for the supposition that St Benedict was acquainted with the *Didache* or the *Didascalia* in any of their forms.

Dr Joseph Schlecht, the discoverer and editor of the early Latin version of the first part of the *Didache*, or the *Duae Viae*,² in his subsequent tractate *Die Apostellehre in der Liturgie der Katholischen Kirche*,³ puts forward the view that St Benedict's fourth chapter, 'Quae sunt instrumenta bonorum operum', as a whole is derived from the *Didache* (pp. 86-90). These instruments (as has been said) are a collection of some seventy-three fundamental precepts of Christian, or indeed of natural, ethics. That there should be a considerable resemblance in subject-matter between it and the *Duae Viae*, also a collection of ethical precepts, of things to be done or avoided, largely based on Scripture, is from the nature of the case inevitable: indeed, in the circumstances the actual parallels are surprisingly few—out of St Benedict's seventy instruments, to hardly a dozen can any kind of even seeming parallel be adduced from the *Didache*. Schlecht prints out in parallel columns St Benedict's Instruments and the passages of the Greek *Didachè* which he suggests were their ultimate source.⁴ Both documents commence with the Two Great Commandments, as was surely but natural in any epitome of Christian morality; and here (so far as I can see) the resemblance begins and ends. It is necessary to give a few samples of the parallelisms:

Saeculi actibus se facere alienum; nihil amoris Christi praepone; iram non perficere; iracundiae tempus non reservare; dolum in corde non tenere; pacem falsam non dare; caritatem non derelinquere.

Ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, i 4.

Μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος, μηδὲ ζηλωτὴς μηδὲ ἐριστικὸς μηδὲ θυμικός, iii 2.

Οὐ λήψῃ βουλήν πονηράν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου, ii 6.

¹ Other instances are cited from Augustine, Gregory the Great, and even Bernard.

² *Doctrina XII Apostolorum* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1900).

³ *Ibid.*, 1901.

⁴ He gives the Greek, not the Latin, because several occur in the portions of the Greek text not found in the Latin version.

This is a fair specimen of the parallelisms relied upon by Schlecht in support of his theory: another is given below. In my judgement they afford no ground for suspecting any relation between St Benedict and the *Didache*. After carefully going through the whole, I do not perceive a single case that calls for special mention, now that the negative form of the Golden Rule (Instrument 9) has been eliminated from the discussion. Nor is there any structural parallelism in the order in which the precepts occur; for, as may be seen in the above piece, those in the right-hand column are taken from the *Didache* up and down, and are pieced together in utter disorder. It is true that Schlecht postulates as St Benedict's source a recension of the *Didache* different from any of those known to us: but this is to place the matter outside the range of scientific investigation.

Another issue raised by Schlecht should be dealt with here. Traube prints from a Vatican MS a document entitled 'Instrumentum magnum bonorum operum'.¹ It stands in a miscellaneous collection of sermons made by a priest, Agimundus, in the seventh or eighth century. Traube regards it as chapter iv of St Benedict's Rule, generalized by the modification of a few specifically monastic passages. Schlecht, on the other hand, sees in it an independent earlier document used by St Benedict. He holds that this is the document directly derived from the *Didache*, and the reasons he assigns for its priority to St Benedict's text are that 'many sentences from the *Didache* are found in it, but not in St Benedict; while others are in a more original form'. We must examine the instances he gives in support of this contention.

(1) In St Benedict we read:

'Non esse superbum; non vinolentum; non multum edacem; non somnolentum; non pigrum; non murmuriosum; non detractorem.'

In Agimund the passage is the same, except that it has 'non violentum; non multum mendacem'.

The following piece from the *Didache* is cited as the source:

Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης . . . μηδὲ φιλάργυρος, μηδὲ κενόδοξος . . .
μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος . . . μηδὲ αὐθάδης μηδὲ πονηρόφρων (iii 5, 6).

The only correspondences with St Benedict's text are γόγγυσος and αὐθάδης (translated *superbus* in Tit. i 7). With Agimund's text there is the additional correspondence of ψεύστης with *mendacem*, and it is on this that Schlecht relies. But, apart from the theory that the Latin piece is derived from the *Didache*, would it be supposed that 'non multum mendacem' is a more primitive reading than 'non multum edacem', especially when in c. xxxiii of St Benedict's Rule we find 'non multum edax'. Again, when we recollect that in Tit. i 7 is read 'non superbum, non iracundum, non vinolentum', we shall probably

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 691; cf. p. 636.

be disposed to regard St Benedict's 'non esse superbum, non vinolentum' as the primitive reading, and Agimund's 'non violentum' as a corruption of it. Indeed the three, 'non vinolentum, non multum edacem, non somnolentum' hang so well together, that they are manifestly the true reading.

(2) St Benedict has as the first Instrument 'Dominum Deum diligere ex toto corde, tota anima, tota virtute'; Agimund 'Dominum Deum tuum dilige'. Schlecht regards the presence of *tuum* as an indication that Agimund's text is nearer to the *Didache* than is St Benedict's. But the *tuum* has been supplied from the familiar text, Mark xii 30, and its parallels, which was St Benedict's source. This view of the case is removed from the realm of mere probability when we observe (1) that Agimund inserts the pronoun also after *corde*, *anima*, *virtute*, as in these Gospel passages: and (2) that in the *Didache* the personal pronoun is not found at all, the Greek being ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε—and nothing more—for which the reference Ecclus. vii 32 is given, and which has no relation to the Gospel texts or to St Benedict's.

(3) St Benedict has 'non adulterari': Agimund 'non adulterare; non moechare'. But *moechari* is such a common word in the Latin Bible that it cannot be taken as an indication of a Greek source.

This exhausts the evidence adduced by Schlecht in support of the theory that Agimund's 'Magnum Instrumentum' was the source of St Benedict's fourth chapter. For the rest, I have examined the few remaining places where Agimund's text differs from St Benedict's, and I can declare with confidence that they lend no countenance to Schlecht's thesis. Thus the internal evidence shews that Traube was right in treating Agimund's 'Magnum Instrumentum' as an extract from St Benedict's Rule.

And quite apart from such considerations of internal criticism, another broader reason militates against Schlecht's view. Agimund's text contains two of the characteristic readings wherein the Oxford MS and its allies differ from the MSS derived from the Cassinese 'autograph'.¹ Though in these particular cases it would be difficult to pass judgement, when the whole series of these readings, extending through the entire Rule, is considered, there can be no doubt that the readings of the 'autograph' are the correct and original readings. On the former occasions on which I have written on this subject I expressed the opinion that the view is tenable which regards the text of the Oxford MS as representing a first redaction and the 'autograph' a second, both by St Benedict himself. But now, after spending a great deal of time in working at the text of the Rule, I unreservedly accept

¹ See my two articles referred to in the previous Note.

Traube's position, viz. that the text of which the Oxford MS is the chief representative, is secondary and corrupt, interpolated, as Traube calls it. On the other hand, in regard to the question whether the Monte Cassino 'autograph' really was St Benedict's autograph, I find myself compelled to maintain the slightly sceptical attitude of 'not proven' which I took up against Traube and the eminent critics who follow him. The matter is not one of great practical importance; for I am satisfied that the text of this 'autograph' was so much the best of those known to us, that my endeavour as an editor will be to reproduce it.

E. CUTHBERT BUTLER.

NOTES ON APOCRYPHA.

I

REVELATIO THOMAE.

In a recent number of the *Zeitschrift f. Neutestamentl. Wissenschaft* (1908, p. 172) Dr C. Frick calls attention to an interesting note in the Berlin-Phillipps MS of Jerome's Chronicle. The MS is of cent. viii-ix, and contains a series of additions to the text, which are printed (from a collation by Rühl) in Appendix V to Schoene's edition.

At the eighteenth year of Tiberius the MS has this note:

In libro quodam apocrifo qui dicitur Thomae apostoli scriptum est dominum Iesum ad eum dixisse ab ascensu suo ad celum usque in secundum aduentum eius nouem iobeleos contineri.

Frick identifies this as a quotation from the lost 'Revelatio Thomae Apostoli', which is named in the 'Gelasian' list of books condemned as heretical.

This passage, embodying the first trace which has ever been thought to have been discovered of the Revelation of Thomas, recalled to my memory a statement of Scipio Maffei's (*Opera*, Venice, 1790, tom. x p. 92) who, in describing the famous Graeco-Latin ancient Psalter of cent. vi in the Chapter Library at Verona, says, that after the apocryphal Psalm cli (*Pusillus eram*), 'In pagella quam librarius vacuam reliquerat, celeriscriptione, papyrosque veteres apprime referente, *Epistola Domini ad Thomam* subnotatur, quae inter apocrypha monumenta nondum est visa'. I accordingly wrote to the Rev. D. Antonio Spagnolo, the Chapter Librarian at Verona, who with great kindness supplied me with a transcript of the *Epistola*, and also informed me that it had in fact been

printed by G. G. Dionisi in an appendix to his *Apologetiche Riflessioni*, published in 1755. I have hitherto been unable to procure access to a copy of this book, which is probably not easily to be met with outside Italy. It seems clearly worth while to reproduce the text of this short fragment (for it is no more), since the absence of any mention of it by recent students of apocryphal literature indicates that Dionisi's publication has escaped their notice as well as my own. It runs as follows: the punctuation is added by me:—



Incipit epistula domini ad Thomam.

Audi, Thoma, quae oportet fieri in novissimis temporibus. erunt
fames et bellum et terremotus per varia loca, nix, glacies, et siccitas
magna erit. plurimae dissensiones in populis erit, blasphemia,
5 iniquitas, zelus et iniquitas, ocium, superbia et intemperantia. item
unusquisque quod illi placet loquatur.¹ Sacerdotes mei pacem
inter se non habebunt. fincto animo mihi sacrificabunt, propterea
non haspiciam super eos.² tunc videbunt sacerdotes populum de
domo domini recedentem, quos iam in seculum . . .³ sunt terminos
10 in domo dei. sic erunt et uindicabunt sibi plurima et loca perdita
et erunt sub . . .⁴ sicut et ante fuerunt, dantes capitularia ciuitates
auri et argenti, et condemnabuntur priores urbium.

The text is obscure and corrupt, or ill translated, especially in lines 10–12. Is it possible that the last sentence could mean ‘selling the headships (or head-offices) of the city (or, of cities) for gold and silver, and the just men of the cities shall be condemned’? This rendering presupposes an incorrect rendering of *capitularia*, which would more properly mean the poll-tax books of the city. I assume that *ciuitates* is a mistake for *ciuitatis* or *ciuitatum*.

D. Spagnolo tells me that the writing is of the eighth century and resembles generally the hand employed in the *papyri* (of Ravenna and elsewhere).

It is not easy to assign a date to so short a piece, but a period is indicated when church organization is mature, and (if the concluding sentences refer to the priesthood), wealth and temporal power have been attained; in other words, not an early date. This constitutes no bar to the supposition that the fragment may be a part of the *Revelatio Thomae*. We have plenty of apocalypses of late date, e.g. those of Paul and John; and it must be remembered that the only mention of the Revelation of Thomas is of the fifth century.

Our fragment does not permit us to form any guess as to the dimensions of the document from which it was taken. But I may be permitted to

¹ Dionisi: placitum est loquetur.

² Dion.: superbos.

³ Dion.: transgressi.

⁴ Dion.: subvertitores.

call attention to another apocryphal writing recently brought to light which has some slight points of resemblance to this. In the Vienna *Sitzungsberichte* (Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1908) Herr Bick has published the contents of an important Vienna palimpsest from Bobbio (Cod. 16) in which such diverse books as a Lucan, a Dioscorides, and a copy of the Acts and Catholic Epistles have been used. Two leaves of this volume contain, in fifth-century uncials, scanty fragments of a Latin apocryphon, of which the head-line is *Epistula*, and which contains revelations made by our Lord to the Apostles, or some of them. Herr Bick has shewn that a portion of the text also occurs in a Coptic book as yet unpublished, of which Dr C. Schmidt gave some account in the Berlin Academy's *Sitzungsberichte* for 1895 (p. 705). The headline of the Latin document is *Epistula*, and the first of the two leaves, the one not corresponding to the Coptic text, contains apocalyptic matter not unlike that of our fragment, e.g. 'ἐρῶ audi a me signa quae futura sunt in finem saeculi huius ut transeat antequam exiant electi de saeculo. dicam tibi . . .' In the second column are the words 'famis magnae et pestilentiae magnae et necessitates magnae . . . et captiui labuntur per universas gentes et cadunt in mucronae gladii'. Hardly anything is legible on the verso. A single auditor is evidently addressed here ('audi, tibi') : on the other leaf the Apostles are the narrators ('Nos enim temptantes . . . dicimus illi') : yet the head-line of both leaves is the same, and it would be rash to assume that both do not belong to the same document. The possibility, however, seems to be still open that the Verona fragment may be ultimately related to the Vienna *Epistula*.

II

SYRIAC APOCRYPHA IN IRELAND.

IRISH scholars will perhaps be interested by the following note on a point in the Vision of Adamnán, which has recently been translated and published with an interesting introduction and notes by Mr C. S. Boswell (*An Irish Precursor of Dante* : Grimm Library, No. 18. Nutt, 1908).

In the Introduction to the Vision (§ 2, p. 29) is the following passage :—

'Moreover, on the day of Mary's death, all the Apostles were brought to look upon the pains and miserable punishments of the unblest ; for the Lord commanded the angels of the West to open up the earth before the face of the apostles, that they might see and consider Hell with all its torments, even as Himself had told them, long time before His Passion.'

Mr Boswell, rightly suspecting this episode to belong to a form of the *Transitus Mariae* fuller than any he had seen, has not been able to point to its occurrence in any text. So far as I can see, it only occurs in that remarkable Syriac form of the legend which is to be found in Wright's *Syriac Apocrypha* under the name of the *Obsequies of the Holy Virgin*. On p. 47 is this passage:—

'The dreadful place of torment which the Disciples begged of our Lord that they might see.

'And when these things were said by the blessed Apostles, our Lord made a sign with His eyes, and a cloud snatched away the Apostles and Mary and Michael, and our Lord along with them, and carried them to where the sun sets, and left them there. And our Lord spake with the angels of the pit, and the earth sprang upwards, and the pit was revealed in the midst of the earth. And our Lord gave place to the Apostles, that they might look, as they were wishing.' Then follows a scene of intercession for those in torment, of which the conclusion is wanting.

The question whether Oriental literature was indeed known in Ireland in early times has never been properly worked out. It is stated by Dr G. T. Stokes that the *Saltair na Rann* contains passages from the Oriental *Book of Adam and Eve*. As the text of the *Saltair* has never been translated, it is impossible for me to say whether the Oriental book or the Latin *Vita Adae* is really the source of the passages in question. At present, the quotation from the *Obsequies* given above is the clearest instance that I have encountered of obligation on the part of an Irish writer to an Oriental text.

M. R. JAMES.

TWO MORE MANUSCRIPTS WRITTEN BY THE SCRIBE OF THE LEICESTER CODEX.

IN the JOURNAL for April 1904, p. 445, I was able to point out on the evidence of a manuscript at Leiden that the scribe of the Leicester Codex was a man named Emmanuel of Constantinople, and that he worked for George Neville, Archbishop of York (d. 1476). I am now able to add two more to the five volumes known to have been written by him. They are at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The first is a copy of the Lexicon of Suidas (nos. 76, 77) on paper and vellum, bound in two volumes. The first volume and perhaps a third of the second are in Emmanuel's hand: the remainder is in the hand of Joannes Serbopoulos of Constantinople, who was working at Reading in the last years of the fifteenth century (cf. MSS C.C.C. 23, 24 of 1499,

1500 ; no. 106 of 1495 : New College, nos. 240, 241 of 1497, no. 254 of 1494 : Trin. Coll., Camb., R. 9, 22 of 1489).

We can perhaps point to the source whence these two Greek scribes, working in England, procured a text of Suidas to transcribe. Grosseteste possessed a Suidas, and translated some selections from it (Val. Rose in *Hermes* v 157) : his copy was presumably bequeathed to the Oxford Franciscans with the rest of his books. The Corpus Christi MS belonged successively to William Grocyn and to John Claymond, first president of the College.

The other manuscript in the hand of Emmanuel is the Psalter, no. 19 in the same library, on paper and vellum, which was given to the College by John Claymond.

M. R. JAMES.

REVIEWS

A GRAMMAR OF THE SEPTUAGINT.

A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek, according to the Septuagint,
by HENRY ST JOHN THACKERAY, M.A. Vol. I, Introduction,
Orthography and Accidence. (Cambridge University Press, 1909.)

A VERY cursory examination of this book will suffice to shew that its appearance calls for our heartiest congratulation to the author and to his University—may I add, as in private duty bound, to the royal and religious foundation to which the author and his present reviewer belong? Mr Thackeray has not indeed quite succeeded in launching the first complete Grammar of the Septuagint. He would have done so easily if 'the very limited leisure of a civil servant' had been exchanged a year or two ago for the kind of sphere into which every student of this book will want to transfer him. But though Dr Helbing has reached this pole of scholarship first, Mr Thackeray will have no temptation to indulge in recriminations at the loss of *Priorität*. Helbing's book is very good: we retain our opinion even after studying Jacob Wackernagel's most valuable and yet very unfair review.¹ But the wholly independent work of his English comrade is superior to it all round, so far as I can see; and our German fellow-students are more likely to need the services of a translator than we are. They can well afford to allow handsomely that British scholarship has of late years almost established a monopoly in the Septuagint. The Oxford Concordance, the Cambridge Manual edition and Dr Swete's *Introduction* have for some years now been indispensable tools. A new generation now gives us the *magnum opus* of Messrs Brooke and M^oLean, and an instalment of this monumental Grammar; nor is there any reason to doubt that the new will be as indispensable as the old.

For the present reviewer the pleasant sinecure of criticism in detail was got over in the manuscript stage, which enables me to dispense with any attempt to find points to quarrel with. It will be my duty rather to describe the significance of the book as a whole and in some of its parts, as it appeals to students of Biblical Greek. In doing so I shall be forgiven if I sometimes keep one eye on the extremely kind and valuable review of my own Grammar, by Mr G. C. Richards

¹ *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1908, no. 23.

in the January number of this JOURNAL.¹ In the differences which my friendly critic records on general points of principle, I find Mr Thackeray a very helpful ally: the magnitude of those differences, however, is not quite so great as Mr Richards thinks. But before I turn to the contribution Mr Thackeray has made to the first principles of the study of Biblical Greek, I must say something on the general scope of his book and its outstanding features from our point of view. Its purely linguistic material, as bearing on the scientific delineation of Hellenistic Greek in general, I shall pass over, as I am writing a notice of it for the *Classical Review*, where this will be more in place.

The present instalment of the Grammar covers the Orthography and the Accidence, to which Mr Thackeray gives 220 pages apart from indices, as against 112 rather larger pages in Helbing. In addition to this he has 70 pages of Introduction, while Helbing has 12: the latter, however, deals in two dozen insufficient pages with the large subject of Word-formation, which Mr Thackeray has reserved. Our impatience for the Syntax has been temporarily stayed in the English book by the wide range and varied interest of the Introduction. Readers of this JOURNAL will recognize here much of the extremely acute and important research work which Mr Thackeray has published upon the tests that may be applied in LXX books to detect different translators' hands. He also gives us a general survey of the characteristics of the language of the LXX in its several parts, the main features of its syntax as compared with the classical Greek, and some most valuable applications of data that can be derived from the Egyptian papyri, to test the accuracy of the great uncial MSS. There is a useful table (p. 13), classifying the LXX books, or parts of books, according to the quality of their Greek. The student of *Κοινή* will note especially the top and the bottom of the page, the books classed as 'good *κοινή* Greek' (Pentateuch, part of Joshua, Isaiah, and 1 Maccabees), and the one (Tobit) described as 'vernacular'. This last statement tallies excellently with the history of the book of Tobit, if I am right in making it a Median folk-story, originally pure Magianism, but rewritten by an Israelite in terms of his own people's beliefs.² A book of the people originally, which no doubt was largely read, long before its adaptation, among the exiled Israelites of the Northern Kingdom scattered in the Median districts, it fell naturally into the Greek of common life

¹ The review, by the way, appeared a little after the publication of my third edition, in which some of Mr Richards's points were anticipated. Some more have been dealt with in the revision occasioned by the German translation of my book, now passing through the press.

² See *Zoroastrianism*, in Hastings *D. B.* iv 989.

rather than the literary style. But the other books, classed as translations in good Common Greek, are almost equally sound evidence for the genuine *Koinḗ*. This being so, it is of special interest to note that they include the books which account for nearly half of the N. T. quotations, viz. the Pentateuch and Isaiah.¹ Psalms and the remaining Prophets (including Daniel) are thus the only books from which the N. T. writers were likely to derive any very strong impulse towards unidiomatic language. The parts of the O. T. which were most authoritative for the primitive Church were just those in which the language was free alike from literaryism and literalism. No admiration for classical antiquity prompted the translators to desert the living language for the dead; and equally unknown as yet was that perversion of reverence which demanded that inspired words should be rendered word for word into a dialect recalling Greek only by its use of Greek vocabulary. The fact has perhaps not a little influence on the quality of N. T. Greek. Apostles and evangelists were not the first to bring the religion of Israel to the Greek-speaking world in the language of daily intercourse. The origins of that religion already lay before the Gentiles in a speech intelligible to the most unlettered: its crowning development could now be offered in the same tongue. The masses of their readers would not be likely to complain of its homely style, and to declare that Josephus shewed a more excellent way.

On the burning question of Semitic influence upon the Greek of the older LXX Books Mr Thackeray's position seems to me wholly satisfactory. Our new knowledge of the *Koinḗ* has, he says, disposed of 'the theory once held of the existence of a "Jewish Greek" jargon, in use in the Ghettos of Alexandria and other centres where Jews congregated'. Everything points to the Jews' having spoken, in Egypt especially, the same Greek as their neighbours. As far as Alexandria itself is concerned, Mr Thackeray allows that our evidence is defective, since the marshes of the Delta have not preserved for us the everyday writings of its inhabitants. The deficiency has been partially made good since this was written, by the publication of the latest Berlin *Urkunden*, containing a mass of documents from the reign of Augustus, all belonging to Alexandria. They are of less value than they would have been, had they included other types beside the formal; but so far as they go they shew no difference of dialect whatever between Alexandria and the country districts further south. That the Jews even in Alexandria did not impart any special character to the Greeks of their neighbours, but rather conformed to it themselves as other foreign residents did, is inferred by Mr Thackeray from 'the striking contrast between the unfettered original Greek writings of

¹ Cf. *Cambridge Biblical Essays* pp. 475 f.

Jewish authorship and the translations contained in the Greek Bible': he instances Ben-Sirach, Philo, and Josephus. 'The influence of Semitism on the syntax of the Jewish section of the Greek-speaking world was probably almost as inappreciable as its syntactical influence on the *Koinḗ* as a whole, an influence which may be rated at zero' (p. 27). This last statement has been questioned in advance by some scholars of very high repute, who think that coincidences between the papyri and supposed Semitisms in the Greek Bible may sometimes be due to Jewish influence upon the *Koinḗ* as spoken in Egypt. I have attempted to deal with this supposition elsewhere,¹ and need only say here that it is at best unprovable, and is itself confronted with contrary evidence of adequate quantity and quality alike. I equally, of course, agree with the statement on the other side that 'it is impossible to deny the existence of a strong Semitic influence in the Greek of the LXX' (or of the Gospels,² as I should add). Mr Thackeray cites with approval my thesis 'that the "Hebraism" of Biblical writings consists in the *over-working* of and the special prominence given to certain correct, though unidiomatic, modes of speech, because they happen to coincide with Hebrew idioms'. His reinforcement of this doctrine (p. 29) is too long to quote; but I should like to give it a warm endorsement here, by way of putting myself right with Mr Richards, who would not, I think, quarrel with it from his side any more than I do from mine. A typical example of Mr Thackeray's method may be seen in his discussion of *ἀνὴρ* in phrases 'where classical writers would have written *ἐκαστος*, *τις* or *πᾶς τις*' (p. 45). He notes that *ἀνὴρ* for *τις* can be paralleled from Aristophanes, and that 'it is difficult to draw the line between what may be called "Hebraisms" and what is good vernacular or *koinḗ* Greek'. But he goes on to shew that the use of *ἀνὴρ* for *ἐκαστος* in phrases which produce the impression of being decidedly un-Hellenic is practically confined to one group of books, where *ἐκαστος* is wholly or nearly absent. Here then, since the other books avoid the literal rendering, we may fairly acknowledge a Hebraism. *Δότε μοι ἀνὴρ ἐνώτιον* would indeed have puzzled a native Greek as much, I should think, as *ἐγὼ εἶμι ἔχω*. On these points 'Deissmannism' does not prompt the slightest unwillingness to accept what is indeed the verdict

¹ See the Preface to the third edition of my *Prolegomena*, and more fully in *Cambridge Biblical Essays* pp. 468 ff.

² Mr Richards has decidedly misunderstood my position when he suggests (*J. T. S.* x 286) that I am inclined 'to believe that there is no Aramaic background of the Gospels, and that in fact the earliest written Gospels were in Greek'. He has overlooked an explicit note on p. 8, n. 1, as well as several other implicit assumptions of the opposite doctrine, which it would take some courage to question at this time of day. My whole argument depends on the thesis that Greek took essentially the same position in Palestine as English now does in Wales.

of common sense. Our difference from the school of Wellhausen and Nestle only begins when language is claimed as 'Hebraism' merely because it literally translates the Hebrew original. It may do this and yet be perfectly good vernacular. I have elsewhere called attention to the fact that Nestle's reasons for regarding *ἕως πότε* . . . ; as a Hebraism will prove the same for our own *till when?*¹ The arm of coincidence is very long indeed when we study the facts of colloquial dialects, even those belonging to totally distinct families of speech : similar conditions, when great simplicity is the determining factor, naturally produce similar results. The Hebraist has a better case when there is a choice of possible expressions for the meaning of the original, and one is selected which answers closely in form to the Hebrew. Here I should not think of denying that the Hebrew determined the choice. But does our English Bible indulge in 'Hebraism' or 'Graecism' every time it renders literally, even if there were other possible phrases to use? I should not allow the term until the phrase fairly crossed the bounds of permissible Greek idiom. But I should often admit the coincidence of Greek and Hebrew² as evidence of the background of Semitic behind the Greek, not only where the Greek is correct but unidiomatic, but even where it is perfectly idiomatic vernacular, provided that there were other possible and natural ways of expressing the meaning in Greek.

But I must not devote too much of this review to the discussion of first principles. I should like to mention a few special points in a Grammar which teems with interesting matter. The student of the Canon will note the treatment of the style of translation of the later LXX Books on pp. 15 and 16. The freedom with which many of the Hagiographa were handled, at a time when books that were already canonical were being 'translated' with unintelligible literalism, is very suggestive. Other results described in the same section throw a great deal of light on the history of the Greek O.T. Mr Thackeray's examination of the history of the forms *οὐθείς et sim.* (pp. 58-62) is a most interesting example of the significance of orthographical trifles for important questions of criticism. It is in small points like these—I used *ὅς ἐάν* for the purpose—that we can test the accuracy with which our best uncials reproduce their originals. In this case likewise it is shewn that we have a test of the dates to which some of the LXX Books belong. On p. 39 there is a note on *ἀριθμῶ* = 'few', in Num. ix 20 and Ezek. xii 16, which is rescued from 'Hebraism' by the quotation of Herodotus vi 58, with *ἀριθμῶ* = 'a certain number'. Even more to the point is a papyrus of 2 B.C. given in Witkowski's

¹ *Cambridge Biblical Essays* p. 473.

² Here, as throughout this paragraph, Aramaic may be substituted for Hebrew for application to the Gospels.

little collection of private letters, p. 94 (*Ox. Pap.* 742): παράδος δέ τινι τῶν φίλων ἀριθμῶμι αὐτάς. Witkowski translates with Wilcken *accurate dinumeratos*, dismissing Grenfell and Hunt's 'a certain number of them'. I quoted Wilcken's rendering in *Prolegomena*³ 76; but in view of the exact LXX parallels I should go back upon the other version, or say 'deliver a few of them'. The idiom is clearly vernacular, if not vulgar, for this papyrus is illiterate: it is interesting to notice that the usage has roots in Ionic Greek, like so much else in the most vernacular stratum of the Κοινή. A footnote on p. 40 gives a noteworthy illustration of the language of the Third Gospel. Ἐρωτᾷ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην (Lk. xiv 32) is compared with almost identical phrases in the later historical books, where we recognize mere 'translation Greek'. Luke borrows the LXX phrase, but uses it in its classical meaning. A small correction may be made on p. 46, where there is said to be no instance from the papyri of 'the pleonastic demonstrative pronoun appended to a relative pronoun or a relative adverb'. There is one given in Helbing (p. iv), viz. *Ox. Pap.* 117 (ii/iii A.D.), ἐξ ὧν δώσεις τοῖς παιδίοις σου ἐν ἐξ αὐτῶν. It was a real but not a common Κοινή use, which I cited (p. 95) as an instance of the overdoing of a rare idiom when it happens to fit the purpose of a literal translator. On p. 72 there are some remarks on the relations of codd. N and B which concern the N. T. student. That both N and A probably come from Egypt is stated on evidence supplied by Mr Crum: I may add as a suggestive trifle the coincidence of the spelling κράβακτος in *Tebt. Pap.* 406 (266 A.D.), and another papyrus two or three centuries later, with the form nearly always found in N, dated between them. Mr Thackeray remarks on the recent tendency to assign B to Caesarea, but stumbles at Tischendorf's identification of the scribe of B with one of those who produced N. I understand that this identification is not likely to reappear in textual criticism after Prof. Lake's facsimile edition of N has come into our hands. Passing on to p. 126, I would call attention to the acute solution of the extraordinary οὐχ ἰδοῦ which translates ΝϚ. My reasons for persisting to disagree with that digamma as efficient cause of the irrational aspirate in this and other words I reserve for the philological journal. That even an arid desert of proper names does not prevent Mr Thackeray from being interesting is seen on p. 161, where he shews how the paraphrastic author of 1 Esdras is capable of humour, in transliterating 'Rehum the Chancellor' by 'Ράθυμος ὁ (γράφων) τὰ προσπίπτοντα, 'Slack the Secretary'! (By the way, this phrase in the Greek perhaps describes a financial official, for προσπίπτοντα might mean 'moneys paid in', if we apply the analogy of πέπτωκεν in ostraca = 'has been paid'.¹ But for the R.V.

¹ Wilcken *Ostraka* i 64 ff.

'storywriter' or 'recorder' we may adduce the papyrus in Witkowski (p. 72), where *προσπέτωκεν* is rendered 'has been reported'.) Another interesting point from the same unpromising quarter is the note on p. 169 giving a rule for the declension or non-declension of place-names in *-ων*. *Ἀσκάλων* is declined as if it were a Greek noun, for the place is 'on the coast and on or close to a main trade-route'. But *Ἀκκαρώων* remains indeclinable, for Ekron lay off the route. I must record a difference of opinion on *ἴδον*, Epic for *εἶδον*, in which Mr Thackeray (p. 201) encourages editors in bad ways—as they seem to all the philologists, at any rate. In *Prolegomena* p. 47 I cited Prof. Thumb's emphatic protest against the Cambridge editors for treating *ἴδον* seriously as a *v. l.* Prof. Wackernagel's high authority is now to be added on the same side: he praises Helbing for his attack upon 'die blödsinnige Schreibung *ἴδον* st. *εἶδον* [Helbing, p. 8f], die sich in den englischen Ausgaben wie eine ewige Krankheit fortschleppt'. (We might observe however that Tischendorf, another sinner, was a German.) Mr Thackeray does try to bring up a possible analogy-formation, in case anything should happen to the unlucky Epic survival. But really with *ει* for *ι* and even *ι*, and *ι* for *ει*, staring us in the face from papyri everywhere, is it worth while to accentuate *ἐπιδεν* or *ἴδεν*—the less so as Mr Thackeray himself notes *εἶδον* as normal in the Ptolemaic papyri? Did the post-Christian *Κοινή* suddenly remember how Odysseus *φίδε φάστωα* at the beginning of the Odyssey? Or did the language, at a period when *ι* and *ει* were absolute equivalents, discover the appropriateness of the analogy *εἶπον*: *εἰπεῖν*? I should not like to endorse Wackernagel's uncomplimentary epithet; but I confess it would tend to give me a bad night if I found I had transcribed an uncial with any other accent than *ἐπιδεν* or *ἴδεν*! Having thus offered sacrifice of a jot to Momus—and I can hardly find a tittle to keep it company—I revert for my last note to another of Mr Thackeray's characteristic minutiae. Under *ἀπεκρίθην* (p. 239) he has a note which leaves me in a white sheet, as a fitting penalty for having criticized him on *ἴδον*. He makes *ἀπεκρίθην* 'the usual Hellenistic form', and says that 'the classical *ἀπεκρινάμην* in the few passages where it occurs seems to be chosen as suitable for solemn or poetical language'. I have committed myself, even in the last English edition of my book (p. 39), to a very different statement: I had made few years ago, and had not troubled to complete up to date, a list of a good many occurrences of *ἀποκρίνασθαι* in papyri of ii/A.D. Mr Thackeray's remark has made me verify my references, and I find that my passages were all from law-reports or other legal documents.¹ The middle is then at that period

¹ I have now brought it up to date, so far as the word-indices allow, and find my note still true. I can quote thirteen post-Christian documents for *ἀποκρίνασθαι*,

a technical term for 'replying' to counsel on the other side. It will be seen at once that this differentia applies strikingly in Mt. xxvii 12 Mk. xiv 61, Lk. xxiii 9; while in the remaining instances (Lk. iii 16, Jn. v 17, 19; Acts iii 12) the meaning is decidedly enriched by recognizing that the word implies a solemn and formal reply. It will be seen that the narrowing of ἀποκρίνασθαι towards its special use as seen in ii/A.D. has progressed decidedly since the time of the LXX.

It would be easy to say much more about this able and laborious work. It will be a necessary tool for many years in the workshop of Biblical students, while philologists who are crowding into the comparatively unoccupied fields of general Hellenistic research will be astonished to find how constantly its data are needed for their work. We wish more leisure to the accomplished author and good speed to his second volume.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

THE COPTIC OLD TESTAMENT.

The Coptic (Sahidic) Version of Certain Books of the Old Testament, from a Papyrus in the British Museum, 1908. Edited by Sir HERBERT THOMPSON. (Oxford, 1908.)

THERE are few parts of the Sa'idic bible which have been as fortunate in their preservation and transmission as the Salomonic Books and Ecclesiasticus. They form the contents of one of the oldest and finest of our MSS, and now Sir H. Thompson gives us another text of them, from what must once have been a volume worthy to rival the Turin codex. As it is, however, somewhat less than half of the original has reached us; and of these seventy-seven leaves, many are now but poor fragments. The book, for one of papyrus, was of unusual size: the page measured $14\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, one of the largest known. The editor has satisfied himself that the MS is a palimpsest—a fact unnoticed by me in cataloguing—but the earlier text defies decipherment. The photograph given may tempt palaeographers to hazard a date for the script. I am inclined to modify my former suggestion and would propose the seventh or eighth, rather than sixth or seventh century. But we still await the evidence which shall make such esti-

and one Ptolemaic, and they are all legal without exception. I must add that I cannot add more than one or two stray instances for ἀπεκρίθην to the few that Mayser gives from Ptolemaic times. So that the LXX and N. T. must still bear most of the responsibility for our calling it the normal Hellenistic form.

The volume formerly contained Job, the Salomonic Books, and Sirach.¹ Of these, the first is wholly lost; but of the others a considerable quantity now becomes available for the first time (see the useful list, p. vii). The editor considers the new text of Wisdom inferior to that of Lagarde (Turin), but that of Sirach not seldom superior and nearer akin to the chief Greek witnesses. Not content with the minutely exact editing of his text, Sir H. Thompson contributes besides all the unpublished fragments of the same books obtainable from other MSS (e.g. a considerable passage of Proverbs xv, xvi), and further, a collation of the Turin text, which doubles the value of his edition.

Sir H. Thompson gives an interesting description (p. viii) of the system on which the quires in this codex were composed and put together. All but one are quaternions, quires formed of eight leaves, whereof the first four had horizontal fibres on the *recto*, vertical on the *verso* (indicated as HV), while the other four had vertical fibres on the *recto*, horizontal on the *verso* (VH). Questions as to the composition of papyrus books and the sequence of the fibres⁴ receive at present

³ Ed. Bouriant in *Recueil de Trav.* vii 83 ff. Cf. Brit. Mus. *Copt. Catal.* nos. 774, 1247. Lagarde, *Orientalia* 89, also prints one of these lessons. I do not find them identically in the tables of Yûsuf Habashi (Cairo, 1894), although in Holy Week certain lessons from Eccli. are there, somewhat vaguely, prescribed.

⁴ Several old papyrus books were arranged on a principle quite different from the present: all the leaves, laid one within another, formed but a single 'quire'. See C. Schmidt's *Erster Klemensbrief* p. 7. On papyrus books generally see H. I. Bell in *The Library*, July 1909. The terms *recto* and *verso*, often confusing enough, even where restricted to papyrus documents, have very little meaning if applied in Wilcken's technical sense to the leaves of a *codex*. Even the words 'width', 'breadth', 'height', are capable of ambiguity.

a good deal of attention. I therefore offer here the results of an examination of the two most complete specimens extant (Brit. Mus. Or. 5000, 5001 = *Copt. Catal.* nos. 940, 171). The nineteen quires of Or. 5000 shew, with the exception of the first and last, uninterrupted regularity: the fibres lie HV and VH alternately, throughout the eight leaves. The first given (irrespective of the two or three blank leaves preceding the text) is HV, HV, HV, VH: HV, VH, VH, VH, and the second VH, VH, HV, VH: HV, VH, HV, VH. The last, consisting of ten leaves, is HV, VH, VH, HV: HV, VH, HV, VH, HV, HV. In the companion volume, Or. 5001, on the other hand, there is the greatest irregularity. Out of its twenty-two quires, five (whereof three consecutive) have the following arrangement: HV, VH, HV, HV: VH, VH, HV, VH, three have HV, HV, HV, VH: HV, VH, VH, VH, while only two have regularly alternating HV and VH, and of the remainder, almost all shew independent sequences.

W. E. CRUM.

THE HIBBERT JOURNAL SUPPLEMENT.

Jesus or Christ: being the Hibbert Journal Supplement for 1909.
(Williams & Norgate, London, 1909.)

It would be unfortunate if the somewhat sensational and question-begging title of this volume were to deter serious students from examining it. For although it is put together in a somewhat haphazard fashion and contains a good deal that is either irrelevant or unimportant, there are a number of essays which will repay careful perusal. The title is taken over from that of an article by Mr. Roberts of Bradford, contributed to the *Hibbert Journal* twelve months ago. The article, which was promptly repudiated by at least one of the 'Editorial Board', and described as 'representing the wild eccentricities of a discredited minority', was also sufficiently dealt with by Dr Moulton and Mr Chesterton in the *Hibbert Journal* for July. It is reprinted in small type at the end of this volume, and was doubtless proposed as a text to the other contributors. Some of these have dealt with it directly: others have preferred to deal with some aspect of the problem which the title seemed to suggest. Even the importance of the problem is variously estimated. For while Professor Percy Gardner looks on it as 'beyond doubt the fundamental question of modern Christianity', Professor Henry Jones thinks that

its significance 'is not in all respects as momentous to the Christian life as is generally believed by those engaged in it'.

Of the writers who deal most directly and most firmly with Mr Roberts it is interesting to observe that several are among those who probably stand nearest to his dogmatic position. The others, who have been restrained by a consciousness of fundamental difference from his standpoint, and an incapacity to understand his tone, will be grateful to them, as, for example, to Professor Weinel and Dr Drummond. It is part of the positive value of the volume that it has given writers such as these an opportunity to express and justify their dissent from Mr Roberts's 'estimate of the teaching of Jesus', and to shew, as Weinel does, 'why we maintain as firmly as ever that Jesus sets forth the essence of Christianity', and 'why we announce to the men of the twentieth century that salvation is to be found in none other as it may be found in him'. In passing, Weinel vigorously controverts several of Wellhausen's positions. 'His criticism rests almost everywhere on bad foundations. . . . Nor does it follow the rule that we should explain as spurious only those things which *must* be explained from later conditions, from the time, and from the tendencies of the Christian community, and which at the same time *cannot* be understood of the historical Jesus.' Otherwise, the most valuable part of Weinel's essay is his insistence on the sufficient knowledge of Jesus which is conveyed by all parts of His teaching. Dr Drummond deals specifically with the criticism directed against Jesus and certain elements in His teaching, such as that on divorce, on demons, and on rewards. He prefaces his argument with the suggestive remark: 'If any one tried to prove that Socrates was a rake and Plato a fool, we should be apt to feel contempt for such an opinion, and before we even considered it we should ask for serious evidence, substantial proof of serious weight and competence on the part of the critic.'

Professor Schmiedel's article contains nothing new or unexpected until he comes to deal with the fourth of the questions he propounds, 'Is Jesus entitled to veneration in worship or otherwise?' Here we meet with a strange inconsistency of a kind very unexpected in such a quarter. The whole passage on pp. 77-79 reminds us irresistibly of Heine's famous irony about Kant and 'der alte Lampe', for whose benefit the existence of God must needs be demonstrated. For after a discussion which culminates in the conclusion: 'In discussion with theologians the truth must be most deeply emphasized that it is impossible to hold a real communion with Jesus as a man of the past,' Schmiedel on the next page speaks of prayers which 'no one feels reluctance in addressing to Jesus'. 'Their content might be somewhat as follows:—"Be thou my guiding star; let thy image stand ever

before mine eyes ; rule my heart ; make me thy disciple.” Here is a phenomenon indeed. We should like to hail it sympathetically. Is it that the Zürich Professor, being a religious man, recognizes half unconsciously that at least for the European world, for the white man, there must be a Jesus to whom men can pray or no religion at all? But a Jesus to whom we can pray is Jesus and more. He is a Jesus who is, or at the least is on the way to become, Jesus Christ.

Professor Henry Jones contributes a very interesting article in which he approaches the central problem at a different angle, and discusses not the article of Mr Roberts, but the position so ably defended by Dr Denney in his recent work, *Jesus and the Gospel*. Dr Denney finds at once the irreducible minimum for the Christian faith, and the inevitable conclusion from the records and the history, in the conviction that Jesus is *the*, the *only*, Son of God. Dr Jones, who pays a high tribute to Dr Denney's work, wishes to controvert this in the interest of securing the position of ‘sons of God’ for other men, apparently for all men, and in the same sense in which Jesus was a Son of God. ‘It is the exclusiveness of his relation to God which is at stake. Does Jesus alone stand in a true filial relation to God?’ In his argument to the contrary it is a small matter that he seems to misunderstand Dr Denney : but he seems also consistently to overlook certain commonplaces of Christian theology, as that in a very real sense God is recognized as the Father of all men, that the very possibility of ‘adoption’ rests upon an original relation of ‘likeness’, that it is precisely where the loss incurred through practical denial of sonship has been most deeply felt that its reassertion on the ground of fellowship with Jesus has been most triumphant. Curiously enough, Professor Jones does not (unless it is in a single parenthetical remark) raise the point which seems to be crucial, viz. that historically it has been through Jesus that men have discovered that they and the divine are ‘on one side’, and that they have usually begun by discovering that ethically they were on the opposite side. The distinction between sonship real but not realized and sonship brought into unclouded consciousness is of vital importance for this discussion. It surely turns the edge of this criticism of Dr Denney. For as long as men have not realized their sonship the divine must offer itself to their consciousness as ‘confronting them’. And therein lies the simple explanation of the fact on which Dr Denney lays stress, that ‘Jesus is set on the side of reality which we call divine’. The truth is that this article, like some others in the volume, seeks to insert the critical knife where no joint is to be found. And an entrance is sought to be effected by exaggerating the extremes, by suggesting that Jesus is ‘absolutely isolated’ either from humanity or from the divine.

Accept either hypothesis and it shivers against the record of human experience. Some hypothesis which synthesizes both is imperatively called for, and it will not be found in the dichotomy of this title.

We have space only to call attention to the able article of Dr Garvie, who with equal courage and candour makes a brief but valuable contribution on the constructive side.

C. A. SCOTT.

NEW TESTAMENT.

ADOLF MÜLLER *Geschichtskerne in den Evangelien nach modernen Forschungen*. (Töpelmann, Giessen, 1905.)

IF the aim which Dr Adolf Müller has in view be to prove that, even if the Fourth Gospel must be measured by a different standard, the religious-historical value of all four Gospels is essentially the same, in this work he is immediately concerned with the origin and respective values of St Mark and St Matthew. He begins with an exhaustive survey of the works of Wernle, Wrede, and Johannes Weiss; of their results, stated with precision, some are accepted by him; then he goes his own way, and it is not, in many respects, that of the majority of modern critics. The so-called Two-Sources hypothesis is said to be insecurely founded; Matthew and Luke did not use our Mark; not only is the assumption of a collection of Sayings (Q) needless, but the existence of such a document, unknown to tradition, is incapable of proof; of literary connexion between Matthew and Mark there is none whatever; a key to resemblances and differences may be found in the independent use of Aramaic 'Urschriften' which the Evangelists worked up for their respective purposes. As for our Mark, a nucleus is perhaps traceable to John Mark, but the Second Gospel comes from some Roman Christian. Our First Gospel is a composite work; two ingredients are revealed in it, and the earlier stratum is distinguishable by the absence of certain specified features which point unmistakeably to a later period; conceivably this 'Grundschrift' may be referred to the Apostle Matthew. The question, then, is: on which side is the priority—with the canonical Mark or with the conjectured primitive Matthew? According to Dr Müller the answer must be adverse to the former; and in favour of a Matthaean 'Grundschrift' which is after all richer than Mark in narrative and establishes its priority by its presentation of the Sayings and the Deeds of Jesus. The entire Mark Gospel might, in short, go; its loss would leave us no whit the poorer when 'ein so unschätzbares religiöses Gut an unzerstörbaren Kernen des Lebensinhalts Jesu' survives in Mt. v–vii, x–xiii, xviii, xxi–xxviii, even if the original matter has suffered somewhat at the hands of the redactor.

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Dr Müller's point of view is that 'geistige Wirklichkeit mehr ist als menschlich historisch messbarer Lebensinhalt', and taking his book as a whole I should say that, if it fails to bring conviction, and perhaps illustrates a subjectivity hinted at in others, it is often suggestive, and deserves attention.

H. LATIMER JACKSON.

KARL CLEMEN *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments.* (Töpelmann, Giessen, 1909.)

DR KARL CLEMEN of Bonn has here produced the sort of work to be expected of one who enjoys a reputation for encyclopaedic knowledge and colossal industry.

His book is well arranged and well worked out. The introductory chapter is distinctly useful; first comes a history of the subject which is brought down from Philo to the present day; a discussion of methods follows—and here Dr Clemen formulates and insists on guiding principles; he then specifies the non-Jewish religions and philosophies which fall for consideration. Having done with preliminaries he forthwith addresses himself to an independent and detailed examination of theories advanced by successive writers;—in short, the main body of his book (which consists of two Parts with abundant division and subdivision) exemplifies the author's own 'canons' in application to a vast mass of material which, collected and sorted with assiduity, is sifted, weighed and tested with discrimination. In a closing chapter he surveys the field traversed and epitomizes the inferences drawn at the various stages of his inquiry. He decides that if trace there be of external influences direct or indirect on the preaching of Jesus and the conceptions of the Synoptists, such influences are alone perceptible in isolated terms and metaphors and parables; the substance is practically unaffected. They are certainly to be detected in St Paul; in conceptions which, running through primitive Christianity, were derived from Judaism—in particular those which relate to Signs of the End; and, if the case is often one of mere coincidence, they are not absent in the case of new conceptions and matters connected with the institutions of the primitive Church. As for the stories of the Infancy (to mention one point only), there can be no question whatsoever of Buddhist origin; the Star in the East is, however, ultimately traceable to Babylon, while the Massacre of the Innocents points unmistakeably to heathen mythology. *In fine*: whatever New Testament conceptions there are which reveal foreign elements and influences—and the hypothetical nature of the majority of his results is here insisted on by Dr Clemen—they lie mainly on the fringe of Christianity, and do not touch its vital essence. Some pithy closing

remarks are to the following effect:—it is quite intelligible that where at first sight there are such close resemblances, a dependence on the part of Christianity should have been precipitately assumed, nor is it to be wondered at that when, after decades of neglect, efforts are at last made to popularize established results of Biblical research, mere speculation should often be put forward in the guise of solid fact; the pity is that earlier scholars, to whom so much is due, were slow to emphasize a needed warning against perverted applications of the new methods. 'Ich fürchte,' says Dr Clemen, 'wenn sich die religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments nicht weit mehr, als sie jetzt vielfach geneigt ist, vor solchen Ausschreitungen hütet, dann wird die künftige Forschung auch über ihre begründeten Resultate zunächst wieder ebenso zur Tagesordnung übergehen, wie unsere Zeit die Ergebnisse älterer Forscher vorläufig zumeist vergessen hatte.'

As Dr Clemen himself anticipates, his book will not commend itself to all, and it is likely enough that critics who are sharply criticized will not readily bow to an omniscience which is occasionally reflected in his pages. Sturdily independent throughout, he is, it seems, generally observant of a caution and reserve which he justly desiderates; but I cannot forbear to fasten on an instance where he is guilty of an arbitrariness which he is prompt to condemn in others; it occurs in the passage (p. 226) which treats of the *quaestio vexata* of the Virgin Birth. The verse appealed to, Mark iii 21, is, perhaps, apposite—if it is really safe to interpret the *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ* of the family at Nazareth and to make room for Mary if only as 'over-persuaded by the brethren' (cf. Swete *in loc.*). But to make the bald assertion that the non-historicity of the Virgin Birth 'folgt . . . aus ihrer Unvereinbarkeit mit dem sicher nicht erfundenen Urteil der Maria über ihren Sohn: *er ist von Sinnen*' is to take an unpardonable liberty with the text.

A blemish such as this notwithstanding, I should say that Dr Clemen's work is an important and timely contribution to the subject of comparative religion, and its wealth of quotation and reference renders it in any case a veritable mine of information for the student.

H. LATIMER JACKSON.

St Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, Meyer's Kommentar, Band x, Aufl. 7, by Dr ERNST v. DOBSCHÜTZ. (Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1909.)

ENGLISH students will give a warm welcome to this commentary. Dr v. Dobschütz writes in a lucid style. His judgements are invariably well weighed. He digs into a sentence, not in order to make it mean as much as possible, but to probe it impartially;

and he seems to me to arrive, with very few exceptions, at the right conclusion. The Introduction deals with the mission of St Paul, the founding of the Thessalonian church and his relations with it; the contents, character and genuineness of the two epistles; and it ends with a notice of the principal works bearing on them, in which liberal account is taken of English writers. Dr v. Dobschütz is quite convinced that both Epistles are genuine writings of St Paul, endorsing Bornemann's contention that the Second Epistle, like the First, is intelligible only if genuine. With regard to vocabulary, style and theological expression he remarks that if 2 Thess. stood alone, so that it could not be compared with the First Epistle, there would be much less doubt about its genuineness than there is. The only quite un-Pauline expression is τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (II i 12), where, rather than treat the anarthrous κυρίου as a *quasi* proper name, the last four words are taken to be an interpolation. The absence of all detailed information as to the *charismata* in the early church (I v 19-22) and the *Parousia* and Judgement (II ii 1-12) is no proof of spuriousness but rather the reverse. St Paul wrote not for us but for his readers, who knew all the facts, from experience in the one case, and from his recent teaching in the other.

The notes on the text are interspersed with excursuses, short but very much to the point. The following are of special interest. *St Paul's early mission preaching* (pp. 81 f). The consideration just mentioned is of force here. There must have been many subjects on which his readers had received full instruction, which are not handled in these Epistles. 'How much, for example, is taken for granted in a conception such as ἐκλογή (I i 4)!' And conversely, much that holds a prominent place in the other Epistles—Law, Justification, Flesh and Spirit—does not appear to have entered largely into his early preaching.—*The organization of the Church* (pp. 218 f). Some form of organization is of course necessary for a church to be a church at all; but ten years lie between 1 Thessalonians and Philippians. The activity of church leaders in Thessalonica was purely voluntary. The προϊστάμενοι and κοπιῶντες (I v 12) were not officials, but Christians who served the community with the help of *charismata*. But is not this rather a precarious assumption which deprives the preposition προϊστάμενοι of all its meaning?—*Trichotomy* (pp. 230 ff). This St Paul does not teach. The natural man is σῶμα and ψυχή. Πνεῦμα is not co-ordinated with them; it is the new element which enters the Christian only, and comes from God.—*Antichrist* (pp. 291 ff). The ἄνομος is not Satan, nor an abstract idea such as Godlessness or Atheism, nor a Jewish pseudo-Messiah, nor a person who stands outside St Paul's horizon, e.g. a heresiarch, Mohammed or the

Pope, nor a historical person within his horizon, e.g. Caligula, Nero or Titus. He is a definite person, as yet unrevealed, though his character is known. He combines features of the Enemy of God, derived from the ancient dragon myth, of the heathen tyrant, derived from the history of Antiochus Epiphanes, and of the False Prophet who deceives with miracles. His opposition to God is not anti-Jewish or political, but universal and moral. St Paul's conception is the result of a sifting of a mass of earlier eschatological traditions, carried out with a religious depth of thought which forms yet another proof of the genuineness of the Second Epistle.

To come to comments on individual passages. I ii 7. The reading *ἡπιοι* is adopted; and in the next verse *τροφός* is rightly interpreted of the mother not of a nurse. As she not only stills the infant on her own breast, but wants to form him into her own likeness by spending her heart upon him, so the apostle wishes to give the Thessalonians not only what he *has*—the Gospel, but what he *is*—his own *ψυχή*, himself.—ii 16. *Πάντοτε* is used loosely as equivalent to *πάντως* or *παντελώς*. But is this necessary? Bengel's paraphrase *ut semper ita nunc quoque* is simpler. The remark on the remainder of the verse, *ἔφθασεν δέ, κτλ.* indicates Dr v. Dobschütz' literary attitude: 'That it is an interpolation, or a quotation from the *Test. xii Patr.* where it occurs *verbatim* in Lev. i 6, are assumptions which may be discussed when all other possible explanations are exhausted.'—ii 18. Since the first person plural is used by St Paul throughout the Epistle of himself alone, *ἐγὼ μὲν* is employed only because he wishes to introduce his name, 'in order to give expression to the tenacity of his resolve' to seize every opportunity of re-visiting Thessalonica. But it is not clear how the introduction of his name expresses this. I do not think that Dr v. Dobschütz has succeeded in proving that the first person plural in no case refers to St Paul and his companions.—iv 4. The note is excellent. *Κτᾶσθαι* must mean 'to get, procure'; and *τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σκεῦος* is 'his own wife', the article perhaps implying 'the *σκεῦος* necessary to him for the avoidance of *πορνεία*'; *ἐν ἀγιασμῷ* describes the state of mind in which a man should approach marriage, and *τιμὴ* is his consciousness of the honour due to the woman.—iv 17. With characteristic caution no attempt is made to decide the Where or the How of *πάντοτε σὺν κυρίῳ ἐσόμεθα*. St Paul does not state that it will be on the earth or in heaven or between them. He says nothing about the fate of non-Christians, or the signs preceding the *Parousia*, or the gathering of those scattered abroad, or Judgement. The whole complex of Jewish eschatological ideas is reduced to the double thought that all Christians will be united with the Lord, and that no single individual will suffer any disadvantage as compared with the rest—II ii 3, 6 f.

The background of the word ἀποστασία is the falling away of Jews from their religion, which culminated in the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to make the nation apostatize. But St Paul does not mean a falling away from Judaism, nor from Christianity, nor a revolution against Rome, nor any combination of these; but a general falling away of the heathen world from all morality and religion, such as had been expected before the End. Τὸ κατέχον and ὁ κατέχων alike refer to the civil power of Rome. The difficult ellipse in verse 7 is explained: 'It only [*works*] until ὁ κατέχων ἄπτι is removed.' But the transposition of ἔως is very awkward. The ellipse in Gal. ii 10 is not quite parallel.

The commentary is printed in the Offenbacher-Schwabacher type, which is much easier and pleasanter to read than the ordinary German type, and much more suited to the language than our Roman letters. The Hebrew type is very poor, and there are several misprints. The worst is אמת for חתם (p. 128 n. 1).

A. H. McNEILE.

The Epistle of St Jude and the Second Epistle of St Peter. By Joseph B. MAYOR, M.A., Litt.D. (London, 1907.)

WE owe a debt of gratitude to Dr Mayor for the patient work embodied in this sequel to his edition of St James. In spite of his belief in the genuineness of the Epistle of St Jude, and the statement of opinion in his preface as to the intrinsic value of 2 Peter, that 'there are few who would not feel that the exclusion of [it] from our New Testament would be a far more serious loss than the exclusion of' St Jude—yet the labour in this case cannot in the nature of things have been lightened by the enthusiasm that made his study of St James such a revelation of new fields. For this generation (to say the least of it) it is a descent to lower levels to exchange the rugged ethical preaching of St James and the truly catholic optimism of 1 Peter for the rhetorical denunciations of false teaching which fill the two later Epistles. On the question of date, Dr Mayor ranges himself definitely against the possibility of 2 Peter being a first-century document. It is, in his opinion, 2 Peter that has incorporated Jude, not Jude that has abbreviated 2 Peter. This judgement is based on a minute study of the structure and phraseology of the two documents, and is confirmed by a similar examination of the language of 1 Peter and 2 Peter respectively, which leads Dr Mayor to the conclusion that 'the difference in grammar and style is much less than that in vocabulary, and this again is less than that in matter, feeling and personality'; but this is sufficient to make him certain that St Peter cannot be the author of the so-called second Epistle. It is interesting to find what is perhaps no accidental indication of the change from apostolic to sub-apostolic hopes in the absence from

2 Peter of the series of words connected with *ἀγαθός* and *κακός*, which in the first Epistle reveal the writer's confidence in the ethical appeal of Christianity to the world; even the superficial examination of language quickly betrays the difference between the first-hand fervour of 'a witness of the sufferings of Christ' who has learned by that spectacle the infinite possibilities of spiritual triumph, and the thin rhetorical atmosphere in which the probability of a fiery end of the world can be vouched for by the citation of an equally unexpected event—the Deluge.

Dr Mayor seems relieved when his argument allows him to turn aside for a while to the undoubtedly genuine work of St Peter; he gives an admirable page or two of parallels between 1 Peter and the gospel tradition; and the most interesting chapter in the whole introduction is the 'Comparison between the Peter of the Gospels and Acts and the Peter of the two Epistles', which begins by refuting the curious paradox of the late Dr Bigg that the leader of the apostles being an 'uneducated labourer' was 'apt on a sudden emergency to say and do the wrong thing, not because he was hasty, but because he was not quick'.

It is not difficult to shew that 'uneducated labourer' ill describes a Galilean fisherman of Jewish education, who 'had the further advantage of knowing two languages'; but in any case such evidence as we have emphatically forbids us to put down St Peter as 'shy, timid, and embarrassed'. Even the great denial seems to be well explained, without the imputation of any abnormal cowardice, by Christ's own apparent command to surrender. It was 'as if soldiers whose courage had been strained to the highest pitch at the prospect of leading a forlorn hope were suddenly told that their captain had changed his mind, and that they were now to surrender to the enemy. Despair and bewilderment would succeed to high-wrought courage, and so it was with St Peter'. In further tracing the Apostle's history and character through the narrative of 'Acts', Dr Mayor adduces parallels even in phrase between the speeches and the first Epistle; and, on the other hand, points out how little in common the artificiality, subtlety, and general outlook of the second Epistle has with the Peter of the Gospels and Acts.

It will be gathered from what has already been said that Dr Mayor inclines to let the ultimate decision as to authenticity rest with internal evidence rather than external. When all is said that can be said about the dangers of subjective criticism by latter-day readers, the consideration of the external evidence in a case like this leaves behind the impression that the same desire for edifying matter which led to the production of pseudonymous writings led also to their uncritical acceptance. From Dr Mayor's introduction we cull the following significant facts—that Eusebius quotes as genuine the letter of Christ to Abgar;

that the Apocalypse of Peter is, as regards early recognition in the Church, 'in a stronger position' than 2 Peter; that Tertullian holds that the book of Enoch should be received as scripture, because of its witness to Christ, and because it has the testimony of the apostle Jude.

It is on internal evidence, mainly, that Dr Mayor bases his acceptance of the Epistle of St Jude as being from the pen of Judas the brother of the Lord. It offers similarities of style and temper with the Epistle of the elder brother James, obvious differences being sufficiently accounted for by the later period of writing. The denunciatory and less practical tone of the later Epistle Dr Mayor explains by the fact that 'it was called out by a sudden emergency, to guard against an immediate pressing danger, and was substituted for a treatise *περὶ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας*, which Jude had hoped to send (v. 3), and which would probably have been more in the tone and spirit of vv. 20 f'.

In criticism of this learned volume it may be said that the arrangement of the Introduction leaves something to be desired. The treatment of the two Epistles is so blended, that it is not easy to disentangle the arguments for and against the authenticity and suggested dates of each. I have detected one misprint not noticed in the 'corrigenda', viz. on p. cv a reference to 1 Pet. ii 7, which should be ii 17.

The 'notes' and 'comments' are full of learning and illustrative matter, as was to be expected. Changes from the usual texts are sometimes admitted, e.g. in Jude 5 *ὑπομνήσαι δὲ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι εἰδότες ἅπαξ πάντα, ὅτι Κύριος λαὸν ἐκ γ. Ἀ. σώσας κτλ.* Dr Mayor would follow **Δ**, and several of the versions in placing *ἅπαξ* in the second clause, greatly improving the sense. In the difficult passage, 2 Pet. iii 6, he would read (supported by one minuscule and, apparently, Schmiedel) *δι' ὧν* instead of *δι' ὧν*, the relative being made to refer to the 'word of God' previously mentioned. His objection to *δι' ὧν* is based on the supposed necessity of referring it to the two uses of water expressed in *ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ δι' ὕδατος*. I should like to suggest the following translation of the whole passage; as giving passable sense, without alteration of the text:—

'For when [the sceptics] would have it thus, they leave out of account the fact that there had been heavens from of old and an earth that out of water and in the midst of water stood solid by the word of God, in the midst of which, nevertheless, [i.e. in the apparently secure surroundings of a familiar heaven and earth], the then order was overflowed by *water* and destroyed: and it is only by the same word that the present heavens and earth [which they think so permanent] have been laid up as in a safe treasure-house, being really reserved for *fiery* destruction when the day comes for judgement and the perdition of the impious.'

STEPHEN LIBERTY.

Mar Isaaci Ninivitae De Perfectione Religiosa; quam edidit PAULUS BEDJAN, P.C.M. (Lazarista). (Parisiis et Lipsiae, 1909.)

FEW Syriac writings have enjoyed such a wide popularity as the ascetical works of Isaac of Nineveh. In the middle ages they were translated from Syriac into Greek and Arabic; and thence into Latin and Ethiopic. For a full account of these versions see Chabot *De S. Isaaci Ninivitae vita, scriptis et doctrina* (pp. 54 ff). As Father Bedjan observes in his Preface (p. iii), 'on a beaucoup parlé d'Isaac de Ninive; bien des erreurs ont été commises à son sujet'. He is usually (e. g. by Wright *Syr. Lit.* p. 110) classed as a Monophysite. The evidence for this is a short biography, prefixed to the Arabic version of his writings in the Karshuni MS Vat. 198, which is given with a Latin translation by Assemani in *B. O.* i 444-5. According to this document Isaac was first a monk of the Monophysite monastery of Mar Matthew at Mosul, and then bishop of that city. Resigning this office he retired to the desert of Skete in Egypt, where he remained till his death. Wright (*ibid.*) also follows Assemani in the matter of dates: 'His date is fixed, as Assemani points out, by the facts of his citing Jacob of Sêrûgh [† 521] and his corresponding with Simeon Stylites the Younger or Thaumastorites, who died in 593.' But Chabot (*op. cit.* pp. 11-17) has shewn (1) that the supposed letter to the Stylite is really by Philoxenus of Mabbôgh, and (2) that although in the Arabic version cited by Assemani there may be quotations from Jacob of Sêrûgh, these do not appear in the Syriac or in the Greek version at the places indicated. Chabot himself contended for an earlier date (fifth century), but without conclusive evidence; and since his book was written (1892) two fresh pieces of evidence (independent, it would seem, but in substantial agreement with each other) have been published which shew him to have been mistaken. The first of these is a notice in the *Historia Fundatorum Monasteriorum*, otherwise known as *The Book of Chastity*, of Ishô'dēnah, a writer of (probably) the early ninth century (cf. Wright *op. cit.* p. 195). This may be read in Chabot's *Livre de la Chasteté* (1896) p. 63 (text), p. 53 (transl.), or in Bedjan's *Liber Superiorum* &c. (1901) p. 508. The second is a notice published by Rahmani in his *Studia Syriaca* (1904), taken from a fifteenth-century MS in the library of the Jacobite patriarch at Mardin. Both of these documents state that Isaac was a native of Bêth Ɣatrâyê (on the Persian Gulf); that he was ordained bishop of Nineveh by, or at least in the days of, the Nestorian catholicus George (c. 660-680) in the monastery of Bêth 'Abhê; and that he abdicated this office and became a recluse. The former adds that he died and was buried in the monastery of Rabban Sapor, and that he said 'three things which by many were not (well) received'. It gives also a further indication of time by

stating that Isaac's successor in the see of Nineveh also resigned 'and became an anchorite in the days of Hēnānīshō' the catholicus' (c. 681-701: cf. Wright *op. cit.* p. 181). Both these notices, as Rahmani observes (p. 64), appear to have been drawn independently from an earlier Nestorian source: neither, it will be noticed, makes any mention of Isaac's sojourn in Egypt, a tradition which may have originated in that country, whence the Arabic MS embodying it was obtained (cf. Chabot *op. cit.* p. 12 note 2). It appears then that Isaac belonged not to the fifth or sixth, but to the seventh century; and further that he was a Nestorian. That this was the case is, I think, established independently by Bedjan on the evidence of the MSS. Isaac was claimed by both Monophysites and Nestorians, and his works were largely used by both sects. Consequently when we find passages attributed in some MSS to Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, and in others to writers less obnoxious to the Monophysites, or merely left anonymous, or when we find textual variations with a doctrinal import, it is not at first sight obvious which party has been guilty of tampering with the original. But the evidence collected by Bedjan (pp. viii-xi) would appear to prove that the Monophysites are the culprits. It is possible that the Nestorians also supplied names (especially that of 'the Interpreter') here and there where none were given by the author; but when we find in the margin of a MS the words 'Paul of Tarsus' opposite a quotation which is certainly not from St Paul, and which the text gives to 'Diodore of Tarsus' (cf. Preface p. xi), the probability is that the offensive name was authentic. On p. 24 of the text there is a passage, not cited by Bedjan, which seems incompatible with Monophysitism. The writer says that Scripture often speaks tropically in assigning to God bodily attributes; but that the discreet reader will allow for this *modus loquendi*. He then goes on to say that some have 'stumbled a stumbling past rising up' on seeing that the Scripture sometimes speaks loftily concerning the manhood of Christ, attributing to it things 'unsuitable to human nature'. He appears to mean that these persons erred in taking the passages literally.

I have so far said nothing as to the quality of the edition under review, or of the character of the treatise itself. But it seemed worth while to bring together the evidence relating to the personality of the author and the *milieu* in which his work was produced. A treatise on mystical theology emanating from Egypt would be no novelty; but it is interesting to know that the Nestorian Church also had something to teach the Christian world on the subject of the higher spiritual life. A full abstract of Isaac's ascetical system will be found in the work of M. Chabot (pp. 73 ff) already cited. His book shews considerable

power of psychological analysis. The difficulty of the style arises partly from the nature of the subject and the endeavour to express abstract ideas through the somewhat clumsy medium of the Syriac tongue; it is however comparatively free from Greek and other foreign words, and has a rich Syriac vocabulary which will repay the study of lexicographers. There are numerous quotations from other writers, particularly from Theodore of Mopsuestia and Evagrius.

As regards the edition: Fr. Bedjan has had at his disposal, besides the best known Western MSS, several brought from Eastern libraries and hitherto out of reach of European scholars. He does not give all the variants of his MSS: but this shortcoming is partly counter-balanced by the fact that he bases his text on the Mardin MS, the one which of all shews least signs of having been interpolated or otherwise tampered with.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai, translated into English with an Introduction by Dom R. H. CONNOLLY, M.A.; with an Appendix by EDMUND BISHOP. Texts and Studies, vol. viii, no. i. (Cambridge, 1909.)

A DESCRIPTION of Church services which is of known date is of great value; we have it as the author left it, whereas a liturgy which has continued in use is subject to constant additions and alterations, even though it may retain its original framework and many ancient features. On the other hand we must be cautious in trusting to rhetorical phrases, like those of the homilies before us, for exact details, especially for the wording of formulas. Dom Connolly successfully establishes the authorship of the present homily on the Eucharist. There seems to be no good reason to deny that it, together with the other three here translated, was the work of Narsai in the latter half of the fifth century. The four are taken from a volume of Narsai's homilies and poems published in Syriac at Mosul in 1905; they deal with the Eucharist, Baptism, and the Church and Priesthood.

The Homily on the Eucharist appears to have as its basis the original of the present Nestorian or East Syrian *Liturgy of Addai and Mari*; but for the portion between the Sursum Corda and the end of the Epiclesis, it is probably founded on an Anaphora by Narsai himself. This portion contains many interesting points. We note the insertion of our Lord's words at the Last Supper, which are not found in *Addai and Mari* at all; but Narsai expressly says that 'the chosen

Apostles have not made known to us' our Lord's words spoken when 'He gave thanks and blessed' (p. 16). 'Amen' follows the Commemoration of the Last Supper. The Great Intercession is much longer than in *Addai and Mari*; it is said to imitate Mar Nestorius, probably as being derived from the so-called *Liturgy of Nestorius*, or rather from its original; it occupies the same place as in the present East Syrian liturgies, before the Invocation. The Epiclesis is an explicit one, praying 'the Spirit to come down and dwell in the bread and wine, and make them the body and blood of King Messiah'; curiously enough, the Holy Ghost seems to be addressed, not the Father, though this deduction is denied by Dom Connolly, and must be received with caution. Genuflexion is ordered before the Invocation, but forbidden after it, when the 'mystery of the resurrection has been accomplished' (p. 23). The rest of the homily is of the greatest use in enabling us to see how much of the present *Addai and Mari* is original, how much is addition. We have another interesting link in the tenth-century commentary of George of Arbela on the Services of the Church (described in the present volume, p. 75). We may by it and by Narsai trace the gradual growth of the present East Syrian rite from the fifth century to the present day.

The stage of ritual developement reached by the East Syrian Church in the fifth century is somewhat surprising; note, for example, the vestments of the clergy, the incense, the fans, the lights (lamps), the bowings and genuflexions. The use of the Creed in the Eucharist at this date, contemporary with Peter the Fuller, is also remarkable. On the other hand there is the absence of litanies in Narsai; and the whole service seems to have been said in the sight of the people, without a veil. Many other features of the Eucharistic service are of great interest, but must be passed over here.

The two baptismal homilies are also valuable. Two points may be noticed. (1) The renunciations (which have disappeared from the present East Syrian rite, probably because they used to form part of a preliminary service) speak, as in the older authorities, of intellectual as well as of moral error—the heretics are the evil angels renounced, p. 37; not, as is explained in a more modern Coptic baptismal Order, of moral error only (Denzinger *Rit. Orient.* i 234). The candidate renounces Satan's 'service' (cf. Cyr. Jer. and Ap. Const. *λατρεία*, Testament of our Lord 'pālūthā') and 'inventions' (cf. Ap. Const. *ἐφευρέσεις*), that is, the circus, stadium, theatres (p. 38; cf. Cyr. Jer.). (2) Dom Connolly seems to be right in thinking that in Narsai there is only a pre-baptismal anointing. It is curious that in the present East Syrian rite the post-baptismal anointing is not explicitly mentioned, though it is usually administered in practice. In this respect Narsai

is confirmed by the Didascalia and by several Syriac descriptions of baptism mentioned in this volume.

Mr Bishop adds a learned Appendix comparing Narsai with other rites, in six 'Observations'. The last of these, which is of some length, is on the 'Moment of Consecration', or rather on the Epiclesis in the Eucharist; the writer is inclined to think that the mention of the Holy Ghost in the Invocation does not date from before the fourth century. In these six 'Observations', interesting as they are, one misses (except in one brief passage) any consideration of the Church Orders. Probably Mr Bishop assumes Funk's comparatively late date for them. It may be thought by many that Funk's theory raises more difficulties than it solves. But, however this may be, and whatever the dates of the Church Orders, their evidence on several of the matters discussed is important and cannot be ignored.

A. J. MACLEAN.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, October 1909 (Vol. lxi, No. 137: Spottiswoode & Co.). W. N. SCHWARZE The Moravian Church and the proposals of the Lambeth Conference—The problem of morals in France—F. B. JEVONS The history and psychology of religion—P. D. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF Gnosticism and early Christianity in Egypt—Eschatology and the Kingdom of heaven—G. E. NEWSOM George Tyrrell—W. A. SPOONER The Poor-Law Commission: the minority report—G. BODY George Howard Wilkinson, Primus of the Scottish Church—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, October 1909 (Vol. viii, No. 1: Williams & Norgate). J. G. TASKER Germany and England, by Prof. A. Harnack—S. McCOMB The Christian religion as a healing power—J. NAYLOR Luke the physician and ancient medicine—S. ALEXANDER Ptolemaic and Copernican views of the place of mind in the universe—A. FAWKES Modernism: a retrospect and a prospect—R. ROBERTS Jesus or Christ? a rejoinder—E. TROELTSCH Calvin or Calvinism—B. P. BOWNE Darwin and Darwinism—F. G. PEABODY A paladin of philanthropy—W. COLLINS Crime and punishment—F. R. TENNANT Historical fact in relation to philosophy of religion—Discussions—Reviews—Recent books and articles.

The Expositor, October 1909 (Seventh Series, No. 46: Hodder & Stoughton). C. CLEMEN The dependence of early Christianity upon Judaism—A. R. SIMPSON Mary of Bethany, Mary of Magdala, and anonyma—A. CARR The meaning of δ κόσμος in James iii 6—A. E. GARVIE The work of the Spirit—W. M. RAMSAY Historical commentary on the First Epistle to Timothy—R. H. STRACHAN The Christ of the Fourth Gospel—E. H. ASKWITH The historical value of the Fourth Gospel—T. MOFFATT Materials for the preacher.

November 1909 (Seventh Series, No. 47). J. B. MAYOR Did Christ contemplate the admission of the Gentiles into the Kingdom of heaven?—W. M. RAMSAY Historical commentary on the First Epistle to Timothy—A. S. GARVIE The Body of Christ—E. H. ASKWITH The trial of Jesus—R. H. STRACHAN The Christ of the Fourth Gospel

—B. D. EERDMANS The Passover and the days of the unleavened bread—C. CLEMEN The dependence of early Christianity upon non-Jewish religions.

December 1909 (Seventh Series, No. 48). R. WINTERBOTHAM On the omniscience of our Lord—R. H. STRACHAN The Christ of the Fourth Gospel—T. P. GRIERSON New Testament miracles and modern healings—C. W. EMMET Should the *Magnificat* be ascribed to Elizabeth? E. H. ASKWITH The crucifixion—A. E. GARVIE The heavenly citizenship—W. M. RAMSAY Historical commentary on the First Epistle to Timothy.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, October 1909 (Vol. xiii, No. 4: Chicago University Press). H. R. MACKINTOSH Does the historical study of religions yield a dogmatic theology?—G. H. GILBERT The hellenization of the Jews between 334 B.C. and 70 A.D.—E. S. ARNES Non-religious persons—J. R. SLATTERY The writings of Modernism—B. C. EWER Veridical aspects of mystical experience—H. C. SARKAR Present-day religious tendencies in India—E. J. GOODSPEED Notes on the Freer Gospels—E. NESTLE John Mill on the Latin Gospels—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, October 1909 (Vol. vii, No. 4: Princeton University Press). E. DOMUERGUE Music in the work of Calvin—B. J. WARFIELD Calvin's doctrine of the Trinity—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, October 1909 (Vol. xxvi, No. 4: Abbaye de Maredsous). G. MORIN Examen des écrits attribués à Arnobe le Jeune—I. SCHUSTER Martyrologium Pharphease, ex apographo C. Tamburini codicis saeculi xi—G. MORIN I. Un texte préhiéronymien du cantique de l'apocalypse: l'hymne *Magna et venerabilia*: II. Les *Tractatus* de S. Jérôme sur les Psaumes X et XV—P. PASCHINI Chromatius d'Aquilée et le commentaire pseudo-hiéronymien sur les Évangiles—A. WILMART Les *Monita* de l'abbé Porcaire—D. DE BRUYNE Nouveaux fragments de l'*Itinerarium Eucheriae*—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques—U. BERLIÈRE Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine.

Analecta Bollandiana, October 1909 (Vol. xxviii, No. 4: Brussels, 22 Boulevard Saint-Michel). H. DELEHAYE Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum regii monasterii Scorialensis—P. PEETERS Une Passion arménienne des SS. Abdas, Hormisdas, Sâhîn (Suenes) et Benjamin—A. PONCELET Translatio S. Arnulphi episcopi et martyris anno 1103—A. PONCELET Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum

bibliothecae nationalis Taurinensis.—Appendix : I. Passio S. Matronae virginis Thessalonicensis : II. Passio SS. Polyeucti, Candidiani et Philoromi martyrum Alexandrinorum : III. Passio SS. Victorini, Victoris et sociorum martyrum Alexandrinorum : IV. Passio SS. Marciani, Nicandri et sociorum martyrum Alexandrinorum—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques—Appendix : U. CHEVALIER Repertorium hymnologicum : Supplementum alterum, pp. 33–48.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, July 1909 (2nd series, Vol. iv, No. 3 : Paris, 20 Rue du Regard). L. LEROY Vie, préceptes et testament de Lokman (texte arabe, traduction française)—S. VAILHÉ Saint Euthyme le Grand, moine de Palestine (376–473) (*fin*)—S. GRÉBAUT Vie de Barsoma le Syrien (texte éthiopien, traduction française) (*suite*)—R. GRIVEAU Notices des manuscrits arabes chrétiens entrés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, depuis la publication du catalogue—F. NAU La version syriaque de la première lettre de saint Antoine (texte syriaque, traduction française)—F. NAU Analyse du traité écrit par Denys bar Salibi contre les Nestoriens (ms. syriaque de Paris, No. 209, pp. 181–380)—M. CHAINE Jean Bermudez, patriarche d'Éthiopie (1540–1570)—Bibliographie : J. F. Bethune-Baker *Nestorius and his Teaching* (M. BRIÈRE) : A. S. Lewis *Codex Climaci rescriptus* (F. NAU) : A. Brassac *Manuel biblique* t. iv (F. NAU) : F. NAU *Histoires de S. Pacôme, de S. Jean-Baptiste, de S. Michel à Colosses : analyse de mss. grecs palimpsestes* (E. TISSERANT) : *Historiens arméniens des croisades*, tome second (F. NAU).

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, November 1909 (Vol. x, No. 4 : Giessen, A. Töpelmann). J. KREYENBÜHL Ursprung und Stammbaum eines biblischen Wunders—H. DIEHL Das sogenannte Aposteldekret : ein Beitrag zur Kritik von A. Harnack's 'Apostelgeschichte'—A. MARMORSTEIN Jüdische Parallelen zur Petrusapokalypse—P. FIEBIG Jüdische Gleichnisse der neutestamentlichen Zeit—W. WEBER Der Census des Quirinius nach Josephus—Miszellen.

Theologische Quartalschrift (Vol. cxi, No. 4 : Tübingen, H. Laupp). SÄGMÜLLER Der Tischtitel in der Diözese Rottenburg—STIX In den Schriften d. hl. Hilarius Pictaviensis—WEBER Zum armenischen Text des *Ἐνδείξις* d. hl. Irenäus—W. KOCH Zur Methode der Apologetik—RIESSLER Schulunterricht im A. T.—Rezensionen—Analekten.

The Journal *of* *Theological Studies*

APRIL, 1910

THE INFLUENCE OF ST JEROME ON THE CANON OF THE WESTERN CHURCH. II.

IN the previous paper I ventured to point out how completely and fundamentally Jerome changed his views on the subject of the Canon during his long and tempestuous career; and how, in addition to the mischief he did by his ungoverned rhetoric in his quarrels with other theologians, he did a much greater mischief by giving the sanction of his great fame as a scholar to a theory of the Canon which, whatever its merits, was not that of the primitive Church. What I ventured to say was, for the most part, of common and elementary knowledge; but it needs to be continually emphasized in view of the still prevailing theories about the Canon in many high quarters.

Before continuing and extending the remarks already made, it will be well to recall what Jerome's work on the Bible really comprised.

First as to the New Testament. As we saw he visited Rome at the invitation of Damasus, and stayed there three years, from 382 to 385. During his stay he translated the Gospels. We have no evidence that *at this time* he translated any more of the New Testament.

In regard to the Old Testament, we know that while at Rome he also revised the Psalter afresh from the Greek. On *a priori* grounds it is probable that the Greek text which he used in translating the Psalter was the *textus receptus* then current at Constantinople, which was apparently Lucian's version. This is confirmed by certain facts pointed out by Hody, the father of modern English scientific theology, who is much too little consulted in these days. Hody¹ recalls the fact that Heddius, in his

¹ H. Hody *De Bibliorum textibus originalibus, versionibus Graecis et Latina Vulgata*, Oxford, 1705, p. 284.

life of St Wilfrid (634-709) written at the beginning of the eighth century, tells us that when Wilfrid visited the king of Kent 'Psalmos, quos prius secundum Hieronymi emendationem legerat, more Romanorum *iuxta quintam editionem* memorialiter transmutasse'. William of Malmesbury enlarges the story and reports Wilfrid's visit to Erconbert, king of Kent, at the instance of Queen Eanfleda; and he continues: 'Ita Wilfridus Cantiam adveniens Romanas consuetudines, quae Scottorum scientiam vincebant, gnarus addidit. Psalterium denique quod a Scottis *iuxta translationem* beati Hieronimi acceperat, pro Romano more *iuxta quintam editionem* lectitavit et tenuit' (Wil. Malmes. *de Gest. Pont.* iii § 100).

Hody argues very reasonably from these passages that the first edition of Jerome's Psalter was not translated from the Septuagint, but from the *Quinta* of Origen's Hexapla, which was probably followed by Lucian. This is an interesting conclusion if it is sustained, for it affords us a valuable and early and independent means of securing a complete copy of a book in one of Origen's texts otherwise very scantily represented. It also shews that Jerome's first edition of the Psalter was the one generally in use in the Irish Church, which was the mother of that of Northumbria, in Wilfrid's time. It was also probably used in Spain in early times and continued to be used in the diocese of Toledo and is found in the Mozarabic rite. Pius V restricted its use in Italy to the Vatican Basilica, the Church of St Mark at Venice, and the Diocese of Milan (which preserves the Ambrosian rite). It is quoted by St Augustine, by Cassiodorus, and by Gregory the Great.

Jerome's translations on his first visit to Rome were therefore limited to the books most used in the services of the Church, namely the Gospels and the Psalter.

The notable event in his life at this time, however, was that he took part in the Council of 382. He was then acting as secretary to Damasus, and was no doubt completely in sympathy with the pronouncement on the Canon made by that Council, and was probably its author.

This pronouncement, as we have seen, does not profess to enunciate any new views on the matter, but merely to declare what the Universal Church accepted as Divine Scripture: 'de

scripturis divinis . . . quid universalis catholica recipiat ecclesia et quid vitare debeat.'

While this was the first corporate statement made by the Western Church on the question of the Canon, it is not the first list of biblical books that occurs in the West. An earlier one was in fact published by St Hilary of Poitiers. St Hilary was born at Poitiers in the latter part of the third century and became bishop there in 353. A great many centuries later, in 1851, he was proclaimed *Universae Ecclesiae doctor* by Pius IX. His chief claims as a theologian are of course based on the part he took in the West as the champion of orthodoxy against the Arians. On this subject he wrote a good deal and fought a long and fierce battle. His later days were less tempestuous, and it was in the latter part of his life which closed on January 13, 368 (when St Jerome was about twenty-one years old) that he wrote a memorable work on the Psalms entitled *Tractatus super Psalmos*. This work was not an original treatise. It was, no doubt, very largely based on Origen's famous commentary on the Psalter, and was steeped in Origen's views which were then very largely dominant. Origen's views on the Canon were by no means very logical, nor was he always consistent in regard to them. The great purpose of his Hexaplaric edition of the Bible was to confront the Greek Bible with the Hebrew, and he gave the latter a very prominent place in his Hexapla. He accordingly treats the question of the Canon in an ambiguous way, and is found sometimes leaning on the Canon recognized by the Church, and at other times on the Hebrew Canon. The latter was the case apparently in his work on the Psalms, of which, unfortunately, only fragments remain. In one of these Origen makes the number of the Canonical books in the Old Testament twenty-two, being the well-known number in the Hebrew Canon, and in this statement he is directly followed by Hilary, and it is virtually certain that the latter derived his list of Old Testament Canonical books directly from Origen.

In the prologue to the *Tractatus super Psalmos*, cap. 15, Hilary says:—

'Et ea causa est, ut in viginti duos libros lex Testamenti Veteris deputetur: ut cum litterarum numero convenirent. Qui ita secundum

traditiones veterum deputantur, ut Moysi sint libri quinque, Iesu Nave sextus, Iudicum et Ruth septimus, primus et secundus Regnorum octavus, tertius et quartus in nonum, Paralipomenon duo in decimum sint, sermones dierum Esdrae in undecimum,¹ liber Psalmorum duodecimus sit, Salomonis Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Canticum canticorum in tertium decimum et quartum decimum et quintum decimum, duodecim autem Prophetæ in sextum decimum, Esaias deinde et Hieremias cum lamentatione et epistola, sed et Daniel, et Ezechiel et Iob et Hester viginti et duum librorum numerum consumunt. Quibusdam autem visum est, additis Tobia et Iudith viginti quatuor libros secundum numerum graecarum litterarum connumerare, Romana quoque lingua media inter Hebraeos Graecosque collecta; quia his maxime tribus linguis sacramentum voluntatis Dei et beati regni expectatio praedicatur: ex quo illud Pilati fuit, ut his tribus linguis regem Iudaeorum dominum Iesum Christum esse praescriberet.'

It is very probable that this statement was in a large measure directly transferred from Origen. The only marked difference is that, while Origen makes up the number twenty-four from twenty-two by the addition of the two books of Maccabees, Hilary does so by adding those of Tobias and Judith.

The list given by Hilary, however, must not be taken as enumerating all the books he thought Canonical, or as in any way representing the voice of the Western Church at this moment. It was simply and naturally taken over, with other parts of the Commentary, from Origen, whose work Hilary was largely paraphrasing, and represents the views of Origen rather than those of Hilary. Hilary's own views as to what constituted a legitimate Scripture book may (as the editor of Hilary in Migne's edition says) be collected from his quotations. Thus he quotes Judith as 'ex lege' in his note in *Psalm. cxxv* n. 5. Tobias is also quoted in *Psalm. cxviii* lit. 2 n. 6 and *cxxix* n. 7. The Wisdom of Solomon is quoted in *Psalm. cxviii* lit. 2 n. 8, *cxxvii* n. 6, *cxxxv* n. 11, and *de Trinitate* i 7. Ecclesiasticus, which he assigns to Solomon, is quoted in *Psalm. lxvi* n. 9 and *cxl* n. 4. Lastly Baruch is cited under the name of Jeremiah in *Psalm. lxxviii* n. 19 and *de Trinitate* iv 42; and Susanna in *de Trin.* iv 8. The Epistle to the Hebrews is assigned to St Paul, in *Psalm. xiv* n. 5,

¹ Hilary has here made a double mistake; he has transferred the phrase of Origen λόγοι ἡμερῶν, by which he translated the Hebrew heading of Chronicles, from that book to Esdras, and has enumerated only one book of Esdras.

liii n. 12, while in *Psalm*. cxviii lit. 8 n. 16 it is assigned to an Apostle. The Apocalypse is attributed to 'beatus Ioannes' in the prologue to the *Tract. super Psalmos*; and lastly, in *de Trinitate* i 18 he says 'beatus apostolus Petrus in Epistola sua altera ait'. It is plain, therefore, that it would be misleading to quote Hilary as being a champion of the Jewish Canon in the West. It would be singular and incomprehensible, in fact, if within a few years of the death of such an influential champion of orthodoxy the Roman Council should have proclaimed the voice of the Church in the West in terms so different from his.

Let us now revert to Jerome. As we have seen, in 385 he took up his definite and final residence at Bethlehem and there devoted himself to translating the Bible and commenting upon it. A few words first about his work on the New Testament. It has been disputed, as I have said, whether Jerome in fact ever translated any more of the New Testament than the four Gospels which he accomplished at Rome. It is curious that, while we have a preface to the Gospels from his hand, we have no similar introductions to the other books of the New Testament; and it will be remembered how, among others, one of the fathers of the Reformation, Jacques Lefevre of Étaples, justified his own work on the Vulgate of St Paul's Epistles by the argument that he was not revising the work of the great Doctor of the Church, Jerome, since the latter had not revised that portion of the Bible; but that he was only doing for it what Jerome had done for the Gospels, namely, revising the Old Latin version. Jerome's own statements seem, however, inconsistent with this view; thus in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical writings, written, as he tells us, in the fourteenth year of Theodosius, i. e. in 392 or 393 A. D., he says: 'Novum Testamentum Graecae fidei reddidi: Vetus iuxta Hebraicum transtuli.' Similarly in his letter to Lucinius (*Ep.* lxxi 5) he tells us, 'Novum Testamentum Graecae reddidi auctoritati.' These phrases seem consistent only with his having translated the New Testament as a whole.

Again, inasmuch as he claims on more than one occasion (see *J.T.S.* vol. x p. 487) to have followed the text of Adamantius, i. e. of Origen, in the Gospel of St Matthew, and in the Epistle to the Galatians, we can hardly doubt that he did considerable work

on the New Testament, and probably revised the whole of it after his settlement in Palestine, when the great works of Origen became accessible to him.

Whatever was the case in regard to the New Testament, there can be no doubt that Jerome's chief work during the early years of his sojourn at Bethlehem was the revision of the Old Testament text from the Greek. In regard to this translation there seems to me to have been some misunderstanding, and my own language in the previous paper is not free from ambiguity. It seems clear, when Jerome's various statements are compared, that what he means, when he says that his earlier version of the Old Testament was taken from the Septuagint, is not that it was taken from the *Koinē* or primitive Septuagint, but from Origen's syncretic Greek text, which, while based on the Septuagint, incorporated the variants of other editions, duly marked with asterisks and obeli, and Jerome more than once says that his own original Latin translation was similarly marked. Hence it follows that this, his first Latin version, was not strictly a translation from the Septuagint, but was the first known rendering into another language of Origen's hexaplaric and syncretic Greek version. To this important conclusion I shall return presently. Meanwhile I shall refer to Jerome's first version as his 'hexaplaric' Latin edition. Unfortunately, of this edition the greater part is lost. There was clearly no room for it when its own author virtually renounced it in favour of his second translation which was derived directly and entirely from the Hebrew. The portions that remain are nevertheless of great interest and importance for the criticism of the hexaplaric Greek text. First among them is the Psalter. As we have seen, Jerome had already issued an edition of the Psalter when at Rome, and I have detailed its later history. Of his Latin *hexaplaric* Psalter, Lefevre of Étampes long ago called attention to a copy as still existing, marked with its asterisks and obeli. It is printed, from two ancient MSS, Vat. Reg. 24 and Vat. Pal. 39, among Jerome's works in Vallarsi's edition (x 105-430) with the hexaplaric marks duly added. The edition became very popular, and in copies meant for general use it was natural that the marks in question should be omitted. From the fact that it was so widely diffused in Gaul it became known as the 'Gallican Psalter'. Its

introduction into Gaul was attributed by more than one mediaeval writer to the personal initiative of Damasus himself, who died, however, some years before it was made. Thus Sigebert of Gembloux after describing it in detail (sub an. 382) says:—

‘Hoc Psalterium Damasus P. rogatu Hieronymi in Gallicanis Ecclesiis cantari instituit et propter hoc Gallicanum vocatur : Romanis Psalterium secundum LXX retinentibus sibi, propter quod Romanum vocatur’ (ap. Hody *op. cit.* p. 382).

The same statement is made by Martinus Polonus in his Chronicle. Similarly Berno Augiensis, in a letter cited by Mabillon written to Megenfrid and Benno, says:—

‘Inter caetera ex emendata LXX Interpretum translatione Psalterium ex Graeco in Latinum vertit [Hieronymus] illudque cantandum omnibus Galliae ac quibusdam Germaniae Ecclesiis tradidit. Et ob hoc Gallicanum Psalterium appellavit, Romanis adhuc ex corrupta vulgata editione Psalterium canentibus : ex qua Romani cantum composuerunt, nobisque usum cantandi contradiderunt. Unde accidit quod verba, quae in diurnis vel nocturnis officiis canendi more modulantur, intermisceantur, et confuse nostris Psalmis inserantur, ut a minus peritis haud facile possit discerni, quid nostrae vel Romanae conveniat editioni’ (*ib.*).

This wrong assignment of the second edition of Jerome’s Psalter to the initiative of Damasus himself is apparently based on a misunderstanding. Martinus Polonus in his Chronicle says ‘Damasus P. instituit rogatu Hieronymi, ut diceretur in fine Psalmorum in Ecclesia Gloria Patri’. Hody tells us that:—

‘Inter diversa diversorum in Psalmos praeambula Remigii Expositioni praefixa, habetur sub Hieronymi nomine, sed supposititia, ad Damasum P. Epistola quaedam, de canendo in fine Psalmi cuiuslibet *Gloria Patri* etc. ad declarandum Niceni Concilii fidem, deque *Alleluia* semper omnibus Psalmis affigenda, cum aliis rebus quibusdam ad Psalmos spectantibus ; quae ei tanquam primo auctori, at absque ullo auctore idoneo, vulgo adscribuntur’ (*ib.* p. 352).

The real introducer of the Gallican psalter into Gaul was clearly Gregory of Tours, as Walafrid Strabo, who died in 849 A.D., tells us (*de reb. eccl.* xxv). Gregory was appointed bishop of Tours in 553 and died in 595. Walafrid expressly says that Jerome’s second Psalter which was in use in Gaul and Germany was introduced by Bishop Gregory of Tours, of whom he says ‘in Galliarum dicitur Ecclesias transtulisse’. Mabillon argued

that it was in fact introduced later by St Boniface, who became archbishop of Mainz. The latter perhaps introduced it into Germany, but it was clearly used in Gaul in the time of Gregory of Tours, who in all his quotations from the Psalter uses the Gallicanum. Hody especially notes the quotation of Psalm lxxii 18 and 19 in the *Historia Francorum* v 14 and of Psalm xcv 9 in vi 5 of the same work, in both of which cases the language is that of the Gallican and not of the Roman Psalter. The Gallican version, he says, was also used by St Germanus of Paris in the middle of the sixth century and by Venantius Fortunatus, who flourished in the middle of the same century, in his hymn *de Cruce*. Besides Gaul and Germany the Gallican Psalter was also used in Britain in later times, in a large part of Spain, and also in some provincial districts of Italy.

Bruno, who was Abbot of Monte Cassino and afterwards Bishop of Segni and died in 1125, in the introduction to his commentary on the Psalms says :—

‘Cum adhuc adolescentulus essem, exposui Psalterium secundum aliam translationem ; quae viz. translatio pluribus in locis tantum differt ab hac, qua utitur Romana Ecclesia, ut nullo modo secundum illius expositionem haec translatio intelligi possit. Et illa quidem multos habet expositores : hanc autem si aliquis exposuerit nescio’ (Hody *op. cit.* p. 383).

This makes it very probable that in certain parts of Italy the Gallican Psalter was displaced by the Roman sometime during Bruno’s life. It was also used by some of the Religious Orders. Thus Cardinal Bona reports that Alexander IV commanded the General Prior of the Augustinians to recite the Office according to the *Roman* use, except in regard to the Psalter. Thus again St Francis in his Rule prescribed, ‘Clerici faciant divinum officium secundum ordinem sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, excepto Psalterio’. In each of these cases the prescribed Psalter is clearly the Gallican.

The same Gallican Psalter, as is well known, forms the basis of the version in the Book of Common Prayer.

The Psalter is not the only Old Testament book of Jerome’s hexaplaric translation which has survived. Hody tells us that in a Latin MS in the Bodleian ‘NE. F. 6. 7. 8’, which he calls ‘antiquus et perpulcher’, he had found two translations of Job by

Jerome with separate prefaces, one of which was the hexaplaric text of the book. In a note in the margin of another Latin Bible, among the Laud MSS (D 43), we read, 'In libro veteri, quem vidi, et fuit de coenobio Fontinella, fuit translatio Ieronymi super Iob, qua non utimur'. Hody adds that the same exemplar containing obeli and asterisks had been seen, or perhaps discovered, by Lefevre of Étaples. Other copies have occurred. The text with its hexaplaric marks was edited by Lagarde, *Mittheilungen* ii, and from this edition Dr. Swete extracts some samples (*Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* p. 10).

In the preface to his translation of Job from the Hebrew (x 1097, 1101) Jerome refers to his earlier translation of the book from the Greek in the words:—

'Utraque editio et LXX iuxta Graecos, et mea iuxta Hebraeos, in Latinum meo labore translata est.'

Again he says:—

'Ceterum apud Latinos ante eam translationem, quam sub asteriscis et obelis nuper edidimus, septingenti ferme aut octingenti versus desunt; ut decurtatus et laceratus corrosusque liber foeditatem sui publice legentibus praebeat.'

In the corresponding preface to the hexaplaric version (x 47) he says:—

'Beatum Iob, qui adhuc apud Latinos iacebat in stercore, et vermibus scatebat errorum, integrum immaculatumque gaudete. Quomodo enim probatione atque victoria dupliciter universa ei sunt reddita; ita ego in lingua nostra (audacter loquor), feci eum habere quae amiserat. Igitur et vos et unumquemque lectorem solita praefatione commoneo, et in principiis librorum eadem semper annectens rogo, ut ubicumque praecedentes virgulas videritis, sciatis ea quae subiecta sunt in Hebraeis voluminibus non haberi. Porro ubi stellae imago fulserit, ex Hebraeo in nostro sermone addita. Necnon et illa quae habere videbamur et ita corrupta erant, ut sensum legentibus tollerent, orantibus vobis magno labore correxi: magis utile quid ex otio meo Christi ecclesiis eventurum ratus, quam ex aliorum negotio.'

Again, in his letter to Pammachius (*Ep.* xlix 4), he says:—

'Transtuli nuper Iob in linguam nostram: cuius exemplar a sancta Marcella, consobrina tua, poteris mutuari. Lege eundem Graecum et Latinum, et veterem editionem nostrae translationi compara: et liquido pervidebis quantum distet inter veritatem et mendacium.'

Again, in his answer to Rufinus, ii 29 (Vallarsi, ii 524), he says:—

‘Transibo ad librum Iob, quem post LXX Interpretum editionem, quam Origenes obelis asteriscisque distinxit, ante annos plurimos Latino sermoni datum, cum rursus iuxta ipsum Hebraicum verterem,’ etc.

Lastly, in a letter to Jerome Augustine, *Ep.* civ 3 (Vallarsi, i 630), thus refers to this edition of Job:—

‘Hoc addo, quod postea didicimus, ex Hebraeo Iob a te interpretatum, cum iam quandam haberemus interpretationem tuam eiusdem Prophetæ ex Graeco eloquio versam in Latinum, ubi tamen asteriscis notasti quæ in Hebraeo sunt et in Graeco desunt, obeliscis autem quæ in Graeco inveniuntur et in Hebraeo non sunt, tam mirabili diligentia, ut quibusdam in locis ad singula verba singulas stellas videamus, significantes eadem verba esse in Hebraeo, in Graeco autem non esse. Porro in hac posteriore interpretatione, quæ versa est ex Hebraeo, non eadem verborum fides occurrit. Nec parum turbat cogitantem, vel cur in illa prima tanta diligentia figantur asterisci, ut minimas etiam particulas orationis indicent deesse codicibus Graecis, quæ sunt in Hebraeis: vel cur in hac altera, quæ ex Hebraeis est, negligentius hoc curatum sit, ut non eadem particulae locis suis invenirentur.’

So far as we know, the only books of the Bible in the hexaplaric Latin version of Jerome which survive are the Psalter and Job, as above described. It may be that other portions of the translation occur in some undiscovered or uncollated MS of the Vulgate, but of this we know nothing. They were all apparently intact in the time of Cassiodorus. As is well known, however, in the case of some other books, while the texts have disappeared, the prefaces written for them by Jerome remain; namely, those affixed to the books of Chronicles and to those of Solomon. In the preface to his hexaplaric edition of Chronicles addressed to Domnion and Rogatianus he says (Vallarsi, x 431):—

‘Denique cum a me nuper literis flagitassetis, ut vobis librum Paralipomenon Latino sermone transferrem, de Tiberiade legis quondam Doctorem, qui apud Hebraeos admirationi habebatur, assumpsi: et contuli cum eo a vertice (ut aiunt) usque ad extremum unguem: et sic confirmatus ausus sum facere quod iubebatis. . . . Si quis in hac interpretatione voluerit aliquid reprehendere, interroget Hebraeos, suam conscientiam recolat, videat ordinem textumque sermonis; et tunc nostro labori, si potuerit, detrahat. Ubicumque ergo asteriscos, id est

stellas, radiare in hoc volumine videritis, ibi sciatis de Hebraeo additum quod in Latinis codicibus non habetur. Ubi vero obelus, transversa scilicet virga praeposita est, illic signatur quid LXX Interpretes addiderint.'

In regard to his translations of the Salomonic books from the Greek he says in the preface to the version of the same books from the Hebrew (Vallarsi, ix 1295) 'Si cui sane Septuaginta interpretum magis editio placet, habet eam a nobis olim emendatam'.

Again, in regard to the Prophets, while neither the texts nor the prefaces remain, a considerable amount of their contents, according to this version, can be recovered from Jerome's elaborate commentaries on the Prophetical books which still survive. In regard to this, Vallarsi long ago said, 'possunt instaurari ex versione illa, sive emendatione, quam in Commentariis S. Pater suae ex Hebraeo versioni statim subnectit iuxta Septuaginta' (*Vita Hieronymi* xx 5: Vallarsi, xi 101).

Hody has collected some typical passages from this Commentary in which references to the Latin Hexaplar version are made thus on Isaiah xl:—

'*Ad Es.* 40. Hoc quod asteriscis notatur: Quia spiritus etc. ex Hebraico et Theodotionis editione additum est. *Ad cap.* 5. Nomen Hierusalem, quod hic a LXX additum est, nec in Hebraeo habetur, nec ullus trium Interpretum posuit: unde obelo praenotandum est. *Ibid.* Illud autem quod supra dicitur, Et non occidet etc. de Theodotionis editione ex Hebraico additum est. *Ad cap.* 52. In hoc loco nomen Sion a LXX additum est; et idcirco iugulatum veru. *Ad cap.* 55. Quodque sequitur, Et obnoxii tui erunt in ea, obelo praenotavimus. *In Ier.* 2. Hoc in LXX non habetur, sed sub asteriscis de Theodotionis editione additum est; *Ibid.* Pro imagine mortis (*quod Hebraicum habet*) de Theodotione additum est, umbra mortis. *Cap.* 31. Ridicule Latini Codices in hoc loco, ambiguitate verbi Graeci, pro calido lupinos interpretati sunt etc. *Versio tamen Latina, qua ibi utitur Hieronymus, habet calidum.* *In Ezech.* 7. Haec in LXX non habentur, sed in editione eorum de translatione Theod. sub asteriscis addita sunt. *Rursus:* Locus difficilis, et inter Heb. et LXX multum discrepans, quibus pleraque de Theodotionis editione addita sunt, ut aliquam habere consequentiam viderentur' (*op. cit.* pp. 354 sq.).

As we saw in the previous paper, Jerome, in writing to Augustine, speaks of having lost a large part of his first translation by a fraud ('pleraque enim prioris laboris ob fraudem cuiusdam

amisimus'). As we also saw, the lost books were recovered by Cassiodorus, and we shall return to the matter again when we come to deal with the work of Cassiodorus upon the Canon.

An important question in regard to Jerome's hexaplaric version remains to be discussed, namely, that of his treatment of the deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament in that edition.

This question involves another, namely, what did Origen's hexaplar text really contain? The prime object of the Hexapla was to put the Hebrew text in juxtaposition with the Greek translations; and the Hebrew text, first in Hebrew characters, and secondly transliterated into Greek characters, occupied its two first columns, being thus placed in the most prominent position.

Now it must be remembered that the deuterocanonical books were not contained in the Hebrew Bible, nor yet in the two Greek translations, that of Aquila and that of Symmachus, which were professedly translations of the Hebrew Bible. So that they were not contained in four out of the six texts which composed the Hexapla, and it seems to me almost certain that they were not contained in the hexaplar edition at all.

Further, it seems to me that the existence of the Tetrapla, which would otherwise have been a quite useless replica of the four Greek columns of the Hexapla, is evidence of this. The Tetrapla in all probability did contain the deuterocanonical books, since it would seem to have placed Origen's syncretic edition of the *Kowî* or Septuagint in the place of honour which in the Hexapla was occupied by the Hebrew text.

Jerome's translation, however, was (as he expressly says on more than one occasion) taken from the Hexapla. Hence it would follow that his translation of the Old Testament from the Greek, like his similar translation from the Hebrew, was based not on the Greek Canon, but on the Hebrew Canon, and did not contain any of the deuterocanonical books. So far as I know this suggestion has not been made before, at all events on these grounds; but it seems to be inevitable, and it is remarkably confirmed by the fact that so far as we know no traces of any translation by Jerome of any of the deuterocanonical books *from the Greek* remain, nor does he mention their existence anywhere.

It would seem, therefore, that in regard to the question of the

Canon Jerome changed his views before he undertook his final translation which was from the Hebrew, and that in both his great translations he adopted the Hebrew Canon. All that he did in *his second translation* was to abandon the *Hexaplaric Greek text* in favour of the Hebrew text. In regard to his adoption of the latter in his second edition, the excuse he made to the world for his change of front on such a critical question was plausible. It was founded on the great variations in the texts of the Greek Bible as contrasted with the uniformity of the Hebrew text. In the preface to his translation of Chronicles from the latter he says (Vallarsi, ix 1405):—

‘Si LXX Interpretum pura, et ut ab eis in Graecum versa est, editio permaneret, superflue me, mi Chromati . . . impelleres ut Hebraea volumina Latino sermone transferrem. Quod enim semel aures hominum occupaverat, et nascentis Ecclesiae roboraverat fidem, iustum erat etiam nostro silentio comprobari. Nunc vero cum pro varietate regionum diversa ferantur exemplaria, et germana illa antiquaque translatio corrupta sit atque violata; nostri arbitrii putas, aut e pluribus iudicare quid verum sit aut novum opus in veteri opere cudere, illudentibusque Iudaeis cornicum (ut dicitur) oculos configere.’

Jerome here clearly sets out what was his theory when he discarded the Septuagint for the Hebrew text as the ultimate verity. He presently goes on to claim that in effect he is only doing what Origen had done before him when he confronted the various Greek editions with one another, and then corrected the whole by a comparison with the Hebrew. He further claims to be only doing what the authors of the Septuagint themselves had done with smaller available means, and what had been approved by the Apostles since they had used the Septuagint. Thus he says (*ib.* 1407):—

‘Si igitur aliis licuit non tenere quod semel susceperant, et post LXX cellulas, quae vulgo sine auctore iactantur, singulas cellulas aperuere, hocque in Ecclesiis legitur, quod LXX nescierunt; cur me non suscipiant Latini mei, qui inviolata editione veteri ita novam condidi, ut laborem meum Hebraeis et (quod his maius est) Apostolis auctoribus probem?’

In his preface to Job he goes further and claims that his method is more rational than that of Origen, whose results were obtained by collating a number of contradictory texts and even by interpolation, instead of going, as he had done, to the

fountain-head itself and rigidly abiding by its terms. Nay more; the authors of several of the Greek translations read by Origen were, he urged, not Christians at all, but Jews or Judaizing Ebionites, and were not like himself orthodox Christians, and were therefore likely to sophisticate the sacred book, which he was incapable of doing. Thus he says (*ib.* ix 1099):—

‘Quod si apud Graecos post LXX editionem, iam Christi Evangelio coruscante, Iudaeus Aquila, Symmachus et Theodotio Iudaizantes haeretici, sunt recepti, qui multa mysteria Salvatoris subdola interpretatione celarunt, et tamen in *ἐξαπλοῖς* habentur apud ecclesias, et explanantur ab ecclesiasticis viris: quanto magis ego, Christianus de parentibus Christianis natus, et vexillum crucis in mea fronte portans, cuius studium fuit omissa repetere, depravata corrigere, et sacramenta Ecclesiae puro ac fidei aperire sermone; vel a fastidiosis vel a malignis lectoribus non debeo reprobari?’

This being his justification he proceeded to put in force without flinching the logical conclusion which it compelled, and to appeal directly to the Hebrew text which he variously called ‘Hebraica veritas’, ‘textus authenticus’, or ‘solita praesidia’. He claimed that the unadulterated and infallible text of the Bible was to be found in the Hebrew version and in that alone. ‘Certe confidenter dicam,’ he says, ‘et multos huius operis testes citabo, me nihil, duntaxat scientem, de Hebraica veritate mutasse. Sicubi ergo editio mea a veteribus discrepat, interroga quemlibet Hebraeorum, et liquido pervidebis me ab aemulis frustra lacerari.’

This being his theory he carried it out with great painstaking and skill, and sought help from every available source, and notably from such Jews as were willing to help him, and he became himself a very accomplished Hebrew scholar. His translation of the Hebrew Bible to which the name Vulgate has been most erroneously, and, in fact, ridiculously applied, is consequently a work of the highest importance for the recovery and criticism of the Hebrew Bible. It was made long before the Hebrew text was punctuated. The punctuation of the Hebrew text was the great means by which its much belauded uniformity was secured and then preserved by the Masorets, but it involved a large number of arbitrary meanings being attached to critical words.

While Jerome’s two translations are of considerable value for recovering the unpunctuated Hebrew text, this must not be too

much exaggerated, for it has to compete with older rivals in the Targums, in the Syriac Peshitta, and in such parts as exist of the Greek translations of Aquila and Symmachus, all of which were taken from the mother text of the Masoretic Bible more than two hundred years before Jerome made his translations.

On the other hand, in another direction, the introduction of Jerome's versions had a deplorable effect ; for it led very largely to the disuse and partially to the loss of a much more important and valuable text, namely the original and true Latin Vulgate.

Let us, however, revert to the deutero-canonical books. It is quite plain from many passages in his works that in Jerome's view the books or portions of books of the Old Testament which were not accepted as canonical by the Jews ought not to be accepted as such by Christians, but to be rigidly excepted from the Christian Bible. As is usual with him, however, he finds means partially to evade and avoid his conclusion when it becomes inconvenient and dangerous. These concessions are not too reputable in so great a scholar and so influential a teacher, since they are based on the supposed necessity of conciliating the Church, and not upon a devotion to more ideal motives.

With the Jews the ultimate test of canonicity was professedly the fact that a particular book occurred in Hebrew. Jerome evaded this rule in regard to two books at least, perhaps in regard to three, on the plea that they existed in 'Chaldee', which was very closely akin to Hebrew ; and he accordingly broke through his practice of not translating any Old Testament book which was not in the Hebrew Canon. His excuse for doing so is contained in the prefaces to the books of Tobias and Judith. Writing to Chromatius and Heliodorus about the former he says (Vallarsi, x 1) :—

'Exigitis enim ut librum Chaldaeo sermone conscriptum ad Latinum styllum traham ; librum utique Tobiae, quem Hebraei de catalogo divinarum Scripturarum secantes, his quae hagiographa memorant, manciparunt. Feci satis desiderio vestro, non tamen meo studio. Arguunt enim nos Hebraeorum studia : et imputant nobis, contra suum canonem Latinis auribus ista transferre. Sed melius esse iudicans Pharisaeorum displicere iudicio, et Episcoporum iussionibus deservire, institi ut potui.'

In regard to the book of Judith he says (Vallarsi, x 21):—

‘Apud Hebraeos liber Iudith inter hagiographa legitur: cuius auctoritas ad roboranda illa quae in contentionem veniunt, minus idonea iudicatur. Chaldaeo tamen sermone conscriptus, inter historias computatur. Sed quia hunc librum synodus Nicaena in numero sanctarum Scripturarum legitur computasse, acquievi postulationi vestrae, immo exactioni: et sepositis occupationibus, quibus vehementer arctabar, huic unam lucubrationem dedi, magis sensum e sensu, quam ex verbo verbum transferens. Multorum codicum varietatem vitiosissimam amputavi. Sola ea quae intelligentia integra in verbis Chaldaeis invenire potui, Latinis expressi.’

Hody mentions a Bible in the Bodleian ‘NE. F. 6, 7. 8’, containing two Latin editions of Judith, one with the preface above abstracted and thus explaining itself; and the other without a preface, which may be the old Vulgate.

Jerome’s version of Tobit was very generally incorporated in the Latin Bibles.

Besides Judith and Tobit, Jerome apparently also translated the first book of Maccabees, of which he had found a copy in Hebrew, although it was excluded from the Jewish Canon (‘Maccabaeorum primum librum Hebraicum repperi’). Hody says he did not translate this book, nor yet that of Ecclesiasticus; but Dr Swete tells us that the former exists in two versions in Latin, one of which has taken its place in the official Latin Bible, while another is preserved in a St Germain and a Madrid MS. One of these two versions is very probably a translation of the book by Jerome.

As I shewed (vol. x p. 496), Jerome tells us that he had found a Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus, but none of Wisdom, which was written in a Greek idiom and according to some was composed by Philo. Neither of these books, he says positively, any more than those of Judith, Tobit, and Maccabees, did the Church receive as canonical. ‘Sicut ergo Iudith et Tobiae et Macchabaeorum libros legit quidem Ecclesia, sed inter canonicas Scripturas non recipit; sic et haec duo volumina legit ad aedificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam’ (Vallarsi, ix 1293), which is an extraordinary statement in view of the available evidence to the contrary.

In his preface to Jeremiah Jerome says of the book of Baruch,

‘Librum autem Baruch notarii eius (i. e. Ieremiae) qui apud Hebraeos nec legitur nec habetur praetermisimus’ (Vallarsi, ix 783).

In regard to the Greek fragments of Esther, he speaks thus in certain headlines (*ib.* 1581):—

‘Quae habentur in Hebraeo plena fide expressi: haec autem quae sequuntur scripta reperi in editione vulgata, quae Graecorum lingua et literis continetur. Et interim post finem libri hoc capitulum ferebatur, quod iuxta consuetudinem nostram obelo, i. e. veru, praenotavimus.’

Further on he adds several explanatory paragraphs, thus:—

‘... Hoc quoque principium erat in editione vulgata quod nec in Hebraeo nec apud ullum fertur interpretum. . . . Quae sequuntur, in eo loco posita erant ubi scriptum est in volumine. . . . Quae in sola vulgata editione reperimus. . . . Quae sequuntur post eum locum scripta reperi ubi legitur. . . . Nec tamen habentur in Hebraico, et apud nullum penitus feruntur Interpretum. . . . Haec quoque addita reperi in editione vulgata. . . . Exemplar Epistolae Regis Artaxerxis . . . quod et ipsum in Hebraico volumine non habetur.’

Then again before the story of Susanna in Daniel (*ib.* 1399), ‘Hucusque Danielelem in Hebraeo volumine legimus. Caetera quae sequuntur usque ad finem libri de Theodotionis editione translata sunt.’ Before the Song of the three children (*ib.* 1873), ‘Quae sequuntur in Hebraeis voluminibus non reperi’. At the end of the same song we read, ‘Hucusque in Hebraeo non habentur: et quae posuimus, de Theodotionis editione translata sunt’. In regard to Bel and the dragon no comment apparently appears in the text, but in the preface to Daniel we read (*ib.* 1361):—

‘Difficultatem vobis Danielis ostenderem qui apud Hebraeos nec Susannae habet historiam, nec hymnum trium Puerorum, nec Belis draconisque fabulas, quas nos, quia in toto orbe dispersae sunt, veru anteposito easque iugulante, subiecimus, ne videremur apud imperitos magnam partem voluminis detruncasse.’

It would seem that in regard to the fragments of Daniel and Esther, while he declined to translate them, he incorporated the old Vulgate in his new edition.

It is perfectly plain, however, that Jerome excluded from his Canon the books of Tobias, Judith, Baruch, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, the Prayer of Manasses, 1 and 2 Maccabees, and the fragments of Esther and Daniel. Some of these, he tells us, were

accepted as hagiographa, and read as such by the Jews ; others were not used by the Jews, but had been accepted by the Church as containing godly teaching, yet were not to be used for establishing doctrine.

To them he applies in the *Prologus Galeatus* the term 'Apocrypha', not in its modern sense but as it was used by the fathers generally in the sense of extra-canonical, and unauthorized by the Church as a test of doctrine. It was left for the Reformed theologians of the sixteenth century to make a much more opprobrious and unjustifiable use of the term as applied to these books, thus confounding the so-called deuterocanonical books with works actually rejected by the Church as entirely sophistical and false.

Two only of the books hitherto widely received, one of them, so far as we know, universally, did Jerome entirely and scornfully reject, namely the book styled 'Esdras A' in the great Greek Codices which he referred to as Third Esdras, and the apocalyptic book known as Fourth Esdras. Of these he says in his preface to Ezra and Nehemiah (Vallarsi, ix 1523):—

'Nec quemquam moveat quod unus a nobis editus liber est, nec apocryphorum tertii et quarti somniis delectetur: quia et apud Hebraeos Ezrae Neemiaeque sermones in unum volumen coarctantur ; et quae non habentur apud illos, nec de viginti quatuor senibus sunt, procul abiicienda. . '

I shall have more to say about them later on.

Jerome's new translation from the Hebrew was no doubt an epoch-making work and created a wide sensation in the Church. A good proof of this is the fact that it was in part retranslated into Greek, in which language several translations already existed.

Among Jerome's friends at Bethlehem was a learned Greek named Sophronios. He became involved in a controversy with a Jew who raised questions about some of his quotations from the Psalms as not being consistent with the Hebrew text. He accordingly asked Jerome to translate that book afresh from the Hebrew, which he did. Afterwards, we are told, Sophronios in turn translated Jerome's later Latin versions of the Psalms and Prophets into Greek, and the result was much appreciated in the East. It is said that no part of this work survives. If it were

recovered it would, of course, be useful in the textual criticism of Jerome's Latin version.

Jerome's tampering in several ways with the received Canon and text of the Bible did not fail to arouse almost immediate opposition. His translations, as we have seen, were made piecemeal. His reputation was so great, however, that they were speedily known, as we shall see later, over a wide area, and notably they were soon known in the African dioceses where his great contemporary Augustine presided, and where they apparently caused great trouble.

This was expressed in more than one letter written by Augustine to Jerome himself, in which he spoke of what he deemed Jerome's dangerous innovations. I will quote some paragraphs from these letters. In one of them he writes (*Ep.* civ 4: Vallarsi, i 630):—

'Ego sane te mallem Graecas potius Canonicas nobis interpretari scripturas, quae LXX Interpretum auctoritate perhibentur. Perdurum enim erit, si tua interpretatio per multas Ecclesias frequentius coeperit lectitari, quod a Graecis Ecclesiis Latinae Ecclesiae dissonabunt, maxime quia facile contradictor convincitur, Graeco prolato libro, id est, linguae notissimae. Quisquis autem in eo quod ex Hebraeo translatus est, aliquo insolito permotus fuerit, et falsi crimen intenderit, aut vix aut numquam ad Hebraea testimonia pervenietur, quibus defendatur obiectum. Quod si etiam perventum fuerit, tot Latinas et Graecas auctoritates damnari quis ferat? Huc accedit quia etiam consulti Hebraei possunt aliud respondere; ut tu solus necessarius videaris, qui etiam ipsos possis convincere: sed tamen quo iudice mirum si potueris invenire.'

Again in a second letter he writes (*Ep.* lvi 2: *ib.* 299):—

'Petimus ergo, et nobiscum petit omnis Africanarum Ecclesiarum studiosa societas, ut in interpretandis eorum libris, qui Graece scripturas nostras quam optime tractaverunt, curam atque operam impendere non graveris. Potes enim efficere, ut nos quoque habeamus illos tales viros, et unum potissimum, quem tu libentius in tuis literis sonas. De vertendis autem in linguam Latinam sanctis literis canonicis laborare te nollem, nisi eo modo quo Iob interpretatus es: ut signis adhibitis, quid inter hanc tuam et LXX, quorum est gravissima auctoritas, interpretationem distet, appareat. Satis autem nequeo mirari, si aliquid adhuc in Hebraicis literis et exemplaribus invenitur, quod tot interpretes illius linguae peritissimos fuerit. Omitto enim LXX, de quorum vel consilii vel maiore spiritus concordia, quam si unus homo esset, non audeo in aliquam partem

certam ferre sententiam, nisi quod eis prae eminentem auctoritatem in hoc munere sine controversia tribuendam existimo. Illi me plus movent, qui cum posteriores interpretarentur, et verborum locutionumque Hebraearum viam atque regulas mordicus (ut fertur) tenerent, non solum inter se non consenserunt, sed etiam reliquerunt multa, quae tanto post eruenda et prodenda remanerent. Si enim obscura sunt, te quoque in illis falli potuisse creditur. Si autem manifesta, illos in eis falli potuisse non creditur. Huius igitur rei pro tua caritate expositis causis, certum me facias obsecraverim.'

In another letter he speaks more plainly of the troubles caused in the African Church by the new Bible, as many people deemed it (*Ep. cxvi 35: ib. i 775*).

'Ideo autem desidero interpretationem tuam de LXX, ut et tanta Latinorum interpretum, qui qualescunque hoc ausi sunt, quantum possumus imperitia careamus: et hi, qui me invidere putant utilibus laboribus tuis, tandem aliquando, si fieri potest, intelligant, propterea me nolle tuam ex Hebraeo interpretationem in Ecclesiis legi, ne contra LXX auctoritatem, tanquam novum aliquid proferentes, magno scandalo perturbemus plebes Christi, quarum aures et corda illam interpretationem audire consueverunt, quae etiam ab apostolis approbata est. Unde et illud apud Ionam virgultum, si in Hebraeo nec hedera est nec cucurbita sed nescio quid aliud, quod trunco suo nixum, nullis sustentandum adminiculis erigatur, mallet iam in omnibus Latinis cucurbitam legi. Non enim frustra hoc puto LXX posuisse, nisi quia et huic simile sciebant.'

The result of this strong feeling in the African churches was seen in the pronouncements of those churches on the subject of the Canon, not made once but reiterated at more than one provincial synod, and confirmed by the adherence of the Legate of Rome, in which the Septuagint Canon was affirmed very plainly, while the Hebrew Canon and Jerome's arguments in its favour were ignored. I emphasized this fact in a previous paper (*J. T. S. vii p. 350*). It is notable that the first of these pronouncements was made at the Council of Hippo in 393 at the very time when Jerome was abandoning his old adherence to the Septuagint in favour of his new rabbinical views as to the Old Testament text. It was reaffirmed at the first Council of Carthage in 397, and more authoritatively at the Second in 419, when the Pope was represented by Faustinus bishop of Potentia. These councils, in fact, merely reaffirmed the pronouncement of

the Roman Council of 382, which was held under Damasus, as we have seen, and they are absolutely conclusive as to the voice of the Western Church on the subject of the Canon at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century.

It will be well to put in juxtaposition with the pronouncements of these councils the views of Augustine himself as to the legitimate contents of the Bible; for no one represented the voice of the African branch of the Western Church at this time with more authority. In the *De Doctrina Christiana* ii 8, written about the year 400, he says:—

‘In Canonicis autem Scripturis Ecclesiarum Catholicarum quamplurimum auctoritatem sequatur, inter quas sane illae sunt, quae Apostolicas sedes habere et Epistolas accipere meruerunt. Tenebit igitur hunc modum in Script. Canonicis, ut eas quae ab omnibus accipiuntur Ecclesiis Cathol. praeponat eis quas quaedam non accipiunt; in eis vero quae non accipiuntur ab omnibus, praeponat eas quas plures graviioresque accipiunt eis quas pauciores minorisque auctoritatis Ecclesiae tenent. Si autem alias invenerit a pluribus, alias a grandioribus haberi, quanquam hoc facile invenire non possit, aequalis tamen auctoritatis eas habendas puto. Totus autem Canon Scripturarum in quo istam considerationem versandam dicimus, his libris continetur: Quinque Moyseos . . . et uno libro Iesu Nave, uno Iudicum, uno libello qui appellatur Ruth qui magis ad Regnorum principium videtur pertinere, deinde quatuor Regnorum, et duobus Paralipomenon, Iob, Tobias, et Ester, et Iudith, et Machabaeorum libri duo, et Esdrae duo . . . Prophetae in quibus David unus liber Psalmorum, et Salomonis tres, Proverbiorum, Cantica canticorum, et Ecclesiastes. Nam illi duo libri, unus qui Sapientia et alius qui Ecclesiasticus inscribitur de quadam similitudine Salomonis esse dicuntur: nam Iesus filius Sirah eos scripsisse constantissime perhibetur, qui tamen quoniam in auctoritatem recipi meruerunt, inter Propheticos numerandi sunt. Reliqua sunt eorum libri, qui proprie Prophetiae appellantur, duodecim Prophetiae libri singuli, qui connexi sibimet, quoniam nunquam seiuncti sunt, pro uno habentur. . . . Deinde quatuor Prophetiae sunt maiorum voluminum, Isaïas, Ieremias, Daniel, Ezechiel. His quadraginta quatuor libris Testamenti veteris terminatur auctoritas. Novi autem, quatuor libris Evangelii . . . quatuordecim Epistolis Pauli Apostoli . . . Petri duabus, tribus Iohannis, una Iudae, et una Iacobi, Actibus Apostolorum libro uno, et Apocalypsi Iohannis libro uno.

It is plain, therefore, that Augustine was completely at one with the African Councils and the Roman Council of 382 as to the legitimate contents of the Canon.

It is a remarkable fact that notwithstanding this very emphatic expression of the opinion of the corporate Western Church on the matter, Jerome, who professed to treat the voice and decision of that Church as dominant and conclusive, should have continued to maintain and disseminate an entirely different view of what constituted the Canon, and that he should have been permitted to do so without any direct official protest and censure, and it shews the personal prominence which he had attained.

His views were not, however, allowed to pass without individual protests from other famous theologians. We have seen how the opinion of the African Church in the matter was voiced by Augustine. That of Italy was expressed by a more aggressive champion, namely Rufinus, one of the most remarkable churchmen of the second half of the fourth century, of whom it is little short of a scandal that no modern critical Life exists, nor a critical edition of his collected works. His reputation has been greatly minimized by the champions of Jerome, who have accepted Jerome's fierce rhetoric and unmeasured abuse as a justification of their own mean opinion of Rufinus as man and as scholar. Tyrannius Rufinus was born probably about 345 at Concordia in North Italy, and baptized at Aquileia about A.D. 371. Having adopted the monastic life, he went to the East, and spent the next twenty-six years of his life in Egypt and Palestine. He died at Messina in Sicily in the year 410 or 411. He was an early friend of Jerome when both were eager students and followers of Origen. When Jerome visited Gaul, Rufinus asked him to secure for him a copy of St Hilary's *Commentarii in Psalmos* and *de Synodis*, thus proving how far the reputation of the great bishop of Poitiers had reached. He and Jerome went together to the East about 371; about 379 he settled at Jerusalem and there he resided for eighteen or twenty years, and there he was ordained. When Jerome himself settled in the East they renewed their intercourse and remained close friends till about the year 393, and Jerome's references to him up to this time are complimentary and friendly. But there ensued a difference between the two which developed into a bitter hostility, and in the controversy which followed Jerome's skill in vituperation was exercised to the full, and no more unedifying spectacle exists in Church history than the language he used in regard to his old

friend of so many years' standing. At this moment Origen's memory was being sharply pursued in many quarters, and both Jerome and Rufinus were suspected, not without justice, of having been his followers. Jerome, who was very nervous when his orthodoxy was in question, clearly saw that the tide was running strongly against his former inspirer and teacher, and abandoned his allegiance. Rufinus remained faithful and even published a translation of the *de Principiis*. In his preface he refers to Jerome's early devotion to their theological father, and to the handsome things Jerome had once said of him. These compliments Jerome now found inconvenient. He called them *factae laudes* and repudiated them with the energy with which Erasmus, who was in many ways very like Jerome, when in an analogous position, repudiated the compliments of Oecolampadius.

From this time to the end of their lives, with but a short interval, the separation between the two scholars was acute and bitter. Especially was it bitter on the part of Jerome, who has largely secured the ear of the orthodox world from the fact of his having been regarded for so many centuries as the senior Doctor of the Church. But his abuse and misrepresentations ought long ago to have been completely discounted by the simple means of an appeal to the opinions held of the real character and endowments of Rufinus by two such judicial and reputable judges as St Augustine and Gennadius. The golden words of the former may be read in the letter of rebuke he wrote to Jerome when the latter had sent him his abusive attack on Rufinus; while Gennadius speaks of him as follows (*de vir. illust.* 17):—

'Rufinus Aquileiensis presbyter non minima pars fuit doctorum Ecclesiae et in transferendo de Graeco in Latinum elegans ingenium habuit. Denique maximam partem Graecorum bibliothecae Latinis exhibuit . . . Sed et obtrectatori opusculorum suorum respondit duobus voluminibus, arguens et convincens se Dei intuitu et ecclesiae utilitate, auxiliante Domino, ingenium agitasse; illum vero aemulationis stimulo incitatum ad obloquium stylum vertisse.'

Dr Fremantle in his account of Rufinus in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* expresses an opinion worth quoting, when he says, 'His attempt to make peace, and his refusal to reply to Jerome's last invectives, though the tempta-

tion offered by a violent attack in answer to a peaceful letter was great, shews a high power of self-restraint, and a consciousness of holding a secure position' (*op. cit.* iv. 560).

All this should be kept in the memory in judging of the polemics between the two men, nor must we forget the fact that in scholarship they were in their several ways on a par. It is true that Rufinus had little or no pretensions to a knowledge of Hebrew, while he tells us himself: 'Ad latinum sermonem tricennali iam pene incuria torpuisse' (*Apol.* i. 11). In Greek, however, he was a proficient scholar, and no doubt a much better one than Jerome, and it was to him that the Western Church of the fifth century was largely indebted for such translations of the Greek fathers as it possessed.

In addition to their separation on the subject of Origen, Jerome and Rufinus also quarrelled on another subject in which Jerome had turned his back on his early views, namely, on the respective authorities of the Greek and Hebrew texts of the Bible; or rather, perhaps, on the authority of the Church as the final arbiter of such a question as against the appeal by Jerome to his own private judgement.

Like Hilary, Rufinus was a close student and follower of Origen in his views on the text of the Bible, and like him, no doubt, was embarrassed by the fact that Jews and Christians had two distinct Canons of the Old Testament. And in an early work of his, the *Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum* 36 sqq. apparently written in the fervour of his admiration for Origen, published about A.D. 380, and therefore earlier than the Roman Council of 382, we find him writing of the various classes of books for which claims to a place in the Bible had been alleged, as follows :—

'Quae sunt Novi ac Veteris Testamenti volumina, quae secundum maiorum traditionem per ipsum Spiritum sanctum inspirata creduntur, et Ecclesii Christi tradita, competens videtur hoc in loco evidenti numero, sicut ex Patrum monumentis accepimus, designare.

Itaque veteris Testamenti omnium primo Moysi quinque libri sunt traditi, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium. Post haec Iesus Nave, Iudicum simul cum Ruth. Quatuor post haec Regnorum libri, quos Hebraei duos numerant: Paralipomenon, qui dierum dicitur liber: et Esdrae duo, qui apud illos singuli com-

putantur, et Hester. Prophetarum vero Esaias, Ieremias, Ezechiel et Daniel: praeterea duodecim Prophetarum liber unus. Iob quoque, et Psalmi David singuli sunt libri. Salomon vero tres Ecclesiis tradidit, Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum. In his concluderunt numerum librorum Veteris Testamenti. Novi vero quatuor Evangelia, Matthaei, Marci, Lucae et Ioannis; Actus Apostolorum, quos describit Lucas; Pauli Apostoli epistolae quatuordecim, Petri Apostoli duae, Iacobi fratris Domini et Apostoli una, Iudae una, Ioannis tres; Apocalypsis Ioannis. Haec sunt quae Patres intra canonem concluderunt, et ex quibus fidei nostrae assertiones constare voluerunt.

Sciendum tamen est, quod et alii libri sunt qui non Canonici, sed Ecclesiastici a maioribus appellati sunt; id est, Sapientia quae dicitur Salomonis, et alia Sapientia quae dicitur filii Syrach, qui liber apud Latinos hoc ipso generali vocabulo Ecclesiasticus appellatur, quo vocabulo non auctor libelli, sed scripturae qualitas cognominata est. Eiusdem vero ordinis est libellus Tobiae, et Iudith, et Machabaeorum libri. In Novo vero Testamento libellus qui dicitur Pastoris sive Hermes; qui appellatur Duae viae vel Iudicium Petri. Quae omnia legi quidem in Ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam. Caeteras vero scripturas Apocryphas nominarunt, quas in Ecclesiis legi noluerunt. Haec nobis a Patribus tradita sunt, quae (ut dixi) opportunum visum est hoc in loco designare, ad instructionem eorum qui prima sibi Ecclesiae ac fidei elementa suscipiunt, ut sciant ex quibus sibi fontibus verbi Dei haurienda sint pocula.'

This was the view of Rufinus in A.D. 380. It is not impossible that it was the publication of these and similar views by Hilary and himself, and perhaps by other individual scholars who claimed Origen as their master, which led to the authoritative pronouncement on the subject made by the Western Church at the Roman Council of 382.

In his later writings Rufinus seems to have completely acquiesced in this pronouncement of the Church, and he offers a strenuous opposition to Jerome's theories and pretensions on the subject, and to his hebraizing the Rule of Faith by introducing a new Canon, that of the Jews, instead of the Bible which the Christian tradition had sanctioned, and which had been accepted by Christ and the Apostles. I will quote a notable passage on the subject from the second book of his *Invective*.

'An ut divinarum Scripturarum libros, quos ad plenissimum fidei Instrumentum Ecclesiis Christi Apostoli tradiderunt, nova nunc et

a Iudaeis mutuata interpretatione mutares? . . . Ista vero quae nunc tu interpretaris, et per Ecclesias et monasteria, per oppida et castella transmittis, quomodo suscipiemus, tanquam divina, an tanquam humana? Et quid facimus, quod quae Prophetarum vel Legislatorum nominibus titulatur, veriora haec abs te, quam illa quae Apostoli probaverunt, affirmantur? Istud commissum dic quomodo emendabitur, immo nefas quomodo expiabitur? Si enim in explicanda lege aliquid aliter sensisse damnable apud te ducitur, ipsam legem pervertere in aliud quam Apostoli tradiderunt, quoties damnable iudicandum est? Cur non magis pro huius ausi temeritate dicamus: Quis ex tot et tantis prudentibus et sanctis viris, qui ante te fuerunt, ad istud opus ausus sit manum mittere? Quis praesumpserit sacras Sancti Spiritus voces et divina volumina temerare? Quis praeter te divino muneri et Apostolorum haereditati manus intulerit? Et quidem cum ingens copia fuisse ex initio in Ecclesiis Dei, et praecipue Ierosolymis, eorum qui ex circumcisione crediderant, referatur, in quibus utique linguae utriusque perfectam fuisse scientiam, et legis peritiam probabilem, administrati pontificatus testatur officium. Quis ergo in ista eruditorum virorum copia ausus est Instrumentum divinum, quod Apostoli Ecclesiis tradiderunt, et depositum Sancti Spiritus compilare? An non est compilare cum quaedam quidem immutantur et error dicitur corrigi? Nam omnis illa historia de Susanna, quae castitatis exemplum praebebat Ecclesiis Dei, ab isto abscissa est et abiecta atque posthabita. Trium puerorum hymnus, qui maxime diebus solemnibus in Ecclesia Dei canitur, ab isto e loco suo penitus erasus est. Et quid per singula commemoro de his quorum comprehendere numerum nequeo? De quo ut omittam illud dicere, quod LXXII virorum per cellulas interpretantium unam et consonam vocem, dubitandum non est, Spiritus Sancti inspiratione prolatam, et maioris id debere esse auctoritatis, quam id quod ab uno homine, sibi Barraba aspirante, translaturum est. Ut ergo hoc omittam, vide quid dicimus, verbi causa: Petrus Romanae Ecclesiae per viginti et quatuor annos praefuit, dubitandum non est, quin sicut caetera, quae ad instructionem pertinent, etiam librorum Instrumenta Ecclesiae ipse tradiderit, quae utique iam tunc, ipso sedente et docente, recitabantur. Quid ergo? Decepit Petrus Apostolus Christi Ecclesiam, et libros ei falsos et nihil veritatis continentes tradidit, et cum sciret quod verum est haberi apud Iudaeos, apud Christianos volebat haberi quod falsum est? Sed fortasse dicit, quia sine literis erat Petrus, et sciebat quidem Iudaeorum libros magis esse veros, quam istos qui erant in Ecclesia: sed interpretari non poterat propter sermonis imperitiam. Et quid? Nihil in isto agebat ignea lingua per Spiritum Sanctum caelitus data? Non ergo omnibus linguis loquebantur Apostoli? Sed concedamus, quia non potuerit Petrus Apostolus facere,

quod hic modo fecit : de Paulo quid dicimus? Num et Paulus sine literis fuit? Hebraeus ex Hebraeis, secundum legem Phariseus, edoctus secus pedes Gamalielis, qui etiam et ipse Romae positus, si quid Petro defuisset, putas non potuit adimplere? Quomodo ergo isti, qui praecipiebant discipulis ut attenderent lectioni, emendatas eis et veras non dabant lectiones; et qui praecipunt ne attendamus Iudaicis fabulis et genealogiis, quae questiones magis praestant quam aedificationem; et iterum cavere nos iubent, et observare maxime eos, qui ex circumcisione sunt, quomodo non praevidebant per Spiritum, quod futurum esset tempus post quadringentos fere annos, quando Ecclesia cognito eo quod ab Apostolis non sibi esse tradita veritas Veteris Instrumenti, legatos mitteret ad istos, quos illi tunc Circumcisionem vocabant, obsecrans et exorans, ut sibi de veritate, quae apud ipsos est, aliquid largirentur? Per totos istos quadringentos annos errasse se et ignorasse quod verum est fateretur: Adscitam se quidem esse ex gentibus sponsam Christo per Apostolos: sed non ab eis veris monilibus exornatam: putasse se lapides esse pretiosas, nunc autem deprehendisse quod non sunt verae istae gemmae, quas sibi Apostoli Christi imposuerant: erubescere se ad publicum procedere, falsis et non veris lapidibus adornatam, et ideo rogare se ut vel Barrabam illum, quem aliquando ut Christo nuberet, spreverat, mittant ad se qui possit cum uno electo ex suis viro ornamenta sibi vera quae Apostoli non praestiterant reparare.' (*Invectiv.* ii 31-33: Vallarsi, ii 659 sqq.)

Rufinus then turns upon Jerome, and rends him for claiming to be only following Origen in his appeal to the Hebrew text. Thus he says:—

'Quid tibi ergo Origenis factum in hoc potest praestare solatii, cuius neque opus simile aliquod ostendere potes, et in quo tantum laboras, ut litera occidat consequentem: dum ille e contrario Spiritus vivificantis esse conetur assertor. Tuum igitur, frater, tuum istud est factum, nec quemquam nunc te in hoc comitem vel socium in Ecclesia habuisse certum est: nisi istum solum, quem frequenter commemoras, Barrabam. Quis enim alius auderet ab Apostolis tradita Ecclesiae instrumenta temerare, nisi Iudaicus spiritus?' (*ib.* 36 sq.: Vallarsi, ii 664 sq.)

We may differ in particular arguments here employed by Rufinus, but we cannot question the fact that, in his constant appeal to the tradition of Christ and the Apostles in regard to the legitimate contents of the Bible against the Hebrew tradition relied upon by Jerome, he was standing on impregnable ground.

H. H. HOWORTH.

ORDINATION AND MATRIMONY IN THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH. I.

THE relation of the sacred ministry to marriage has played no insignificant part in the history of Christianity. As a disciplinary question, and as involving such an institution as marriage, it could not fail to be more or less affected by the tendencies of the moment prevailing in the several branches of the Church ; and this, all the more because it was, at first, regulated by local authorities, whether bishops or synods. Hence a great diversity arose in the practice and the legislation of the Church.

Ample testimonies indeed shew that, while in some churches all the grades of the clergy freely enjoyed family life, and marriage was not considered incongruous with ministry, in other churches entire abstinence was practised by the clergy in wedded life, and the custom of celibacy tended to become a compulsory rule. The ecclesiastical legislation at one time, on account of a reaction against some false theories, insisted on the indissolubility of wedlock and on its value ; and at another, under the influence of asceticism, required the clergy to abstain from their wives and to observe such continence as actually to sever all nuptial relations.

All these differences are not necessarily, as evidence, of more than local value and force. The question, however, had to run its own course through the ages until finally, when the time came, the answers assumed their present forms, in the shape of general laws, and one of them was adopted by the Eastern Church as a whole.

According to the official enactment of the Orthodox Church, married persons may be enrolled in all ranks of clergy and continue in wedlock, with the single exception of the episcopate, and for bishops single life is held to be necessary ; but clerks once in holy orders are not permitted to marry.

For the complete understanding of the formation of this system it is necessary to trace the causes and steps of its development until its final settlement. It must be considered from a historical

and from a canonical point of view,—whether married life is compatible with ordination, and if so, how far and under what conditions. Moreover, as the episcopate in the Eastern Church does not stand on the same level as the other holy orders in regard to marriage, a special section must be devoted to examining the relation of the episcopate both to matrimony and to celibacy.

Such an enquiry will shew how far the Eastern Church has remained faithful to the primitive discipline and maintained it unshaken by the various influences that beset it.

The subject therefore may be divided under the following heads :—

I. The compatibility of Marriage with Ordination.

1. The history of the question.
2. Conjugal unions debarring from Ordination.
3. Marriage after Ordination.

II. The Episcopate in its relation to Marriage.

III. The Episcopate in its relation to Monasticism.

I. THE COMPATIBILITY OF MARRIAGE WITH ORDINATION.

1. *The history of the question.*

The first rule laid down concerning the relation of marriage to ordination is to be found in St Paul's writings. The Apostle directs Timothy and Titus to accept for holy orders only those who, among other qualifications, are husbands of one wife: *Δεῖ οὖν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον εἶναι μιᾶς γυναίκος ἄνδρα* (1 Tim. iii 2 ; cf. v 12 ; Tit. i 6). Without entering into details as to the meaning of the word *μιᾶς*, about which we shall speak later on, it may be affirmed with certainty that the Apostle, in this passage, does not regard marriage as in itself an obstacle to ordination ; while a household unwisely ruled, and ill-bred children, stand as disqualifications for the due discharge of the ecclesiastical office.

It is true that the words of this passage in themselves do not imply continuation of the conjugal relations after ordination ; but it is equally true and indisputable that they are not explicitly excluded. Moreover, had St Paul believed that it was improper for an ordained person to lead a family life, he would not have failed to mention it either as our Lord's command or as his own

counsel, when enumerating in the same letter the duties of a 'bishop'. On the contrary a mere reading of the context makes it clear that a 'bishop' is described by St Paul as leading a family life without any restriction imposed on it.

It is of course superfluous to mention that St Paul does not exact the married life as a *sine qua non* for admission to the clergy. Such an interpretation would contradict his personal example, and his practice in the selection of Timothy and Titus.

Thus, so far as the evidence of the New Testament is concerned, both states of life were alike admissible in the ministry of the Church.

Passing from the New Testament to the Fathers, we observe that, in the first three centuries, the spirit of St Paul's teaching was not forgotten, and it was no disgrace for clergymen to live in the use of marriage rights. St Clement of Alexandria, resting on this principle and enforcing the view of the Church about marriage in contrast with that of the heretics of his time, says that while intercourse outside of the lawful conjugal union is considered polluted, one who is the husband of one wife is accepted, whosoever he be, presbyter, deacon, or layman, provided that his wedded life be irreproachable.¹ In like manner towards the end of the same book he writes: Τί πρὸς ταύτας εἰπεῖν ἔχουσι τὰς νομοθεσίας οἱ τὴν σπορὰν καὶ τὴν γένεσιν μυσταττόμενοι; ἔπει καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τοῦ οἴκου καλῶς προϊστάμενον νομοθετεῖ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀφηγεῖσθαι· οἶκον δὲ κυριακὸν μίᾳ γυναικὶς συνίστησι συζυγία.² It is evident that St Clement would not have used this argument if married life was not allowed to the clergy of his day.

Meanwhile ascetic tendencies, which had always existed in the Christian community from the first, were gradually gathering force as time went on.³ The idea that the unmarried life is superior to the married, widely spread among Christians, could not but exert an influence on the practice of the clergy.

Origen, if the text is to be trusted, taking the exhortation of St Paul to the married (1 Cor. vii 5) in combination with passages

¹ *Strom.* iii 12 (Migne P.G. viii c. 1189) καὶ τὸν τῆς μίᾳς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα πάντῃ ἀποδέχεται κἂν πρεσβύτερος ᾖ, κἂν διάκονος, κἂν λαϊκός, ἀνεπιλήπτως γάμῳ χρώμενος.

² *Ib.* 18 (*ib.* c. 1212).

³ Ignat. *ad Polycarp.* 5; Justin Martyr *Ap.* i 15; Athenagoras *Leg.* 28; Minucius Felix *Octav.* 31; Theophilus *ad Autol.* iii 16; Origen *c. Cels.* v 49, *in 1 Cor.* vii 18-20 (*J.T.S.* ix p. 507).

of the Old Testament, suggested the view that, if the partakers of the perpetual sacrifice abstain from conjugal relations, the offering also of this sacrifice should belong only to those who have devoted themselves to perpetual and unceasing chastity.¹ The practice of the Church, however, as it is described by Origen, proves that examples of married men in the high offices of the Church were not rare. In discussing the well-known words of St Paul (1 Tim. iii 2) he expresses his surprise that whereas no digamist, even if he live a strict life of chastity after the loss of his second wife, is accepted for the ministry, yet monogamists, living with their wives until old age, are kept as leaders in the Church, sometimes without any training in chastity and continence.²

Moreover, the history of the first three centuries supplies us with some names of married clergymen.³ This, however, has not much significance, since, on account of the increasing honour in which celibacy was held, voluntary separation from their wives was sometimes practised by the clergy. Nevertheless, the example of Novatus, presbyter of Carthage, who had so cruelly injured his wife that she miscarried,⁴ proves that married men were not forbidden by any law to continue their intercourse with the wives they had married before ordination; for, as Bingham rightly observes, 'Cyprian does not accuse him for cohabiting with his wife, or begetting children after ordination, but for murdering the children which he had begotten'.⁵

It seems that the growing estimation of the celibate life led some married clergymen to extremes. From genuine or affected motives they proceeded to get rid of what they held to be an impediment to the holiness of the altar, by repudiating their wives. Such an arbitrary dissolution of the bond of matrimony, not unusual among the heathen, was obviously contrary to the

¹ *Hom. xliii in Num.* 3 'Certum est quia impeditur sacrificium indiesinens iis qui coniugalibus necessitatibus serviunt. Unde videtur mihi quod illius est solius offerre sacrificium indiesinens, qui indiesinenti et perpetuae se devoverit castitati'.

² *Comment. in Matth.* (Migne P. G. xliii c. 1241) *Τίς οὖν οὐκ ἂν εὐλόγως ἐπαπορῇ τί δήποτε, ζητούμενου τοῦ ἀρξόντος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τὸν μὲν τοῖνυνδε δίγαμον οὐ καθίσταμεν διὰ τὰς τοῦ γάμου λέξεις, τὸν δὲ μονόγαμον, καὶ εἰ τύχοι μέχρι γήρως συμβιώσαι τῇ γυναίκί, κρατοῦμεν ἀρχοντα, ἔσθ' ὅτε μὴδὲ γυμνασάμενον εἰς ἀγνείαν καὶ σωφροσύνην;*

³ See Bingham *Christ. Antiquities* iv 5 § 5.

⁴ St Cyprian *Ep.* lii (Migne P. L. iii c. 752).

⁵ Bingham *op. cit.* iv 6.

Christian conception of marriage. The principle of the Church in this matter is expressed in the 5th Apostolical Canon,¹ where the sacredness of marriage is enforced, and the false ascetic motive strongly condemned.²

This is all the evidence we possess on this subject during this period, and the conclusion is that no historical authority can be found proving that marriage was not consistent with the status of the sacred ministry.

The tendencies to asceticism, which were already noticeable in the early days of Christianity, in the course of time took definite shape in the monastic life. The question of the influence of Monasticism on the clergy will be treated in connexion with the Episcopate. Here it is sufficient to point out that the great monastic examples of heroism, devotion, and self-sacrifice won public veneration for asceticism; and the feeling that the single life was a higher state than the married life was growing, and reached its zenith in the fourth century, the age of the triumph of the Church. Public opinion began to shew an inclination, if not for celibacy, at least for strict continence in the wedded life of the clergy.

The most ancient enactment on this subject is that of the Spanish Synod of Elvira (305). According to the common interpretation of its 33rd canon, entire continence was required of the clergy under the penalty of deposition, though nothing was said about the separation of the parties.

Twenty years later an attempt was made to raise the rule of that Council to the dignity of an ecumenical ordinance. It was suggested to the Nicene Council, probably under the lead of Hosius of Cordova, that bishops, priests, and deacons (Sozomen adds subdeacons) should refrain from all conjugal intercourse. Of course, if this proposal had been accepted, the existing variety of clerical life in different churches would have been abolished, and a uniform system, that of celibate life, would have been established as a universal law in the Church. But when discussion

¹ The Council in Trullo (c. 2) and the Seventh Ecumenical Council (c. 1) recognized the 85 Apostolical Canons as binding; and thus they remain in force in the Eastern Church. Cp. Wordsworth *The Ministry of Grace* p. 42.

² Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα μὴ ἐμβαλλέτω προφάσει εὐλαβείας. Ἐὰν δὲ ἐκβάλῃ ἀφοριζέσθω ἐπιμέμων δὲ καθαιρεῖσθω. See also canon 51.

on this matter was impending, Paphnutius, bishop of a city in the Upper Thebaid, strongly opposed the motion. In a vigorous speech he earnestly entreated the assembly not to impose so heavy a yoke on the clergy, lest from excessive preciseness the Church should rather be injured; for not all men can bear the rule of rigid continence. He urged the sacredness of marriage, adding that, so far as the clergy were concerned, it would be sufficient that no one should contract matrimony after his ordination, according to the ancient tradition of the Church, while he should not be separated from the wife whom he had married while still a layman.

The purity of the life of Paphnutius, himself a strict ascetic and leading a virgin-life from his youth, placed above suspicion his hostile attitude to the proposed compulsory celibacy of clergy. His speech, especially as re-enforced by his confessorship, made a profound impression on the assembly and silenced all further debate on the point. So, as the historians say,¹ the Church did not lay down rules at all forcing any one to lead a single life. She recognized both states of life as equally acceptable, and wisely left the choice between them to individual discretion.

After the Council of Nicaea and about the middle of the fourth century there arose in Asia the sect of Eustathians, so named from their leader Eustathius, the semi-arian bishop of Sebaste in Armenia. This sect, holding as it did that marriage debars from salvation, of course regarded it as incapacitating for the clerical office. Hence they refused to receive the Holy Communion from a married priest, as though he ought not to minister.² These extravagances gave the opportunity to the Synod of Gangra (342)³ of setting forth the position of the Eastern Church as to this point: 'Ἡμεῖς τοιγαροῦν καὶ παρθενίαν μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης θαυμάζομεν καὶ ἐγκράτειαν μετὰ σεμνότητος καὶ θεοσεβείας γινομένην ἀποδεχόμεθα· καὶ ἀναχώρησιν τῶν ἐγκοσμίων πραγμάτων μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης ἀγάμεθα· καὶ γάμου συνόκησιν σεμνὴν τιμῶμεν.'⁴

¹ Soc. H. E. i 11; Soz. H. E. i 21; Gelasius *Ad. Conc.* ii 32. Some attempt has been made to discredit this story, but all modern scholars accept it without reserve. See Hefele *Councils* i p. 438.

² Soc. H. E. ii 43 πρεσβυτέρου γυναῖκα ἔχοντος, ἣν νόμῳ λαϊκὸς ὢν ἡγάγετο, τὴν εὐλογίαν καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν ὡς μῖσος ἐκκλίνειν ἐκέλευεν.

³ Gwatkin *Studies of Arianism* p. 185.

⁴ Canon 21.

And the Synod, resting its view upon this principle, condemned the attitude of Eustathius and his followers towards clergymen who lived in the use of marriage.¹

The African Code, which forms also part of the canonical collections of the Eastern Church, is evidence for the prevalent spirit of the age in the African Church. The second Council of Carthage (389) requires that bishops, priests, and deacons should be continent in everything (ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι ἐν πᾶσι)² and abstain from their wives (γυναικῶν ἀπέχεσθαι).³ The Carthaginian Council of 401 adds subdeacons to the former text and enacts that, 'secundum propria (*al.* priora) statuta', they should abstain from their wives, so as to be as though they had them not.⁴ An echo of the tone and the spirit of the Council of Elvira on this subject is noticeable here. It is true, however, that these canons do not speak of dissolution of marriage. The Council recognizes the existence of marriage among the clergy; but on the other hand it requires them to observe such strict continence in their wedded life, that the nuptial relations are really broken off.

It should be remarked that Greek scholiasts of the twelfth century, followed by some modern writers, interpret these canons as requiring only temporary continence; at the time, that is, of their ministration.⁵ The words, however, 'secundum propria statuta', κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους ὅρους (Can. 25 and 70), upon which they rest their view, are at least ambiguous and do not obviously suggest this interpretation; while the words ἵνα ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες ὧσι would seem to leave no doubt that the canons require, not temporary, but permanent continence⁶; while otherwise the

¹ Can. 4. Ἐἴ τις διακρίνοιτο παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου γεγαμηκός, ὡς μὴ χρῆναι λειτουργήσαντος αὐτοῦ προσφορὰς μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

² Can. 3.

³ Can. 4.

⁴ Can. 25 and 70.

⁵ Zonaras on Can. 25 καθ' ὃν καιρὸν μεταχειρίζονται τὰ ἅγια. Again, on Can. 70 κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους ὅρους, ἡγουν κατὰ τὰς ὀρισμένας ἡμέρας τῆς ἐκάστου ἡμερίας. Aristenus on Can. 4 ὅτε τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ νηστείᾳ σχολάζουσι καὶ τὴν τῶν ἁγίων ποιοῦνται μεταχειρίσιν. Balsamon on Can. 25 κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἡμερίας αὐτῶν. See also Johnson *Vade tecum* ii on Can. 25 and 70; Wordsworth *The Ministry of Grace* p. 228.

⁶ This view is held by the first compiler of the *Syntagma in XIV titles* (probably between 578-610) in his preface (*Syntagma* vol. i p. 6). See also Hefele *Councils* v p. 226, i footnote: Πηδάλιον τῆς ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας, Athens 1841, explicat. on the 3rd canon of the Carthag. Council, and 2nd footnote on the 13th Can. in Trullo.

degradation appointed as a penalty¹ would be futile, since transgression of the promise would not be evident.

The scholiasts support their view by referring to the explanation of these canons given by the Council in Trullo.² But this Council without doubt was able by its authority to alter any disciplinary enactment to suit the requirements of the moment³; and it exercised its authority in this case. Moreover, the decisions of the Synod of Carthage referred only to local practice, while those of the Council in Trullo are of a general application. The latter evidently modified the canons of Carthage and, by adding a few words, changed their original meaning, so that they were made to accord with the Council's own views on the subject.

It is true, however, that the African Council does not demand the dissolution of marriage, and the continence required, though continual, is not the same for all the clergy, but only for those who had promised it. As for the minor orders, the 70th canon has left them free, and allows the custom of each particular Church in this matter to be followed.

So far as the ecclesiastical legislation is concerned, especially in the East, we cannot find any enactment enforcing celibacy on the clergy. As a principle neither married nor celibate life was ever considered a necessary condition for Holy Orders. The existing practice in this matter shews that both systems prevailed in the Church.

Among the enactments of the Nicene Council, the third canon refers only to clergymen without wives, viz. to those who are unmarried or widowers at the time of their ordination, and those who become widowers after ordination. This canon was intended to safeguard the reputation of ecclesiastics not only from real scandals, but also from every suspicion, and so forbade them to have a 'subintroducta' living with them, allowing only a mother, sister, or aunt, or other person liable

¹ Can. 25 and 70 "Ὅπερ εἰ μὴ ποιήσωσι τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ ἀποκινήθῳσι καθήκοντος (or τάξεως).

² Can. 13.

³ Comp. Trul. can. 6 with 10 Ancyra.

"	"	12	"	5 Apost.
"	"	13	"	3, 4, 25, 70 Carth.
"	"	16	"	15 Neocaes.
"	"	29	"	48 Carthag.

to no suspicion.¹ Hence it is evident that celibacy was extensively practised among the clergy, and as such attracted the attention of the Church, which not only did not reject clerical celibacy, but on the contrary protected it.²

Though neither celibacy nor continence was imposed as a duty upon all clergymen, the prevalent spirit of the age already shewed a marked preference for continence, as may be seen from many patristic utterances.

Eusebius of Caesarea says that preachers of the Gospel should lead a single life, as being more proper to the discharge of the duties of those who have undertaken the instruction and care, not of one or two children, but of a multitude of people.³ If, however, Eusebius allows that celibate life increases facilities for the service of the Gospel, he does not overlook the fact that the divine law through St Paul has not forbidden the married clergy to beget children: Καὶ κατὰ τοὺς τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης νόμους, οὐ πάμπαν ἀπηγόρευται τὰ τῆς παιδοποιίας, ἀλλὰ κὰν τοῦτῳ τὰ παραπλήσια τοῖς πάλοι θεοφιλέσι διατέτακται. Χρῆναι γὰρ φησὶν ὁ λόγος τὸν ἐπίσκοπον γεγονέναι μιᾷς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα.⁴ But he thinks for those who are engaged in the service of God, it is fitting that they should refrain from married intercourse.⁵

St Cyril of Jerusalem, speaking against those who denied the virgin birth of our Lord, adduces as an argument the prevailing sacerdotal continence: Εἰ γὰρ ὁ τῷ Χριστῷ καλῶς ἱερατεύων ἀπέχεται

¹ Canon 3 'Ἀπηγόρευσε καθόλου ἡ μεγάλη σύνοδος, μήτε ἐπισκόπων, μήτε πρεσβυτέρων, μήτε διακόνων, μήτε ὅλων τινὲ τῶν ἐν κλήρῳ ἐξείναι συνείσακτον ἔχειν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα μητέρα, ἢ ἀδελφὴν, ἢ θείαν, ἢ ἃ μόνᾳ πρόσωπα πᾶσαν ὑποψίαν διαπέφενγεν.

² The 3rd canon of Nicaea was probably occasioned by the act of the heretic Leontius (St Athan. *Apol. de fuga* 26; *Epist. ad Monach.* 28). At any rate unmarried clergymen, not willing to put away females with whom they dwelt in the same house, were to be suspended from the exercise of their functions, even in a case when nothing disgraceful could be suspected. St Basil's 55th letter (*Can.* 88) addressed to Gregory, a priest seventy years old, who had a woman as a housekeeper, shews clearly how strictly the Nicene Canon was enforced.

³ *Dem. Evang.* i 9 Μάλιστα δ' οὖν τοῦτοις ἀναγκαίως τὰ νῦν διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰ κρείττω σχολὴν ἢ τῶν γάμων ἀναχώρησις σπουδάζεται, ὅτε περὶ τὴν ἔνθεον καὶ ἄσκαρον παιδοποιῶν ἀσχολουμένοις, οὐχ ἑνὸς οὐδὲ δυοῖν παιδων, ἀλλ' ἄλλως μυρίου πλήθους τὴν παιδοτροφίαν καὶ τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν παιδευσιν τῆς τε ἄλλης ἀγωγῆς τοῦ βίου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀναδεδειγμένοις.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* Τοῖς ἱερωμένοις καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ θεραπείαν ἀσχολουμένοις ἀνέχειν λοιπὸν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς προσήκει τῆς γαμικῆς ὁμιλίας.

γυναικός, αὐτὸς δ' Ἰησοῦς πῶς ἐμελλεν ἐξ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἔρχεσθαι.¹ This passage obviously cannot either imply compulsory celibacy or condemn clergymen living in the married state, especially since the Nicene Council had so recently left the conjugal relations of the clergy without embarrassment. Although the phrase ὁ καλῶς ἱερατεύων ἀπέχεται γυναικός may not unreasonably be taken as referring to the continence required from priests at the time of their ministration—an analogous practice was generally recommended by St Paul (1 Cor. vii 5)—yet it shews only St Cyril's own preference for continence, which as a matter of free will, and allowed to the clergy by the 51st Apostolical canon δι' ἀγκησιν, has ever been highly esteemed.

St Jerome writing from Bethlehem (406) against Vigilantius, who declared war against the growing clerical celibacy in the West, makes an appeal to the custom of the churches of Antioch and Palestine, Egypt and Rome: 'Quid faciunt Orientis Ecclesiae? Quid Aegypti et sedis Apostolicae, quae aut virgines clericos accipiunt, aut continentes: aut si uxores habuerint, mariti esse desistunt.'²

But admitting that, according to St Jerome, celibacy or perfect abstinence was required for the clergy in these churches, and that as a mere custom,³ it cannot be thence inferred that this was the general practice throughout the Eastern Church, which evidently could not be limited to the dioceses last mentioned. Jerome says nothing about the custom of the exarchates of Thrace, Asia, and Pontus, as probably not contributing anything to his purpose.

St Gregory Nazianzen, in a sermon preached at Constantinople on the Epiphany of 381, refutes the excuses of those who postponed their baptism on various pretexts, some requiring bishops of a particular diocese, or of noble birth, to administer it to them, while others did not object to presbyters, but required that they should be unmarried and continent and of 'angelic' life.⁴ Whether

¹ *Catech.* xii 25.

² *Adv. Vigil.* 2.

³ In the Roman Church the celibacy of the clergy seems not to have been completely established till the papacy of Gregory VII Hildebrand (1073-1085). As to the East (Antioch) the historian Socrates states that the clerical celibacy practised there was voluntary and not even general (*E. H.* v 22).

⁴ *Or.* xi 26 (Migne P. G. xxxvi c. 396) Μὴ εἴπῃς Ἐπίσκοπος βαπτισάτω μοι, καὶ οὗτος μητροπολίτης, ἢ Ἱεροσολυμίτης (οὐ γὰρ τούτων ἡ χάρις ἀλλὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος) καὶ

these excuses of the people were genuine or not, they make it certain that continent or celibate priests were held in great estimation ; and at the same time that such a life was not general among the clergy in Constantinople ; else there would be no such ground for preference.

St Epiphanius, one of the ardent partisans of the monastic life, enumerating the classes from which the Church enlisted those whom it admitted to its ministry, states that bishops, priests, deacons, and subdeacons are chosen from among virgins, or else from among monks ; but if these do not suffice for the service, from such as are continent while married, or widowers who had only been once married.¹ Elsewhere he asserts that the Church, especially where the 'canons' are accurately observed, does not accept for holy orders one who lives with his wife and begets children.²

What Epiphanius means by the word 'canons' it is not easy to understand. That it cannot mean what the word would ordinarily signify is historically certain ; for no such law existed in the Church, unless he alludes to the canon of Elvira, which is far from proving the practice of the Eastern Church. Other canons favouring his view, as far as is known, are not extant ; on the contrary the 5th Apostolical, the 4th of Gangra, and the historian's statement about the anecdote of Paphnutius, shew what was the practice of the Eastern Church on this point during the fourth century. Epiphanius probably uses the word 'canon' in a broad meaning, viz. as the custom or usage prevalent in some churches, which he thought the proper rule. But even Epiphanius himself admits that this custom concerning clerical celibacy was not general, though in his extreme ascetic zeal he regards the violation of it as a breach of the 'canons'.³

οὗτος τῶν εὖ γεγονότων· δεινὸν γὰρ εἰ τῷ βαπτιστῇ τὸ εὐγενές μου καθυβρισθήσεται· ἢ πρεσβύτερος μὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἀγάμων καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἐγκρατῶν καὶ ἀγγελικῶν τὴν πολιτείαν· δεινὸν γὰρ εἰ ἐν καιρῷ καθάρσεως ρυπωθήσομαι.

¹ *Expos. fid. cath.* 21 'Ἡ ἀγία ἱερωσύνη ἐκ παρθένων τὸ πλεῖστον ὀρμωμένη, εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐκ παρθένων ἐκ μοναζόντων. Εἰ δὲ μὴ εἴεν ἱκανοὶ εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν ἀπὸ μοναζόντων, ἐξ ἐγκρατευσμένων τῶν ἰδίων γυναικῶν, ἢ χηρευσάντων ἀπὸ μονογαμίας. Cf. also *Adv. Haer.* xlii 8.

² *Adv. Haer.* lix 4 (Migne P. G. xli c. 1021) 'Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἔτι βιοῦντα καὶ τεκνογονοῦντα, μᾶς γυναικὸς ὄντα ἄνδρα, οὐ δέχεται, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ μᾶς ἐγκρατευσόμενον ἢ χηρεύσαντα διάκονόν τε καὶ πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἐπίσκοπον καὶ ὑποδιάκονον, μάλιστα ὅπου ἀκριβεῖς κανόνες οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικοί.

³ *Adv. Haer.* lix 4 'Ἀλλὰ πάντως ἑρεῖς μοι ἐν τισι τόποις ἔτι τεκνογονεῖν πρεσβυ -

The evidence of St Ambrose leads to the same result. Though he speaks of continence as a well-known usage of the Church, he clearly states that in very many remote places not only the clergy in the inferior orders, but even priests, begat children, and that they defended this by the custom of former times, when the Eucharist was offered only at intervals of some days.¹

St Chrysostom, though himself a champion of asceticism, and in explaining St Paul's words *μίας γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ* evidently preferring and recommending entire continence for the clergy, yet speaks of it as something left to individual discretion and not as a compulsory rule.²

The historian Socrates informs us that in his time (about 439) there was a custom in Thessaly, Macedonia, and Greece according to which the clergy were obliged to abstain from their wives under pain of degradation; whereas in the East those clergymen who practise continence, do it only from voluntary choice, for no law whatever exists enforcing it, and many bishops have had children by their lawful wives during their episcopate.³

All these patristic passages seem clearly to prove that special honour was paid by the Easterns to those ecclesiastics who abstained from marriage or lived in perfect continence. Yet though this practice was widespread, it was not regarded as a generally established rule of the Church. No law enforcing celibate life on the clergy could be found in the disciplinary

τέρους καὶ διακόνους καὶ ὑποδιακόνους. Τοῦτο οὐ παρὰ τὸν κανόνα, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ καιρὸν βραχυμήσαναν διάνοιαν, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἔνεκεν, μὴ εὕρισκομένης ὑπερησίας.

¹ *De off. min.* i 50 § 248 'in plerisque abditioribus locis cum ministerium gererent, vel etiam sacerdotium, filios susceperunt, et id tamquam usu veteri defendunt, quando per intervalla dierum sacrificium deferebatur'.

² In 1 Tim. hom. x (Migne P. G. lxii c. 549) *μίας γυναικὸς ἀνδρα*. Τινες μὲν οὖν φασιν, ὅτι τὸν ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἡνίκατο μένοντα ἐλεύθερον· εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο εἶη, ἔνεστι γυναῖκα ἔχοντα, ὡς μὴ ἔχοντα εἶναι. Τότε μὲν γὰρ καλῶς τοῦτο συνεχώρησεν, ὡς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πράγματος φύσιν τὴν τότε οὖσαν. Ἐνεστι δὲ αὐτὸ μεταχειρίσασθαι καλῶς, εἰ τις βούλοιτο. Ὡς περ γὰρ ὁ πλοῦτος δυσχερῶς εἰσάγει εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, πολλαχοῦ δὲ οἱ πλοῦτοι οὐκ εἰσὶν εἰσέλθοντες, οὕτως καὶ ὁ γάμος.

³ Socrat. H. E. v 22 Ἐγνων ἐγὼ καὶ ἕτερον ἔθος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ· γενόμενος κληρικὸς ἐκεῖ, ἦν νόμος γαμήσας πρὶν κληρικὸς γένηται, μετὰ τὸ κληρικὸς γενέσθαι συγκαθευδήσας αὐτῇ ἀποκήρυκτος γίνεται· τῶν ἐν ἀνατολῇ πάντων γνώμῃ ἀπεχομένων, καὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων, εἰ καὶ βούλονται, οὐ μὴν ἀνάγκη νόμου τοῦτο ποιοῦντων· πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς καὶ παῖδας ἐκ τῆς νομίμης γαμετῆς πεποιήκασιν . . . φυλάσσεται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθος ἐν Θεσσαλονίᾳ καὶ αὐτῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ Ἑλλάδι.

enactments of the Eastern Church during this period. Celibacy was altogether a matter of choice, a result of private conviction, and as such was admired.

In tracing the subsequent history of this subject, the main feature which we meet with during the sixth century is the issue of imperial enactments, bearing on the matter in question.

From the time when Christianity was recognized, Christian emperors considered it one of their duties to take under their care the affairs of the Church and by their support to safeguard ecclesiastical law against any transgression. It must be noted, however, that the internal discipline of the Church did not become a subject of legislation on the part of the Empire until long after Constantine. No constitutions referring to internal ecclesiastical affairs can be found in the Theodosian Code; and in the Code of Justinian there are very few; but Justinian's Novels are replete with disciplinary ecclesiastical regulations, and among them are several bearing on the present subject.

In the year 535 he issued his 6th Novel, in which, among other provisions, he strongly recommends the clergy, married or unmarried, and those who do not cohabit with their wives, to live in chastity as the only foundation of every virtue.¹ In a Novel of the following year he declares ineligible for the orders of subdeacon, deacon, or presbyter, any who had contracted an illegal marriage or married a widow or a divorced woman.² Ten years later (546) almost the same regulations are repeated³; and at the same time the provision is added that minor clerks, before being ordained to the diaconate, shall either contract matrimony

¹ *Nov.* vi 5 Ἄλλα καὶ αὐτοὺς [διακόνους ἢ πρεσβυτέρους] ἡ μετὰ σωφροσύνης ζῶντας, ἢ γαμεταῖς οὐ συνοικοῦντας, ἢ μίας γαμετῆς ἀνδρα γενόμενον ἢ ὄντα καὶ αὐτῆς σάφρονος καὶ ἐκ παρθενίας οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς χειροτονίαις ὡς σωφροσύνην ἐπιλεκτόν, πρῶτην ἀρχὴν καὶ θεμέλιον ἀκριβῆ, κατὰ τοὺς θεῖους κανόνας, καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἀρετῆς καθεστῶσαν.

² *Nov.* xxii 42 Εἰ δὲ ἰδιώτης ὢν ἐπὶ χειροτονίαν ὑποδιακόνου, ἢ διακόνου, ἢ πρεσβυτέρου ἐλθεῖν βούλοιτο, εἴτα φανείη γυναῖκα ἔχων μὴ ἐκ παρθενίας αὐτῷ συνοικήσασαν, ἀλλ' ἢ διαξευγμένην ἀνδρός, ἢ ἄλλως οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς αὐτῷ νομίμως συνελθοῦσαν . . . οὐ τεύξεται τῆς ἱεροσύνης, ἀλλὰ κἀν εἰ λαβὼν εἰς τοῦτο ἔλθοι, πάντως αὐτῆς ἐκπεσεῖται.

³ *Nov.* cxliiii 12 Κληρικούς δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως χειροτονεῖσθαι συγχωροῦμεν εἰ μὴ γράμματα ἴσασι καὶ ὁρθὴν πίστιν καὶ βίον σεμνὸν ἔχουσι καὶ οὔτε παλλακὴν οὔτε φυσικούς ἔσχον ἢ ἔχουσι παῖδας, ἀλλ' ἢ σωφρόνως βιούντας, ἢ γαμετὴν νόμιμον καὶ αὐτὴν μίαν καὶ πρῶτην ἐσχηκότας ἢ ἔχοντας, καὶ μὴδὲ χήραν μὴδὲ διαξευχθεῖσαν ἀνδρός, μὴδὲ ἄλλως τοῖς νόμοις ἢ τοῖς θεοῖς κανόσι ἀπηγορευμένην.

or promise that they can live in chastity, after ordination, without a lawful wife.¹

The legislation of Justinian was indeed adverse to the married clergy ; but at the same time it is noticeable that, although continence is expressed to be preferable, the very phraseology used makes it clear that this was a matter of choice and not enforced by law. The continuation of previous conjugal relations was not considered incompatible with the priesthood, and the cessation of married life was not required for those who were to be ordained deacons or priests.

These secular decrees, which serve as an indication of the practice of the Eastern Church at that time, were no doubt valid from an ecclesiastical point of view, not because of their imperial enactment, but on account of their accordance with the canons and the usage of the Church.

A detailed account of the relations between Church and State in the Eastern Empire would not be in place here ; it is sufficient to say that Byzantine Emperors, as a rule, when legislating on ecclesiastical affairs, shewed every consideration for the principles of the Church. Justinian especially pays the utmost respect to the canons, while a marked disposition to be solicitous for the affairs of the Church is everywhere apparent in his ecclesiastical enactments. That the laws should not be contrary to the sacred canons was a characteristic of the Byzantine legislation.²

It is true that the period of over a thousand years in Byzantine history reveals not a few examples of the transgression of this principle. But it must be remembered that laws, which run counter to the doctrine or discipline of the Church, despite their civil force, cannot be accepted as having any validity in ecclesiastical discipline. They may certainly cause the Church trouble

¹ *Nov. cxxiii 14* Εἰ δὲ ὁ μέλλων χειροτονεῖσθαι διάκονος μὴ ἔχοι γυναῖκα, καθὰ ἀναγέρῳ εἴρηται, ζευχθεῖσαν αὐτῷ, μὴ ἄλλως χειροτονεῖσθαι εἰ μὴ πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ χειροτονούντος αὐτὸν ἐρωτηθεῖς ἐπαγγεῖληται δύνασθαι μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν καὶ χωρὶς νομίμης γαμετῆς σὺν ὧς βιοῦν.

² *Cod. Inst. I iii 44* 'Sacros canones non minus quam leges valere, etiam nostrae volunt leges: quod enim sacri canones prohibent, id etiam et nos per nostras abolemus leges': *Nov. cxxxi 1* Θεοπίστοις τοίνυν τάξιν νόμον ἐπέχειν τοὺς ἁγίους ἐκκλησιαστικούς κανόνας τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων τεσσάρων συνόδων ἐκτεθέντας ἢ βεβαιωθέντας . . . τῶν γὰρ προειρημένων ἁγίων συνόδων καὶ τὰ δόγματα, καθάπερ τὰς θείας γραφὰς δεχόμεθα καὶ τοὺς κανόνας ὡς νόμους φυλάττομεν. Cf. *Nov. lxxiii 1* ; vi praef. 1 epilogue ; cxxvii praef. 2 ; cxxiii 10 ; *Basilica V iii 1*.

and perplexity, but they cannot change her precepts.¹ The validity of the canons remains unimpaired even when civil decrees diverge from them; this is the attitude of the Eastern Church towards the civil legislation.²

That the above-mentioned enactments of Justinian were in accord with the canons and intended to confirm them is evident.³ On this account the 123rd Novel forms a part of all the subsequent canonical collections. The 14th chapter of this Novel, which is concerned with the subject in question, is incorporated in John Scholasticus's *Nomocanon in 14 titles*,⁴ quoted in the *Nomocanon* of St Photius⁵ and likewise inserted in the *Basilica*.⁶

This period furnishes us with another source of evidence as to the practice of the Eastern Church at that time. The compiler of the *Nomocanon in XIV Titles* (which is assigned to the first half of the seventh century), in explaining his general plan, says that he includes the African canons in his collection—this, it may be observed, is the first known Eastern collection containing these canons—because he finds them to be of great service to the life of the Church; but at the same time he remarks that, besides the canons of a general character, some refer only to the practice of the African Church, while others indicate the customs prevalent

¹ Laws, which tended to upset the internal order of the Church, were sooner or later repealed by the State itself under the influence of the ecclesiastical authorities: Leo VI the Philosopher, for instance, claimed that his fourth marriage with Zoe (902) should be recognized, but the decision of the Synod in Constantinople (920), the well-known *Τόμος τῆς Ἐνώσεως*, confirmed by Constantine VII and Romanus I, settled the matter and ended the ecclesiastical controversy, which arose from this illegal event (Cedrenus in Migne *P. G.* cxxii c. 1153). Nicephorus II Phocas issued a law (964) forbidding the erection of new monasteries and the dedication of immovable properties to the sacred institutions (*Nov.* xix in Zacharias III p. 292); but in 988 Basil I Porphyrogenitus abolished it by another Novel (*ib.* p. 303).

² See *Cod. Iustin.* I iii 12: also *οἱ τοῖς κανόσιν ἐναντιούμενοι βασιλικοὶ τύποι ἀκυροὶ εἰσι*, *Nov.* cxxxi 70. In the reign of Manuel Comnenos (1143-1180) a proposal was made that canons not consistent with laws should not be in force, and that the test as to which of the canons should retain their validity, should be the *Basilica*, as being the latest collection of laws. Balsamon tells how this new theory was overthrown and a decision given in accordance with the ecclesiastical view (*Schol. 2 in Nomocan.* tit. i 2. See also Balsamon's explication of the 48th canon in Trullo and *Schol. in Nomocan.* i 23).

³ Compare them with Apost. Canons 17, 18, 19, 26; Neocaes. can. i. 8.

⁴ The 14th chapter of the 123rd Novel forms the title *μέ'* of *Coll.* 87 cap.

⁵ Title I c. 23.

⁶ Lib. III tit. i c. 27.

in different dioceses. As an example of the latter, he mentions the canons requiring strict continency for clerks above the order of reader. These enactments were evidently framed under ascetic influence and accorded with the Roman usage, but did not agree with the practice of the Eastern Church. The writer then goes on to state, with reference to the custom of the Eastern Church, that continency, as a pious training, and chaste conjugal relations, seeing that matrimony is honourable, are practised among the clergy, for which none should blame them, as both systems are optional and neither is enforced by any law.¹

The foregoing patristic testimonies and politico-ecclesiastical legislation clearly shew what was the custom of the Eastern Church in this matter, and how far that custom followed the ancient discipline of the Church. While in the East ascetic tendencies could not suppress the ancient freedom of choice between matrimony and celibacy for all the clergy, in the Roman Church at this time the custom of celibate life had already been elevated to the rank of law and became the dominant rule of that Church.

These were the two views, prevalent in the Eastern and in the Western Churches respectively, when in the year 691, in the reign of Justinian II (685–695), an Ecumenical Council was summoned in Constantinople. During the two hundred and forty years which had elapsed since the Council of Chalcedon (451)—the last Council which had issued canons—church life and discipline had been greatly relaxed. Hence it was felt necessary to renew the force of previous canons and to issue new decrees for the restoration of discipline.

Thus this Council was to serve as a supplement to the fifth

¹ Ralles and Potles *Σύνταγμα τῶν θ. καὶ ι. κανόνων*, Athens 1852–1856, vol. i p. 6 Τὴν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ Καρχηδὸνα γεγενημένην ἐν χρόνους Ὀνωρίου καὶ Ἀρκαδίου, τῶν τῆς εὐσεβοῦς λήξεως, ἱερὰν σύνοδον εὐρηκῶς πολλὰ τε καὶ πολλὰν ἀφέλειαν εἰσάγειν τῷ βίῳ θυνάμενα διαταξάμεν, εἰ καὶ τινὰ μὲν αὐτῶν πρὸς μόνην τὴν ἐπιχώριον ἀναφέρεται κίνησιν τε καὶ κατὰστασιν, τινὰ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κεκανονισμένα κοινῶς τε καὶ ἰδιαζόντως, καὶ τὴν κρατοῦσαν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις διοικήσεσιν, ἤγουν ἐπαρχίαις, ἐκκλησιαστικῇ κατὰστασιν ἀπεμφαίνει· ὧν ἐν καθέστηκε τὸ παρ' αὐτῶν διορισθέν, ὥστε τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀναγνώστας ἐν κλήρῳ καταλεγόμενους, ἐκ τρόπου παντὸς τῶν πρὸ τῆς τοιαύτης χειροτονίας συζευχθεισῶν αὐτοῖς ἀπέχεσθαι νομίμων γαμετῶν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος, ἀλλ' αὐθαιρέτῃ γνώμῃ τῶν τοιούτων προσώπων ἕκαστον ἢ τὴν ἀποχὴν διὰ φιλόθεον δασκῆσιν, ἢ τὴν ἀμίαντον συνάφειαν διὰ τὸ τοῦ γάμου τίμιον, ἐν ἧμιν ἐπιτηδεύει, μῶμον οὐδένα δίκαιον ἐκ τοῦ γνομένου παντελῶς ὑφιστάμενον.

(553) and the sixth (681) Councils, which had issued only dogmatic decrees, but no canons. Hence its name 'Πενθέκτη' (*Quinisext*). It was convoked in the same chamber of the imperial palace (styled 'Trullus' from its domed roof), in which were held the sittings of the Sixth Council, of which the present council is considered to be a continuation. Its enactments, 102 in number, are called 'Canons of the Council in Trullo' or 'Canons of the sixth Ecumenical Council'. Of these we are especially concerned with the thirteenth, in which more accurate and precise rules on the subject in question have been laid down.

The Council considered the custom of the Roman Church, which required those who were ordained not to continue in wedlock, and rejected it, as contrary to the ancient and apostolic order, and enacted that a single lawful marriage should not be considered an impediment to ordination to the diaconate or the presbyterate; and that holders of these offices should not be required, either before or after ordination, to promise not to cohabit with their wives; and the Council supported this view by quoting biblical passages referring to the sanctity and indissolubility of marriage. At the same time, a certain abstinence is required at the time of ministration. The canon concludes by decreeing the penalty of deposition for any who might require the clergy to dissolve conjugal relations, and for clerks who should put away their wives under pretence of piety.¹

By this enactment the Trullan Council has confirmed what was considered the original apostolic and ecclesiastical discipline and had never ceased to be the practice of the Eastern Church. The 13th canon completes the ecclesiastical legislation concerning the married life of the clergy, and continues till the present day the recognized rule of the Greek Church.

It may be concluded from the previous discussion, that celibacy has never been an indispensable condition for ordination, and that married life has never been considered inconsistent with the functions of the clergy. The choice between married and unmarried life, from the canonical point of view, has been left to the individual.

The practice of the Church down to the present time has been in agreement with this principle. In the Russian Church celibate

¹ Canon 13.

priests, being monks, are required to be confined in their monasteries and not allowed to be in charge of any parochial cure, while in all parishes only married men are accepted as curates.¹ In the Church of the Kingdom of Greece all the unmarried clergy are members of monasteries also,² but are not strictly excluded from undertaking parochial duties. The priests of the Greek Churches in Europe and in America, which now belong to the Church of the Kingdom of Greece, are either married or celibate, according to the choice of the community in which they serve. In the practice of the rest of the Eastern Churches examples of unmarried priests, whether monks or not, are not rare among the secular clergy.

Therefore in the Eastern Church every candidate for Holy Orders, provided that he possesses the required qualifications, is free to choose the kind of life most suitable to his human constitution, as may best serve to godliness.

2. *Conjugal Unions debarring from Ordination.*

It has previously been considered whether the married state is consistent with ordination. We have seen the qualifications required for the candidates for Holy Orders, as St Paul prescribes them, and that patristic testimonies, ecclesiastical legislation, and the practice of the Eastern Church alike, throughout history, prove this compatibility, which has finally received its official sanction from the Church by the canon of the Council in Trullo.

Though, however, the Eastern Church holds the principle that married life is not incongruous with the function of the presbyterate or the diaconate, at the same time it must be remarked that the application of the principle is subject to certain restrictions, and rightly so ; for no one could expect that any and every contract of matrimony should be taken as compatible with ordination. There are conjugal unions which, according to ecclesiastical law, render the candidate unfit for Holy Orders.

The main idea pervading these restrictions is, without doubt, solicitude for the high reputation required for the clergy and their family life. St Paul requires the candidate for ordination

¹ F. Gagarin *The Russian Clergy*, London, 1872, p. 29.

² *Encyclical of the Holy Synod*, Feb. 7, 1872 (Συλλογή Δ. Χριστοπούλου, Athens, 1901, p. 553).

to be without reproach, ἀνεπίληπτος, and the Church, resting upon this principle, has laid down strict rules in order to prevent the entrance of unsuitable persons to her sacred ministry. In this respect the institution of marriage has greatly attracted the attention of the Church. She requires that the reputation of her clergy should not in the least be compromised by matrimony, as it may be in the case of some marriages.

Thus any conjugal union, which might involve a state of life affecting that principle directly or indirectly, must be reckoned as a disqualification for the due discharge of the ministerial office. The matrimonial unions which are defined by ecclesiastical law not to be in entire accord with the Church's conception of the married state proper for her clergy may be thus summarized:—

- (a) Digamy, or second marriage after loss of first wife.
(*Apost. c. 17 : Trull. c. 3.*)
- (b) Marriage with a widow or a divorced woman.
(*Apost. c. 18 : Trull. c. 3.*)
- (c) Marriage with a woman of loose morals.
(*Apost. c. 18 : Neoc. c. 8.*)
- (d) Any marriage within the prohibited degrees.
(*Apost. c. 19 : Trull. c. 26.*)
- (e) Marriage with a slave woman. (*Apost. c. 18.*)

(a) *Digamy, or second marriage after loss of first wife.*

The ecclesiastical law, which constitutes digamy an impediment to ordination, is based on inferences from the teaching of St Paul. The Apostle in the Pastoral Epistles repeatedly requires that any one entering the ministry of the Church should be the husband of one wife: Δεῖ οὖν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνεπίληπτον εἶναι, μιᾷς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα (1 Tim. iii 2); and, Διάκονοι ἔστωσαν μιᾷς γυναικὸς ἄνδρες (ib. 12); and again, καὶ καταστήσης κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους, ὡς ἐγώ σοι διατάξω· εἴ τις ἐστὶν ἀνέγκλητος, μιᾷς γυναικὸς ἄνθρωπος (Tit. i 5).

The meaning of these passages or rather of the phrase μιᾷς γυναικὸς ἄνθρωπος, upon which the discipline of the Church against digamy seems to be based, has been much disputed. The ancient writers mention several interpretations of the text, and modern expositors, following their example, are not agreed as to the meaning.

Moreover, besides the ambiguity of the clause, which gave rise to the various explanations, it is necessary to note that the

patristic view of this phrase has not been properly represented by some modern authors. Therefore it will not be out of place to enter on a short discussion of this subject.

The principal interpretations mentioned by the ancients, and more or less accepted by modern commentators and writers, are to the following effect:—

(1) The passage provides, according to an opinion mentioned by St Chrysostom¹ and St Jerome² as held by some, that no one should be elected 'bishop' who had had two wives at the same time; it therefore excludes only polygamy.

But although polygamy might at that time be practised by Jews and Gentiles,³ it was a grave sin for Christians. Hence there was no need for St Paul to mention it. Moreover, the parallel clause, ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς γυνή (ver. 9), decisively excludes such an interpretation; for here the clause would refer to polyandry, which is out of the question.

(2) Another explanation is, that St Paul considers worthy of ordination only a man who, being married, lives contentedly with one wife, whether in a first or a second marriage, while he does not forbid digamy. This interpretation is given both by Theodore of Mopsuestia,⁴ who treats it at great length, and by his disciple Theodoret of Cyrrhus.⁵

¹ *Hom. X in 1 Tim.* iii 2 Τινὲς δὲ ἵνα μίας γυναῖκός ἀνὴρ ᾦ, φασὶ τοῦτο εἰρῆσθαι.

² *Comment. in Tit.* i 6 'Quidam de hoc loco ita sentiunt: Iudaicae, inquit, consuetudinis fuit, vel binas uxores habere, vel plures: quod etiam in veteri lege de Abraham et Iacob legimus: et hoc nunc volunt esse praeceptum, ne is qui episcopus eligendus est, uno tempore duas pariter habeat uxores'.

³ Joseph. *Ant.* xvii 12; Just. Mart. *Trypho* 134.

⁴ Cramer *Catena Graec. Patr. in N. T.* vii, Oxford, 1844 Τὸ οὖν μίας γυναῖκός ἀνδρα τινὲς οὕτω ἐξέλαβον, ὃ καὶ ἔγωγε μᾶλλον ἀληθὲς εἶναι πείθομαι, ἐπειδὴ τότε πολλοὶ μὲν κατὰ ταύτῃν δύο νομίμους εἶχον γυναῖκας, ὃ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μωσαϊκοῦ νόμου ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπετέτραπτο· πολλοὶ δὲ νομίμην ἔχοντες μίαν, ταύτη μὲν οὐκ ἠρκοῦντο, ἐκέχρηντο δὲ καὶ ἐτέραις ἦτοι παιδίσκαις ἑαυτῶν, ἥ καὶ εἰς τὰς τυχούσας πολλάκις ἀδεῶς ἀμαρτάνοντες· δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῆς δεῦρο γίνεται παρὰ τῶν οὐκ ἐπιμελομένων σωφροσύνης. Τοῦτο εἰρηκέναι τὸν Παῦλον ἔφησαν, ὥστε τὸν τοιοῦτον εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν παράγεσθαι, ὃς ἀγαγόμενος γυναῖκα σωφρόνως ἐβίω μετὰ ταύτης, προσέχων αὐτῇ καὶ μέχρις αὐτῆς ὀρίζων τῆς φύσεως τὴν ὀρεξιν, ὡς εἰ τις οὕτω ζῆσας, ἀποβαλὼν τὴν προτέραν νομίμως ἀγάγοιτο δευτέραν, τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον βιοῦς καὶ μετὰ ταύτης, μὴ εἰργεσθαι αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Παύλου νομοθεσίαν τῆς εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν παρόδου. Τοῦτο εἰρῆσθαι παρὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Παύλου νενοσηκῆτας τινάς, πάνυ γε ἀποδέχομαι.

⁵ Τὸ δὲ μίας γυναῖκός ἀνδρα, εὐ μοι δοκοῦσιν εἰρηκέναι τινές. Πάλαι γὰρ εἰώθεισαν Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ δύο καὶ τρισὶ καὶ πλείοσι γυναῖξιν νόμφι γάμου κατὰ ταύτῃν συνοικεῖν. Τινὲς δὲ καὶ νῦν καίτοι τῶν βασιλικῶν νόμων δύο κατὰ ταύτῃν ἀγεσθαι καλούντων γυναῖκας, καὶ παλλακίας μίγνυνται καὶ ἐταίρας. Ἐφασαν τοίνυν τὸν θεῖον

Bingham, however, is not right in assigning to the latter author an interpretation of the Apostle's rule 'as a prohibition of ordaining polygamists, and such as had causelessly put away their wives, and married others after divorcing of the former'.¹ It is true that Theodoret, in excluding from ordination those who did not live *σωφρόνως* with one wife, *a fortiori* excludes also polygamists; but he does not consider the exclusion of polygamists as the first object of the Apostle's direction. His intention is to controvert the opinion, generally held at the time, that St Paul by his expression forbade digamy. The explanation of Theodore of Mopsuestia, although it is accepted by some modern expositors,² is not considered satisfactory by others.³ It treats the clause as directed against unfaithfulness in marriage, an interpretation in itself not unreasonable, but at the same time not precise, for it seems to be introduced into, rather than extracted from, the words of the text.

(3) The most prevalent explanation in the primitive Church was, that the Apostle's injunction is directed against second marriages, after loss, however happening, of the first wife, in the case of candidates for any ecclesiastical function.

This interpretation is to be found applied to the Apostle's words early in the third century. Tertullian in the *Ad Uxorem*, written while he was still a member of the Church, says that St Paul would not allow digamists to preside over the Church, nor admit to the order of widows a woman who had been married more than once.⁴ The same interpretation is given in some of his Montanistic writings; but it is represented as an opinion held in the Church and not as his own view. In fact Tertullian, after his fall, availed himself of this explanation, as a weapon

¹ Ἀπόστολον εἰρηκέναι τὸν μὴ μόνῃ γυναικὶ συνοικοῦντα σωφρόνως, τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἄξιον εἶναι χειροτονίας, οὐ γὰρ τὸν δεύτερον φησὶν, ἐξέβαλε γάμον, ὃ γε πολλάκις τοῦτο γενέσθαι κελεύσας (on 1 Tim. iii. 2). Again on 1 Tim. v. 9 Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν δῆλον, ὡς οὐ τὴν διγαμίαν ἐκβάλλει, ἀλλὰ τὸ σωφρόνως ἐν γάμῳ βιοῦν νομοθετεῖ.

² *Antiq.* IV. v. § 4.

³ Meyer *Critical and exeg. handbook*, Edinburgh, 1893 (English Translation).

⁴ Ellicott *in loc.*; J. H. Bernard *The Pastoral Epistles*, Cambridge, 1906. See also Dollinger *Hippolytus and Callistus* (English Translation) p. 130.

⁵ *Ad Uxor.* i. 7 'Quantum fidei detrahant, quantum obstrepant sanctitati nuptiae secundae, disciplina Ecclesiae et praescriptio Apostoli declarat, cum digamos non sinit praesidere, cum viduam allegi in ordinem nisi univiram non concedit: aram enim Dei mundam proponi oportet'.

against the practice of second marriages in any case.¹ He desires to refute the argument of the Psychics, that St Paul permitted the contracting of second marriages and restricted monogamy to the clerical order alone, by arguing that it was wrong to suppose that what was not permitted to priests was permitted to laymen.

Origen accepts the position that the Apostle by this expression disqualifies digamists for ordination, and tries to discover, by his usual method, the ground upon which St Paul based this enactment.² Similarly, in the *Contra Celsum* he says, referring to the qualifications of a bishop mentioned by St Paul, that the Apostle prefers monogamists rather than digamists for the episcopate.³

St Ambrose gives the same interpretation.⁴

St Jerome in his commentary on the passage, evidently accepts the same view, but observes that digamists in some cases may be preferable, from the point of view of continence, to those monogamists, who up to their old age have not ceased 'ab uxoris amplexu'.⁵ He repeats in his later writings, that St Paul

¹ *De Monog.* 12 'Adeo, inquit, permisit Apostolus iterare connubium, ut solos qui sunt in clero monogamiae iugo abstrinixerit'.

² *Comment. in Matth.* (Migne P. G. xiii c. 1241) Οὐδένα γὰρ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὑπεροχὴν τινα παρὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὡς ἐν συμβόλοις ἀνειληφότα βούλεται ὁ Παῦλος δευτέρου πεπειρασθαι γάμου. Περὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐπισκόπων νομοθετῶν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Τιμόθεον προτέρᾳ φησὶν . . . Ἐπαπορούμεν δὴ, ὁρῶντες δυνατὸν εἶναι βελτίους πολλῶ τυγχάνειν τινὰς διγάμους μονογάμων, τί δῆποτε οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει ὁ Παῦλος διγάμους εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς καθίστασθαι ἀρχάς. Καὶ γὰρ ἰδούκει μοι ζητήσεως ἄξιον εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον, τῷ ἐνδέχεσθαι ἀτυχήσαντά τινα περὶ δύο γάμους, ἔτι νέον ὄντα ἀποβαλόντα τὴν δευτέραν, ἐγκρατέστατα καὶ καθαρώτατα βεβιωκέναι παρὰ τὸν λοιπὸν μέχρι γήραος χρόνον.

³ *Contra Cels.* iii 48 ὁ Παῦλος . . . μονόγαμον μᾶλλον διγάμου ἀρεῖται εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν, καὶ ἀνεπίληπτον ἐπιλήπτου.

⁴ *Epist.* lxiii 63 'Apostolus legem posuit, dicens: "Si quis sine crimine est, unius uxoris vir." Ergo qui sine crimine est, unius vir, tenetur ad legem sacerdotii suscipiendi: qui autem iteraverit coniugium, culpam quidem non habet coinquinati, sed praerogativa exiit sacerdotis'.

⁵ *Comment. in Tit.* i 6 'Quod autem ait, "unius uxoris vir", sic intelligere debemus: ut non omnem monogamum digamo putemus esse meliorem; sed quo is possit ad monogamiam et continentiam cohortari, qui sui exemplum praeferat in docendo. Esto quippe aliquem adolescentulum coniugem perdidisse, et carnis necessitate superatum, accepisse uxorem secundam, quam et ipsam statim amiserit, et deinceps vixerit continenter; alium vero usque ad senectam habuisse matrimonium, et uxoris usum, ut plerisque existimant felicitatem, nunquam a carnis opere cessasse: quis vobis a duobus videtur esse melior, pudicitior, continentior? Utique ille qui infelix etiam in secundo matrimonio fuit, et postea pudice et sancte conversatus est, et non is qui ab uxoris amplexu nec senili est separatus aetate. Non sibi ergo applaudit, quicumque quasi monogamus eligitur, quod omni digamo sit melior, cum in eo magis sit electa felicitas quam voluntas'.

exhorts Timothy and Titus to choose for the clergy men who had been married only once.¹

St Chrysostom gives the same sense to the words of the Apostle.² It must be observed, however, that there exists no unanimous opinion as to St Chrysostom's interpretation of the phrase *μίας γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ*. The seemingly ambiguous phraseology of his comment on 1 Tim. iii 2, has given rise to several views as to his meaning. Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to say that the words of St Chrysostom have been claimed in support of as many views as there are interpretations of the scriptural passage itself. Suicer, in the *Thesaurus*, s.v. *Διγαμία*, adduces St Chrysostom as explaining that St Paul's words are directed against those who have repudiated their wives and married others in the lifetime of their first wives. Bingham³ to this meaning adds polygamy also, as he does for Theodoret. Dr Pusey⁴ shares Bingham's view, so far as concerns 1 Tim. iii 2; but affirms that, on Titus i 2, Chrysostom refers generally to second marriages. Dr P. Fairbairn⁵ applies to both passages of St Chrysostom the explanation of Theodoret, whose view he advocates as the only one tenable. Bishop Harold Browne⁶ holds Suicer's opinion; and F. Meyrick⁷ asserts that the view that polygamists are referred to is supported by the authority of St Chrysostom on 1 Tim. iii 2.

For my own part I think all these views are wide of the mark. St Chrysostom does not accept St Paul's injunction in the sense

¹ *Epist.* lxix *ad Ocean.* 3 'In utraque epistola sive episcopi sive presbyteri . . . iubentur monogami in clerum eligi'.

² *Hom.* x in 1 Tim. iii 2 Οὐ νομοθετῶν τοῦτό φησιν, ὡς μὴ εἶναι ἐξδὸν ἀνευ τούτου γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀμετρίαν καλύψαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐξῆν, καὶ δευτέροις ὁμιλεῖν γάμοις καὶ δύο ἔχειν κατὰ ταῦτόν γυναικας. Again, *Hom.* II in Titum 'Ἐπιστομίζει τοὺς αἰρετικούς τοὺς τὸν γάμον διαβαλόντας, δεικνὺς ὅτι τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐναγές, ἀλλ' οὕτω τίμον, ὡς μετ' αὐτοῦ δύνασθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον ἀναβαίνειν θρόνον' ἐν ταυτῷ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀσελγεῖς κολάζων, καὶ οὐκ ἀφεῖς μετὰ δευτέρου γάμου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγχειρίσσεσθαι ταύτην. 'Ὁ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἀπελθοῦσαν μηδεμίαν φυλάξας εὐνοίαν, πῶς ἂν οὗτος γένοιτο προστάτης καλός; τίνα δὲ οὐκ ἂν ὑποσταίῃ κατηγορίαν; Ἰστε γὰρ ἅπαντες, ἴστε ὅτι εἰ μὴ κεκώλυται παρὰ τῶν νόμων τὸ δευτέροις ὁμιλεῖν γάμοις, ἀλλ' ὅμως πολλὰς ἔχει τὸ πρᾶγμα κατηγορίας' οὐδεμίαν οὖν παρέχειν λαβὴν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις τὸν ἀρχοντα βούλεται.

³ *Antiquities* IV v 4.

⁴ *Library of the Fathers* vol. x p. 420.

⁵ *The Pastoral Epistles* p. 418.

⁶ *Exposition on the thirty-nine articles*, London, 1874, pp. 752, 759.

⁷ *Smith Dict. Chr. Ant.* s.v. 'Marriage', ii p. 1097.

either of second marriage only after divorce or of polygamy. In both passages in which he comments on *μίας γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ* his opinion is the same, viz. that St Paul forbids the ordination of those who have in *any way* contracted second marriage. This last view, as Dr Pusey rightly remarks, is clearly inculcated in his comment on Tit. i 2. We must therefore examine the other passage which seems to be generally misconstrued.

In the first place, it is somewhat difficult to believe that one and the same phrase would be differently interpreted by one and the same author, especially when that author is St Chrysostom. Apart from this, however, the passage itself shews clearly the underlying thought of the commentator. The disputed text runs thus: *Μίας γυναικὸς ἄνδρα οὐ νομοθετῶν τοῦτό φησιν, ὥς μὴ εἶναι ἐξὸν ἀνευ τούτου γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀμετρίαν κωλύων ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐξῆν καὶ δευτέροις ὁμιλεῖν γάμοις καὶ δύο ἔχειν κατὰ ταῦτόν γυναικας.*

It is here said that St Paul, in the phrase *μίας γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ*, is not enacting a law, as if a 'bishop' *must* be married, but he is preventing *τὴν ἀμετρίαν*. What then is meant by the word *ἀμετρία*? The key may be found in the sentence immediately following: *ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐξῆν καὶ δευτέροις ὁμιλεῖν γάμοις καὶ δύο ἔχειν κατὰ ταῦτόν γυναικας*. The word *ἀμετρία* is used to signify the permission which Jews possessed of marrying more than once and of having two wives at the same time. Now polygamy was prohibited amongst Christians, but second marriages were by no means forbidden to laymen, as is known from many other sources, and as St Chrysostom himself maintains elsewhere.¹ Hence it may be deduced that St Chrysostom here is not speaking of lay Jews, but refers to Jewish priests, with whose practice he contrasts the decent discipline of the Christian Church in this matter.² In other words our commen-

¹ *In illud Vidua eligatur* v (Migne P. G. li c. 325) οὐ τοίνυν ἐκβάλλομεν δεύτερον γάμον, οὐδὲ νομοθετοῦμεν ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ παραινοῦμεν, εἰ τις δύναται σαφρονεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ μένειν. Again *Περὶ μοναχίας* (Migne P. G. xlvii c. 611) ὅταν περὶ χηρείας διαλεγόμεθα οὐ τὸν δεύτερον γάμον ἐν τοῖς ἀπειρημένοις τιθέντες τῷ προτέρῳ στέργειν παρακαλοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι κατὰ νόμον τὸν δεύτερον, πολλῶ δὲ τὸν ἕνα τοῦ δευτέρου βελτίονα. Cf. *De virginitate* 38; *ibid.* c. 560.

² Euthymius Zigabenus (eleventh century) who, as a rule, copies St Chrysostom and sometimes elucidates his comments, understood the text in this sense: *Μίας γυναικὸς ἄνδρα*. Εἰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν γάμοις ὁμιλεῖσθαι οὗτος εἶη. Τοῖς γὰρ Ἰουδαίοις

tator's view is this: If the priests of the Old Testament had the right to contract two successive or two simultaneous marriages, such an excess is not suffered by St Paul to exist among the clergy under the new Covenant. They must avoid it: if married, they should be married only once.

It is hardly necessary to add that St Chrysostom does not interpret the text primarily as a prohibition of polygamy. He certainly mentions Jewish polygamy, but only by way of expanding his interpretation (a method not unusual with him); and had he not done so, the meaning would not in the least be affected; for the prohibition of second marriages involves *a fortiori* the prohibition of polygamy.

With respect to the explanation of the text in the special sense as directed against marriage after a capricious divorce, it must be observed that such an interpretation cannot be found among the ancient expositions; it is of modern origin (probably invented by Suicer) and cannot be attributed to St Chrysostom or any other ancient writer. So far as we know, all the ancient ecclesiastical writers, who explain the disputed passage as directed against digamy or refer to others as holding this view, speak of second marriage generally.

The Fathers undoubtedly distinguish remarriage after death from remarriage after divorce, and attack divorce, when it takes place illegally and not in accordance with our Lord's rule (Matt. v 32)¹; but so far as this special interdiction is concerned, they do not make any distinction. On the contrary, some of them, taking into consideration the case of a second marriage after the death of the first wife, express wonder at the strictness of St Paul's injunction,² or reject the then generally

ιερεῦσιν ἐξῆν καὶ δευτερογαμεῖν καὶ δύο κατὰ ταῦτόν ἔχειν γυναῖκας. (*In 1 Tim.* iii 2, ed. N. Calogeras, Athens.)

¹ Just. Mart. *Apolog.* i 15; Clement of Alex. *Strom.* ii 23; Chrysostom *De virginitate* 40; Theodoret *in 1 Tim.* iii 2 &c.; Gregory Nazianzen *Or.* xxxvii 8.

² Origen *Comment. in Matth.* (Migne P. G. xiii c. 1241) 'Ἐπαποροῦμεν δὴ ὁρῶντες δυνατόν εἶναι βελτίους πολλῶν τυγχάνειν τινὰς διγάμους μονογάμων, τί δήποτε οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει ὁ Παῦλος διγάμους εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς καθίστασθαι ἀρχάς· καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει μοι ζητήσεως ἄξιον εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον, τῷ ἐνδέχεσθαι ἀτυχῆσαντά τινα περὶ δύο γάμους ἔτι νέον ὄντα ἀποβαλόντα τὴν δευτέραν, ἐγκρατέστατα καὶ καθαρώτατα βεβιωκέναι παρὰ τὸν λοιπὸν μέχρι γῆρας χρόνον. Τίς οὖν οὐκ ἂν εὐλόγως ἐπαπορῇ τί δήποτε, ζητουμένου τοῦ ἀρξεντος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τὸν μὲν τοιόνδε διγάμον οὐ καθίσταμεν διὰ τὰς τοῦ γάμου λέξεις· τὸν δὲ μονόγαμον, καὶ εἰ τύχοι μέχρι γῆρας συμβιώσαι τῇ γυναικί, κρατοῦμεν

accepted view that the Apostle forbids second marriage.¹ Indeed it is inexplicable how such a misconception of the views of the ancient expositors has arisen.

Later commentators, for the most part following St Chrysostom, have also conceived the meaning of the text to be a prohibition of digamy. So do Oecumenius,² Theophylact,³ and Euthymius Zigabenus.⁴ The views of the first two of these have been more or less misapprehended⁵; but a careful comparison between their expositions will leave no doubt as to the interpretation they accept.

It has been shewn that almost all the patristic views treated the text as referring to digamy; but since in the first four cen-

ἀρχοντα, ἔσθ' ὅτε μὴδὲ γυμνασάμενον εἰς ἀγνείαν καὶ σωφροσύνην; See also St Jerome's comment on the passage, p. 369 above.

¹ Theodoret *in 1 Tim.* iii 2 'Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐσχηκώς ἐπιπολὺ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βιώσασαν γυναῖκα, ἀπέλαυσεν αὐτῆς ἐφ' ὅσον ἐβούλετο· ὁ δὲ μετὰ βραχὺ πολλάκις αὐτὴν ἀποβαλὼν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς δευτέρας ἔρχεται γάμον. Ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα συντυχίας οὐ γνώμης κατορθώματα· ἅπερ ἐξετάζων ὁ μακάριος δι' ὅλου φαίνεται Παῦλος τὸν εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν παραγόμενον, μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοιούτων γνωρίζεσθαι δεῖν ἡγούμενος. Ἐπεὶ καὶ γέλοιον νομίζειν Παῦλον νόμους τιθέναι, μὴ γνώμην δοκιμάζοντα, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς συντυχίας τὴν διάκρισιν ἐργαζόμενον. Theodore of Mops. *in 1 Tim.* iii 2 Εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς τὴν προτέραν ἐκβαλὼν ἐτέρᾳ συνεζύγη, μέμψεως ἄξιος καὶ κατηγορίας ὑπεύθυνος· εἰ δὲ τὸ βίαιον τοῦ θανάτου διέφευγε τὴν προτέραν, ἥ δὲ φύσις ἐπικειμένη δευτέρᾳ ζευχθῆναι κατηνάγκασε γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐκ γνώμης, ἀλλ' ἐκ περιστάσεως ὁ δεύτερος γάμος γεγένηται. Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σκοποῦμενος, ἀποδέχομαι τῶν οὕτω νενοηκότων τὴν ἐρμηνείαν.

² *In 1 Tim.* iii 2 Οὐ τοῦτο νομοθετεῖ, ὅτι ἀπὸ γυναικὸς εἶναι δεῖ πάντως τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ἀλλ' εἰ γίνεται, φησιν, ἀπὸ κοσμηκῶν, μὴ εἶη δευτερόγαμος. Ἡ ὅτι μίαν ἰδέτω πρὸς μίαν γυναῖκα τὴν νομικὴν πλὴν ἵνα πρὸς ἐπισκοπὴν κληθεῖς, ἐκεῖνο πληροῖ, ἵνα οἱ ἔχοντες, φησί, γυναῖκα ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες ὡς: *in Tit.* i 6 Μία γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ. Αὐτὴν φησιν, εἰδέτω τὴν νομὴν μόνην . . . τὸν δὲ δευτερόγαμον, ὡς ὄντα ὑπὸ κατάγνωσιν καλύει.

³ *In 1 Tim.* iii 2 Τινες μὲν οὖν φασιν ὅτι τὸν ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἡνίκατο, εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο, ἔχεται μὲν, φησί, μίαν γυναῖκα, πλὴν ὡς μὴ ἔχων, τουτέστι μὴ καταδουλούμενος ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῆς. Οὐ νομοθετῶν δὲ τοῦτο φησὶν ὅτι δεῖ γεγαμηκότα εἶναι πάντως τὸν ἐπίσκοπον . . . Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ὁ τότε καιρὸς τοιαῦτα ἀπῆτει, εἰ γένηται, φησί, μὴς ἔστω ἀνὴρ. Τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ἐκείνοις γὰρ ἐφέιτο ἡ πολυγαμία: *in 1 Tim.* v 9 Ἐπειτα καὶ μονογαμίαν αὐτὴν ἀπαιτεῖ ὡς σημεῖον σεμνότητος καὶ φιλοσωφροσύνης: *in Tit.* i 6 Ἀνέγκλητον δεῖ εἶναι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ὁ δὲ δίγαμος οὐκ ἀνέγκλητος, εἰ καὶ τοῖς ἔξω νόμοις δοκεῖ.

⁴ *In Tit.* i 6 Εἰ τῶχοι τοῦτον εἶναι ἀπὸ γεγαμηκότων. "Τίμος γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ γάμος" ὡς νόμμος· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος γάμος εἰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρακεχώρηται, ἀλλὰ γε τοῖς ἱεραμένοις ἀποκλείεται· οἷστρου γὰρ ἔχει καὶ ἀκрасίας ὑπόληψιν. Χρὴ δὲ τὸν ἱεραμένον καὶ μάλιστα τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνώτερον εἶναι πάσης οὐκ ἀγαθῆς ὑποψίας: *in 1 Tim.* iii 12 Εἰ γε καὶ ἀπὸ γεγαμηκότων εἰς τὸ διακονεῖν προάγουτο. Εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀνδρας μονογάμους εἶναι χρὴ, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας δηλονότι, τὰς τῷ διακονικῷ τετιμημένας ἀξιώματι· σφόδρα γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον τοῦτο καὶ κόσμον ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ. On 1 Tim. iii 2 see p. 372 above.

⁵ Meyer on 1 Tim. iii 2 vol. xvii p 141 (English Translation); Bishop Browne *Articles* pp. 752, 759; Reynolds in *Expositor* 1875, vol. ii.

turies Baptism was frequently conferred on persons of mature age, the question was raised whether St Paul's injunction included prebaptismal marriages.

St Ambrose was of opinion that not even one who as a Gentile or a Catechumen had married twice, could be ordained, on the ground that the Apostle's rule was peremptory, and marriage not being a sin, was not effaced by Baptism.¹ So strict an interpretation did not of course find many partisans.² St Jerome argued at length against it, when Oceanus, a Roman nobleman, protested against Carterius, a Spanish bishop, who, having been married before his Baptism and having lost his wife, married again as a Christian. Jerome's conclusion is that marriages before Baptism are not to be taken into account. The Apostle, he said, is speaking only of those who are baptized; and he points out, that the practice of the Church is not in favour of Oceanus's view, for 'the whole world is full of such ordinations'.³

These are the most important interpretations of the phrase *μίας γυναικὸς ἄνδρα* given by ancient writers.⁴ The last mentioned, namely that St Paul requires that those who are seeking for ordination should have been married only once, if at all, seems the most acceptable for the following reasons.

In order to understand more fully St Paul's injunctions, as to

¹ *De offic. Minist.* i 50; *Epist.* lxiii *ad Vercellenses*.

² St Innocent I accepted St Ambrose's opinion (*Epist.* ii *ad Victricium* 6), while St Augustine calls it a private one (*De bono conj.* 21). Tertullian had already observed that 'non numerabitur post fidem secunda uxor, quae post fidem prima est' (*de Monog.* 11).

³ 'Miror autem te unum protraxisse in medium, cum omnis mundus his ordinationibus plenus sit; non dico de presbyteris, non de inferiori gradu: ad episcopos venio, quos si sigillatim voluero nominare tantus numerus congregabitur ut Ariminensis Synodi multitudo superetur. . . In utraque Epistola sive episcopi, sive presbyteri . . . iubentur monogami in clerum eligi. Certe de baptizatis Apostoli sermonem esse nemo dubitat' (*Epist.* lxi *ad Ocean.* 2 sq.). Again, on Tit. i 6, he treats this extension of the prohibition as superstitious rather than true.

⁴ Other interpretations mentioned by the ancients are these: (a) That a bishop must be married, not celibate. To this view, it seems, Chrysostom refers at the beginning of his commentary on 1 Tim. iii 2; and Jerome says that Jovinian had supposed the same (*contra Iovin.* i 34). (b) That the word *γυνή* means figuratively the Church and so that a bishop should not be translated from one see to another. This is mentioned by Oecumenius and Theophylact (*in 1 Tim.* iii 2). It should be remarked that each of these opinions has had its adherents in modern times. (See Dr. Hutler's foot-note in Meyer's *Commentary* xvii p. 143, English Translation.)

the organization of the Church, we must call to mind the opinion held amongst the heathen with regard to marriage. It is well known how, in spite of the laxity of morals in pagan society, those satisfied with a single marriage were honoured, and that for moral and family reasons remarriages were regarded with disfavour. To remain in widowhood, as a sign of continence and devotion to the departed, had been highly esteemed by antiquity and considered as a sign of noble feeling, honoured not only in the wife but in the husband as well. The maxim 'ζῆλωτος ὁ πρῶτος γάμος, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἀπεικταῖος' ¹ had taken such deep root in the Roman mind that honour was paid to a widow even after her death, as may be seen from the title 'univira' engraved on certain tombs.²

These feelings and ideals seem not to have been overlooked by Christianity,³ in which, as a matter of fact, the institution of marriage has received its rightful place and due honour. Besides, St Paul's preference for only one marriage is quite noticeable. Although he did not look upon second marriage as a sin, yet he was not favourably inclined to it. He allows it indeed, but as a concession to human weakness⁴; while at the same time he praises, as pleasing to God, those who, in case of widowhood, abstain, and do not contract a second marriage.⁵ If then, according to St Paul, second marriage implies a lack of continence and is permissible only as a concession, it is unlikely that the same Apostle, who required a bishop to be ἀνεπίληπτον, νηφάλιον, σώφρονα, ἐγκρατῆ, would allow any one who contracted such a marriage to proceed to ordination.

¹ Plutarch *Quaest. Rom.* 105.

² See Propert. *Eleg.* iv 12; Tacit. *Annal.* ii 86, *de mor. Germ.* 19. Ancient poets and writers extolled the noble feeling implied in being content with one marriage only, while second marriages were regarded as a sign of illegitimate intemperance (Valer. Max. ii 1 § 3). Alcestis not enduring that a stepmother should be set over her children makes Admetos promise to regard her as his wife even after her death (Eurip. *Alcestis* 305-330). The legislator Charondas excluded from the Senate those who placed a stepmother over their children (Diod. Sic. vii 12). Dido touchingly expresses a deep affection for her dead husband (Virg. *Aen.* iv 28). Josephus praises Antonia, Drusus's wife, for her intention to remain in widowhood (*Antiquit.* XVIII vi 6). Tertullian points to certain honours paid by the heathen to absolute monogamy (*Exhort. cast.* 13). See Heydenreich *Comment. in priorem divi Pauli ad Corinth. Epist.* i, and also Lecky *History of European Morals* ii chap. v p. 324.

³ St Luke ii 36, 37.

⁴ 1 Cor. vii 9, 39.

1 Cor. vii 8, 40.

For these reasons we rank ourselves with those ancient writers who interpret the text as meaning that a second marriage after Baptism excludes from ordination. This explanation, be it observed, has on its side not a few amongst modern expositors.¹

Meanwhile, whatever may be the real meaning of St Paul's words, the interest for us here lies not only in the explanation of the text as directed against digamists, but also in the application of that meaning at an early period in the practice of the Church.

The ancient discipline is enacted in the 17th Apostolical Canon,² which forbids any one, who has been twice married after Baptism, to be ordained bishop, presbyter, or deacon, or hold any other office on the list. The same rule is laid down in the Apostolical Constitutions.³

Moreover, that this was the practice of the Church is shewn, apart from these documents, by many ancient authorities. Tertullian, whose testimony, as has been already said, is of value not as giving his Montanistic views, but as enabling us to infer the practice of the Church in his time, recognizes the existence of the discipline against second marriages for the clergy.⁴ Origen states that digamists were not allowed to be either bishops or presbyters or deacons or deaconesses in the Church.⁵ St Basil declares that digamists were entirely excluded from the Church ministry.⁶ St Ambrose admits the same principle.⁷ St Jerome, speaking of the ill-repute of second marriage, says, that no digamist could be admitted into the body of the clergy⁸; to which Augustine also testifies.⁹ St Epiphanius attests that it was the practice of the Church not to ordain digamists, but he limits this restriction to the major orders only.¹⁰ Theodore of

¹ See them in Meyer's *Commentary*; in the *Expositor*, 1875, vol. ii; and in Dollinger *Hippolytus and Callistus* p. 130.

² ὁ δὲ διὰ γάμοις συμπλακείς μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα, ἢ παλλακὴν κησαμένος οὐ δύναται εἶναι ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ὅλος τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ.

³ *Ap. Const.* ii 1, 2; vi 17.

⁴ *De monog.* 11.

⁵ *Hom.* xvii in *Luc.*

⁶ *Can.* 12 Τοὺς διγάμους παντελῶς ὁ πανὸν τῆς ὑπηρεσίας ἀπέκλεισε.

⁷ *De off. minist.* i 50; *Ep.* lxiii *ad Veracel.* 63.

⁸ *Adv. Iovin.* i 14 'Quam sancta sit digamia hinc ostenditur, quod digamus in clerum eligi non potest'. Cf. *Ep.* cxxiii *ad Ageruch.* 6.

⁹ *De bono coniug.* 18 'Sacramentum nuptiarum temporis nostri sic ad unum virum et unam uxorem redactum est, ut Ecclesiae dispensatorem non liceat ordinare nisi unius uxoris virum'.

¹⁰ *Adv. Haer.* lix 4; *Expos. fid.* 21.

Mopsuestia himself, in refuting the explanation and application of St Paul's command as excluding digamists from the ministry, admits this to have been the general practice in his day, but plainly declares that he cares nothing about it.¹

The foregoing statements shew that the prevalent practice of the Church debarred digamists from ordination ; but this impediment was based on a Scriptural clause, which had been variously explained. Since therefore there existed no unanimous agreement as to the real meaning of the text, which was the only biblical foundation for this discipline, it is not surprising that the rule of excluding digamists from ordination met with some exceptions both in the Eastern and in the Western Church.

Early in the third century (202), Tertullian, although he states that some digamists were removed from their office,² later on (probably in 217) vehemently complains that transgression of the rule had not always been punished by the Catholics, as it ought to have been.³ A few years later Hippolytus, amongst several charges brought against Callistus, says that in the time of that bishop the bonds of Church discipline were relaxed, for he admitted into Orders even those who had been twice or thrice married.⁴ This charge implies that the rule against digamists at the beginning of the third century was well established in the West.

In the fifth century Domnus, patriarch of Antioch, consecrated a digamist, the count Irenaeus, as bishop of Tyre, and when this election was attacked, Theodoret, agreeably to his own opinion and justifying his friend's action, wrote a letter in which he mentions that the election was made with the full approval of the leading members of the episcopate of Pontus and Palestine and accepted with warm commendation by Proclus of Constantinople, and that no question was raised about it ; while at the same time he points out the practice of other eminent bishops, saying that Alexander of Antioch with Acacius of Beroea consecrated Diogenes, who had been twice married ; Praylius of

¹ Cramer *Catena* vii *μικρὰ τῆς κρατούσης παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς φροντίσαντες συνηθείας*.

² *De Exhort. Cast.* 7 'Usque adeo quosdam memini digamos loco deiectos'.

³ *De Monog.* 12 'Quot enim et digami praesident apud vos, insultantes utique apostolo !'

⁴ *Philosophumena* ix 12.

Jerusalem likewise consecrated Domninus bishop of Caesarea in Palestine.¹

All these are exceptions, which only prove the general rule, and at the same time attest that the rule itself against digamy, which, like all such disciplinary rules had no dogmatic foundation, was not always an insuperable impediment. Moreover, in this instance, since the Church had not yet officially enacted a binding law, and for reasons previously mentioned, practice could not but shew some variation.

Yet notwithstanding the existing disagreement, it cannot be denied that the view that the Apostle's injunction was directed against digamists prevailed in practice and gradually became the established one. St Paul's language as to second marriages and the growing disfavour shewn to them by the ecclesiastical writers and their followers, are sufficient reasons for the dominance of that view.

It is true that some ancient authors, like Athenagoras, under the influence of an intense spirit of asceticism, went so far as to call second marriages a 'decent adultery'; but such individual opinions have never received official approval. The Church seems to have pointed to a single matrimonial connexion as the better course and not to have encouraged second marriages, but she never condemned them as unlawful; on the contrary one of the conditions laid down by the first Ecumenical Council for the reconciliation of Novatianists was that they should communicate with digamists.²

Meanwhile some synodical decisions, with regard to digamists, mark sufficiently the prevailing opinion about them in the East. Thus the Council of Neocaesarea (315) forbids a priest to attend the wedding festivities of digamists, as he would appear to be approving second marriages,³ which were subject to ecclesiastical penance. Similarly the Council of Laodicea (356?) requires that those who contract second marriages shall undergo a penitential discipline of prayer and fasting for a time before their admission to communion.⁴ St Basil, in his first canonical epistle to Amphilochius, mentions the existing practice that digamists are not admitted to the Holy

¹ *Ep. cx ad Domnum.*

² Canon 7.

³ Nicene Canon 8.

⁴ Canon 1.

Communion till after the lapse of one year, or, according to others, two years.¹

It is obvious that all these discouragements to second marriages were based rather on moral than on mystical grounds. Almost all the Eastern Fathers, following St Paul's view, adhere to the moral reason, viz. the presumed incontinency on the part of a digamist.²

Therefore, if second marriages, from very early times, were deemed a weakness, a falling short of the higher standard of Christian life, it is no wonder that the unfitness of digamists for ordination was emphasized, and their exclusion became the dominant rule in the Church. That this was so, appears even from the Civil Law, which, especially in the days of Justinian, concerned itself with these matters. Several imperial decisions enact that digamists be not allowed to be elected bishops, priests, deacons, or subdeacons. With regard to clerks below the subdiaconate, it is allowed that they may contract second marriage, but in that case they cannot proceed to a higher clerical rank.³

Finally, the Council in Trullo, taking into consideration the relaxation of the ecclesiastical discipline with regard to clerical marriages, by its third canon revived the canon (evidently the 17th Apostolical) which forbids digamists to receive Holy Orders; and so the impediment caused by digamy remains in force in the Eastern Church.

It may be added in conclusion that, although the prohibition of digamy was based on the view that a second marriage implies a lack of continence, it cannot be denied—as Origen and Jerome, though themselves partisans of the rule, had already observed—that a digamist may in some cases be better and more continent than a mere monogamist.⁴ As to its relation to the Apostolic direction, it cannot be contended from a canonical point of view,

¹ Canon 4.

² St Clement of Alex. *Strom.* iii 7; St Methodius *Sympos. Orat.* iii 12; St Cyril of Jerus. *Catech.* iv 26; Epiphanius *Haer.* xlviii 8; St Chrysostom in many of his writings. St Gregory Nazianzen, in attacking the capricious divorces of the time as being against Christ's command, adduces the argument that digamy is inconsistent with the doctrine that Christian marriage symbolizes the union of Christ with the Church (*Or.* xxxvii 8).

³ *Nov.* vi 1, 5; xxii 42; cxxiii 14.

⁴ See p. 372 above.

that this impediment is based on St Paul's words; it may or may not be so. The text has not received any official explanation: neither the Trullan nor the Apostolic canon makes any allusion to it. Accordingly the text is liable to be variously interpreted, and an interpretation may even be accepted contrary to that generally held by the Fathers; but this would not affect the authority of the canon. Strictly speaking, according to the teaching of the Eastern Church, the impediment of digamy, like all disciplinary rules, does not derive its force from the fact that the same injunction is found in the Holy Scriptures, but is valid, as being an enactment of a Council which is invested with ecumenical character in the Eastern Church.

§ *Marriage after loss of the first betrothed.*

Under the head of digamy may be classed the impediment to ordination caused by betrothal. By the Roman and Byzantine law betrothal created affinity in a certain degree,¹ and the Church by the 98th canon of the Trullan Council assimilated betrothal to marriage, so far as to make it adultery to marry a betrothed woman in the lifetime of her first betrothed.²

Without entering into details on this subject, it may be said that the tendency to assimilate betrothal to marriage was gaining force; so that, with respect to the present subject, digamy as a bar to ordination was extended to cover betrothal as well as marriage. The date at which this impediment was fully recognized in the Church cannot be determined with exactness. But at least it is certain that John Xiphilinus, Patriarch of Constantinople from 1064 to 1075, in assimilating legally contracted betrothal to marriage, not only quoted the Trullan canon and the constitutions of the Civil Law, but also referred to the then already prevalent principle that, if any betrothed person, after the dissolution, however occasioned, of his first betrothal, married lawfully another woman, he was considered as a digamist and excluded from the ministry of the Church.³

¹ *Basilica* xxviii § 1 Τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἢ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου μνηστὴν οὐ δύναμαι λαμβάνειν, κὰν γαμετᾷ αὐτῶν οὐ γεγόνασιν· ἢ μὲν γὰρ μητρυνίᾳ, ἢ δὲ νύμφης τάξιν ἐπέχει. See also xxviii 2 § 4; xlv 3 §§ 4 and 6.

² Canon 98 Ὁ ἐτέρῳ μνηστευθεῖσαν γυναῖκα, ἐτι τοῦ μνηστευσαμένου ζῶντος, πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν ἀγόμενος, τῇ τῆς μοιχείας ὑποκείσθω ἐγκλήματι.

³ Ἐκράτησε δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῆς δευτέρου τὸν μνηστευσάμενον κόρην, καὶ ἡ θανάτῳ ταύτης

It should be noticed that it is the betrothal with priestly benediction (δι' ἱερολογίας) that is taken here as so far equivalent to marriage, as Leo VI the Philosopher¹ and Alexios Comnenos alike enacted.² On this principle are based two synodical decisions of the fourteenth century dealing with betrothal as an impediment to ordination.³

A shorter or a longer period of time, however, used to elapse between betrothal and marriage, and during this interval it was no unusual occurrence for betrothals to be broken. So to avoid the difficulty that might ensue from dissolutions of betrothals, it was decided that betrothals with the Church's benediction should not be held before or apart from the solemnization of the Sacrament of Matrimony. To-day in the Greek Church the Service of Betrothal (Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἀρραβῶνος)⁴ and the benediction of crowns (Ἀκολουθία τοῦ στεφανώματος)⁵ take place at the same time, and really form one ceremony.⁶ Therefore such dissolution of betrothal as that mentioned above becomes impossible.

ἀποβαλόντα, ἢ διαζυγίῃ, ἢ συναινέσει, καὶ προστίμων καταβολῇ, εἶτα ἑτέραν ἀγαγόμενον, μὴ δύνασθαι ἱερέα, ἢ διάκονον, ἢ ὑποδιάκονον χειροτονεῖσθαι, δίγαμον δηλαδὴ λογιζόμενον (Patriarch. decision of April 26, 1066, in *Synlagma* v p. 52): 'Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν ταῖς εἰς ἱερωσύνην παραγγελίαις οὕτω ποιεῖν καὶ χειροτονεῖν ἔφασαν, ὥς ὅτε τις μνηστευσάμενός τινα, καὶ μὴ κατὰ νόμον συναφθεῖς, ἀποσταίῃ ταύτης οἰφδύποτε τρόπῳ, εἶτα ἑτέρῳ νομίμῳ γάμῳ συναφθῇ, οὔτε ἱερέως χειροτονίαν δέχεται, οὔτε χειροτονούμενος ἴσως ἐξ ἀγνοίας ὠφέλειάν τινα ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ὡς δίγαμος ἀλλοτριούται. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ἑτέρῳ μνηστευθεῖσαν εἰ τις ἀγάγηται εἰς ἱερωσύνης βαθμὸν ἐμποδίζεται ἀναβαίνειν (Patriarch. decision of March 19, 1067, *ibid.* p. 54).

¹ *Nov.* cix Θεσπίζομεν . . . μήτε μὴν ἱεροτελεστεῖας βεβαιοῦσθαι τὴν μνηστείαν τοῦ τρισκαυδεκάτου ἔτους ἐνδεούσης τῆς νύμφης, τοῦ νυμφίου τὸν τεσσαρακαυδέκατον μὴ διαμετροῦντος. See also *Nov.* lxxiv.

² *Nov.* xxiv (issued in 1084) Δεῖν ἔγγω διὰ τοῦ παρόντος θεσπίσματος . . . ἐκείνας εἶναι κυρίως μνηστείας καὶ ἀτεχνῶς ἰσοδυναμούσας τῷ γάμῳ . . . ὅσαι . . . καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν εὐλογίαν ἐπακολουθοῦσαν ἐγνώρισαν.

³ A synodical decision of the Church of Constantinople mentions that in May 1366 a certain deacon was degraded, as his marriage was proved to have been contracted after he repudiated his first 'betrothal with benediction' (*Acta Patriarch.* i p. 484). On the other hand it is stated that a certain George Eugenicos, who, after the death of his first betrothed, contracted marriage, was accepted for ordination, on the ground that his first betrothal had been undertaken without benediction (Gedeon *Κανονικαὶ Διατάξεις* i p. 24).

⁴ *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα*, Venice, 1891, pp. 238-241.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 241-252.

⁶ *Synodical Encyclical*, February 7, 1834, and April 28, 1835, in D. Christopoulos *Συλλογὴ* pp. 63, 88.

(b) Marriage with a widow or a divorced woman.

Matrimonial union with a widow or a divorced woman seems to have been an impediment to ordination in the Church at an early date. The oldest authorities support this view. Thus the Apostolical Constitutions¹ and the Apostolical Canons² forbid those who had contracted such a marriage to be ordained. Augustine mentions that the Church did not allow one whose wife was not a virgin to proceed to ordination.³ Gennadius of Marseilles holds the same view.⁴

The rule is placed in Justinian's legislation side by side with other disqualifications for ordination,⁵ an evident proof that it was at that time prevalent in the Eastern Church. Finally the Council in Trullo embodied the rule in its legislative code, and thus it has been invested with the validity and force of a general canon.⁶

It has been said that this rule was derived from the Old Testament where there exists a similar ordinance for the Jewish priests.⁷ Though in the canon and in the Levitical rule, it is true, there is a similarity in meaning and even in language,⁸ there is reason to believe that this law of the Church is based on grounds which are foreign to the old dispensation.

That part of the canon, which applies to a divorced woman, obviously is not disconnected with the question of marriage after divorce, which had troubled the early Fathers of the Church. It is known that, while the right of marrying again was sternly refused to the guilty party, the legality of the remarriage of the innocent partner, especially in case of the woman, was doubtful.⁹ If then the prevalent opinion in the Church did not favour the remarriage of a woman after divorce, even when she was the innocent party, it is not strange that the Church, exercising her jurisdiction, should forbid those who had married a divorced

¹ *Ap. Const.* vi 17.

² Canon 18.

³ *De bono coniug.* 18.

⁴ *De eccles. dogm.* 72.

⁵ *Nov.* vi 5; xxii 42; ciii 12.

⁶ Canon 3.

⁷ *Lev.* xxi 7, 13, 14.

⁸ It is noticeable that the canon (*Apost.* 18) makes use not of St Matthew's word ἀπολελυμένην (xix 9), but the term ἐκβεβλημένην used in Septuagint.

⁹ For the early views as to this subject see Dr Pusey's note on Tertullian (*Library of the Fathers* vol. i p. 431); Smith *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* s. v. 'Marriage', vol. ii p. 1112.

woman to enter into the ministry. It is needless to say that the term *ἐκβεβλημένη* of the canon should be accepted in its strict meaning, viz. as referring to a divorce which takes place on account of the husband's culpability, the wife being the innocent sufferer. In this case a divorced woman is of course from a moral point of view on the same level as a widow, and so we arrive at the conclusion that remarriage in itself, however happening—either after divorce or after death—on the wife's part, debars her second husband, though himself a monogamist, from the ministry of the Church.

Why then is marriage with a widow or a divorced woman, without any other moral condition, taken as an impediment to ordination? The reason seems to lie in the idea that such conjugal unions, being of a digamous character on the wife's side, are subject to the consequences of second marriages, as to which we have already seen the view held by the Eastern Church.¹ Therefore, though personally the husband in this case is a monogamist, by contracting a marriage with a digamous woman he shares its disabilities. Moreover, his conduct in such case would be taken to encourage the incontinence which is held to be implied in every second marriage; while at the same time such a marriage might not conduce to the desired harmony of family life, especially when there were children of the wife's first marriage.

(c) *Marriage with a woman of loose morals.*

Under this head are comprised all those conjugal unions which, though esteemed lawful in themselves, nevertheless, owing to defective morality on the wife's side, are considered a bar to Holy Orders. Women of this type, according to the 18th Apostolical Canon, are actresses and courtesans. The reason of this impediment is that through the close connexion between the man and his wife, such a marriage does not reflect honourably on the character of the man who contracts it.² Various conditions of life might make this blemish tolerable in the case of a layman;

¹ For this reason many canonists call such unions with reference to the husband's side, 'quasi-digamy', 'interpretative', or 'fictitious digamy'.

² Such matrimony is alike forbidden by the law of Moses to priests (Lev. xxi 14) and by the Roman law to all men of rank.

but such a union is reasonably a bar to ordination; for every irregularity is inconsistent with the sacred dignity of the priesthood.

On this ground is based another law of the Church, which, in accordance with the 8th canon of Neocaesarea, excludes from the ministry a man whose wife is convicted of committing adultery; or, should the offence have taken place after ordination, he is to put her away, on pain of being suspended from his office, if he persists in living with her.¹

In both cases there is the idea that the blot brought on the family life by the wife's misconduct ought not to be allowed to exist in the household of a minister of the Church. Therefore in the first instance it must be prevented by prohibiting the husband's admission into the clergy, and in the second by separating the parties.

Here, however, arises the question whether a layman could not, by divorcing his unfaithful wife, proceed to ordination just as the clergyman, who dissolves the bonds of matrimony in a similar case, retains his privilege of grade and office. Balsamon answers this question negatively, without giving any adequate reason.² The scholiasts of the *Πηδάλιον* do not deprive a man of the privilege of ordination, if he separate from his wife; but they add that, should any intercourse have occurred after the adultery, neither could the priest retain his priesthood nor the layman be ordained, even though the crime had been unknown to him.³ This explanation is just and rational in itself, but does not seem to be consistent with the letter of the canon, in which so subtle a distinction is not made.

It should be noted that the canon speaks of a crime publicly proved, *ἐὰν ἐλεγχθῇ φανερώς*, which imperils the reputation of the husband; and in that case ordination is forbidden to a

¹ Γυνή τινος μοιχευθεῖσα λαϊκοῦ ὄντος, ἐὰν ἐλεγχθῇ φανερώς, ὁ τοιοῦτος εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν ἔλθειν οὐ δύναται. Ἐὰν δὲ μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν μοιχευθῇ ὑφείλει ἀπολύσαι αὐτήν. Ἐὰν δὲ συζῇ, οὐ δύναται ἔχειν τῆς ἐγχειρισθείσης αὐτῇ ὑπηρεσίας.

² *Synlogon* iii p. 84.

³ *Πηδάλιον* p. 226 "Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἱερωμένος χωριζόμενος τὴν μοιχευθεῖσαν γυναῖκά του ἔχει τὴν ἱερωσύνην, οὕτως καὶ ὁ λαϊκὸς τὴν τοιαύτην γυναῖκά του χωριζόμενος δύναται γενέσθαι ἱερεὺς. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ ἕνας καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ἔσμεν μὲ τὴν γυναῖκά των ἀφ' οὗ ἐμοιχεύθη κἂν καὶ ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ, ὁμοίως μήτε ὁ ἱερεὺς δύναται νὰ ἔχη τὴν ἱερωσύνην, οὔτε ὁ λαϊκὸς νὰ τὴν λάβῃ. M. Sacellaropoulou is of the same opinion (*Ἑκκλ. Δίκαιον*, Athens, 1898, p. 98).

layman, and divorce, on pain of degradation, is commanded for the clergyman. The fact is that in both instances the husband, though not responsible, is affected to a certain extent by the wife's misconduct; but it would be a heavy penalty for an already ordained person, in addition to his misfortune, to suffer degradation, whereas the disqualification so caused in case of a layman does not directly affect his interest. The latter may continue his previous occupation or undertake other functions, and please God equally well.

(d) Marriages within the prohibited degrees.

The Church, for various reasons, has forbidden marriages between persons related to one another in various degrees. To contract such union within these degrees is unlawful and shews real contempt of the sacred rules, and the offender rightly incurs the penalty provided for the case.

Of course the Church under certain circumstances may give dispensation to the parties concerned; but in any case she cannot, without stultifying her rules, entrust to such a person the administration and stewardship of her mysteries.

St Basil in his first canonical epistle to Amphilochius, concerning a priest ordained after he had contracted an illegal (*ἄθεσμον*) marriage without knowing it, directs that he may keep his place among priests, but must not discharge any ecclesiastical duty; for it would be inconsistent to bless others while he needs to look after his own wounds.¹ This view is confirmed by the Council in Trullo and is embodied in its 26th canon, which also requires the separation of the parties.

Taking into consideration the measures of the Church in respect of already ordained persons and the spirit of the above canon, it must be concluded that the Church *a fortiori* would not allow those who were involved in such unions to proceed to ordination.

Therefore the law in force is that any one who has contracted a marriage within the prohibited degrees, even in ignorance of the illegality, is to be regarded as unfit for Holy Orders.²

¹ Canon 27.

² Balsamon in commenting on the 19th Apostolical Canon says 'Ο γάμον κεκαλυμένον ἐξ αἵματος ἢ ἐξ ἀγχιστείας συναλλάξας οὐ κληρωθήσεται ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπιτιμηθήσεται (*Synlogma* ii pp. 26, 363).

(e) Marriage with a slave woman.

The 18th Apostolical Canon excludes also from admission to the clergy those who have married slaves. The reason for this rule evidently lies in the then legally recognized disparity of social conditions in the Roman Empire, according to which there could be absolutely no marriage between freeman and slave.¹ Should any such union have taken place, the slave would still remain the property of his or her master, and the children born from that marriage would be counted as slaves.

Notwithstanding that the advent of Christianity swept away all such distinctions,² it was yet inevitable that conjugal unions resulting in such social and legal disadvantages should be regarded as inconsistent with the dignity and the high calling of a minister of the Church.

This prohibition is not mentioned among the Pentateuchal prescriptions respecting Jewish priests; but, as Josephus informs us, marriages of freemen with slaves were generally considered unlawful among the Jews in his time (*Ant.* iv 8 § 23).

It is needless to say that this ordinance of the canon, being due to the social conditions of the time, is not applicable now that slavery has been abolished; and it possesses only a historical interest.

The possibility of deviation from the rules above mentioned.

The conjugal unions which according to the canons are inconsistent with the dignity of a minister of the Church have now been enumerated. We may next consider whether and under what circumstances a person involved in any such union can be admitted to Holy Orders.

With regard to this question it is necessary to know whether the marriage in question has been contracted before or after Baptism. As to the former case, it is plain from the ecclesiastical legislation that canons have no application to the state of life previous to the reception of Baptism for the following reasons. *First*, because Baptism is the entrance into the Church, and the ecclesiastical regulations refer only to the members of the Church :

¹ Julius Paullus *Sent.* ii t. xix § 6 'Inter servos et liberos matrimonium contrahi non potest'.

² Gal. iii 28.

hence those who are unbaptized are not subject to the Church rules. This is the reason given by St Basil: *Ὅσα δὲ νόμος λαλεῖ τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λαλεῖ, καὶ καθόλου τὰ ἐν τῷ κατηχομένῳ βίῳ γεγόμενα εἰς εὐθύνας οὐκ ἄγεται* (Canon 20). Secondly, as Baptism effaces all the sins committed previously to its reception, so also it annuls everything that in a person already baptized would be an impediment to ordination. This view has, it is true, been contested from time to time; but the opinion, that nothing which happened before Baptism should be taken into account, has remained a general principle in the canons and in the practice of the Eastern Church up to the present time.¹

As to the second question, viz. whether a deflection from the canonical requirements is possible in case the marriage has taken place after Baptism, it should be remarked that, from a strictly canonical point of view, exceptions are not allowed.

It is true, the fundamental principle of giving the ecclesiastical authorities the power to make some deviations is not alien from the spirit of the canons. The consciousness that canons are not like dogmas, which are and must remain unchangeable, never failed to exist in the Church, and undoubtedly led some Councils to give the bishops the right of departing from the letter of the law in extraordinary cases. Yet it must be remembered that this right is not of a general character, but limited, and may be exercised only in the special circumstances mentioned in the canons themselves.²

Now as regards the present subject, the canons which deal with marriages as impediments to ordination have the authority of

¹ Theodore of Mopsuestia describes that rule prevailing in the East: *Σαφῶς, he says, καὶ παρήμι τέως ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι καὶ δύο γυναῖκας εἰληφότα σαφῶς νομίμους λέγω, βαπτίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸν κλῆρον παράγουσιν ἀδεῶς*, though he endeavoured to alter it (*in 1 Tim.* iii 2). From a letter of Innocent I (414) we learn that the bishops of Macedonia did not regard as a digamist one who contracted lawfully one marriage before and a second after his Baptism and thus they had no scruple in ordaining him, for the first marriage was effaced with his sins by Baptism (*Ep.* XVII ii 3). See also *Apost. Can.* 17; *Ancy.* c. 12; Theoph. of Alexand. *Can.* 6; *Trullan Can.* 31. Zonaras on the 17th *Apost. Can.* says: *Τὸ θεῖον λουτρὸν τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος, πάντα πιστεύομεν ἀποπλύνειν ῥύπον τοῖς βαπτισθεῖσιν ἐντακέντα πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος καὶ οὐδὲν ἁμάρτημα τῶν πρὸ τούτου γενομένων τινὶ καλύει τὸν βαπτισθέντα προβιβάζεσθαι εἰς ἱερωσύνην* (*Synagoga* ii p. 23).

² *Can. apost.* 80 *Εἰ μὴ που κατὰ θεῖαν χάριν τοῦτο γένηται. Neocaes.* c. 12 *Εἰ μὴ τάχα διὰ τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ σπουδῆς καὶ πίστεως καὶ διὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων.* S. Bas. *Can.* 1 *Ἐὰν μέντοι μέλλῃ τῇ καθόλου οἰκονομίᾳ ἐμπόδιον εἶσεσθαι τοῦτο.*

an Ecumenical Council, and are silent as to any possible exception. Hence it is evident that no deviation from them is permissible, unless it be sanctioned by an equal authority; for the power of exempting persons from a law is in the hands of the legislator himself, and not of the executive.

Nevertheless, although from a canonical point of view exceptions, where not mentioned, are not permissible, yet special circumstances or crises in the life of the Church have sometimes occasioned relaxations of the general law. The Church has always aimed at the moral and religious advantage of her members in various ways. Whenever it was considered that to insist on the strict maintenance of a law might rather do harm than confer a benefit on the society concerned, the ecclesiastical authorities made no scruple of suspending its operation. History supplies many examples of the profitable application of this principle, and many eminent Fathers at times recommended deviation from the strictness of the law. Certainly, to use the expression of Cyril of Alexandria, αἱ οἰκονομίαι τῶν πραγμάτων ἐστὶν ὅτε παραβιάζονται βραχὺ τοῦ δέοντος ἕξω φέρεσθαι τινας· ἵνα τι μείζον κερδάνωσι, and ὁ τῆς οἰκονομίας τρόπος οὐδενὶ τῶν συνετῶν ἀπήρεσεν.¹

It is unnecessary, of course, to mention that impediments implying corrupt dispositions (e. g. incestuous marriages, &c.) can by no means be overlooked. In those instances ecclesiastical authorities might pardon the offender and reconcile him to the Church, on his repentance, but they could not accept him into the ministry. Absolution cannot remove the social results of the offence committed and restore the public deference due to a cleric. The enlistment of such persons among the clerical ranks would be at variance with the chief aim of the ecclesiastical calling.

If, however, the matrimonial union neither evinces distortion of morals, nor exerts a bad influence on public opinion, it may be said that in an exigency it need not be regarded as an insuperable impediment to ordination. Digamy, e. g., or marriage with a widow, does not always involve the presumed deficiencies, and if so, and if there is no other hindrance, the immediate

¹ *Ep. lvi ad Gennadium Arch.* 56. See also two letters of the same Father addressed to the Deacon and Archim. Maximus (*Migne P. G.* lxxii cc. 320, 321). See also St Basil's *Epp.* lxxvii, ccxxvi, ccxxviii, ccxxx; Theodore of Studium *Epp.* xxiv and xlix (*Migne P. G.* xcix cc. 981, 1085).

authority, in exceptional circumstances, should not be fettered by the formalities of law. Such a relaxation could not really be called adverse to the canons. The acceptance of such a candidate may not be in accordance with the strict letter of the law, but at the same time it does not violate its spirit.

In truth, experience shews that when the Church was compelled, owing to difficult circumstances, to elect some good and competent person to the priesthood and not to keep to the strict letter of the law, the result as a rule did not disappoint her hopes. Therefore a deflection from the literal demands of a canon may prudentially take place in urgent instances as an exceptional measure, and is justifiable, so far as the interest of the Church seems to require it.

It is evident that when the Church is restored to its normal state of peace, and ecclesiastical affairs run smoothly, there is no reason for exceptions. But supposing that for some reason or other a dispensation should be granted to-day, what is the proper authority to grant it? That one bishop cannot give the decision is obvious from what was said before. He possesses the power of ordaining, but can make use of this right only within the canonical prescriptions, and not according to his own will. Church laws and canons are the outcome of the ecclesiastical legislature and not the work of an individual member of the hierarchy. Consequently the power of making exceptions belongs to the legislature itself, viz. to the Councils. The present organization of the Eastern Church, which is constituted of a number of independent Churches, makes difficult the question, whether one particular Church may have the right to deviate from the canons of an Ecumenical Council without affecting the ecclesiastical unity, which is founded in part upon the maintenance of the decrees of the Councils.¹ The Eastern Church, generally speaking, has never officially formed any established theory on this subject.

* ¹ The Church in her synodical decisions, when declaring the independence of a national Church, or otherwise defining the spiritual relations which should exist among the several independent Churches, also insists on the firm observance of the canons of the Ecumenical Councils as a condition of unity, and the term *κανονική ἐνότης* is almost constantly repeated in such ecclesiastical documents (*Synlogma* v pp. 160-163, 177-185; *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, Constantinople, 1885, vol. i p. 38). See also the letter of the Patriarch of Alexandria, Photius, to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Joachim III, concerning the Patriarch of Antioch in *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*, *μηναία ἐκκλ. ἐπιθεώρησις*, Alexandria, Feb. 1908, p. 65.

Nevertheless it could hardly be denied that the Governing Synods of the several Churches have the right to make exceptions from a law, with great care, provided that such a course be rendered necessary by stress of extraordinary circumstances, and, according to the example of the ancient Church, that such a deviation contributes to the moral and spiritual interest of the faithful.

3. *Marriage after ordination.*

It has so far been shewn that ordination, so far as priests and deacons are concerned, is compatible with the married state in the Eastern Church, and at the same time it has been explained what conjugal unions incapacitate a candidate for ordination. Now we must examine another question which lies before us, viz. whether an already ordained, single, person can contract a marriage.

With regard to this question we find in the New Testament no evidence for an answer in the affirmative. St Paul, in 1 Corinthians ix 5, by the words *Οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα περιάγειν*; does not proclaim his right to marry. He is referring to the support received by the Apostles in their journeys—a right of which he willingly deprived himself (v. 12, 15)—from those Christian women, whether their wives or not, who attended them. The interpretation commonly given to this passage by the Fathers is that the women, who accompanied the Apostles, were not wives, but were treated as sisters, and that they supported the men with their own substance, according to the example of the women who followed our Saviour.¹ This explanation may have been claimed to justify the perilous custom of 'subintroductae', against which was directed the well-known campaign of the Fathers and the Church and civil legislation; but such an abuse of the Apostolic practice is no adequate reason for rejecting the above-mentioned interpretation.

The other Pauline expression, *μὴς γυναῖκός ἀνὴρ*, is understood as illustrating the qualifications required of candidates for Holy Orders. Should the clause be accepted as directed against digamists, it evidently forbids remarriage on the part of a widower among the clergy, but nothing for or against the marriage of an unmarried clergyman could be inferred from it.

¹ Clement of Alex. *Strom.* iii 5; Tertul. *de Monog.* 8; Jerome *Contra Jovin.* i 26; Aug. *De opere Monach.* iv 5; Theodoret *in loc.*; Isidore of Pelusium *Epp.* iii 176; Theophylact in Migne *P. G.* cxxiv c. 665; Oecumenius *ib.* cxviii c. 756; Zigabenus, ed. N. Calogeras, i p. 271; Suicer. *Thes.* i p. 810.

If, however, the Sacred Books do not give any rule on this subject, it is admitted that the prohibition of marriage to the clergy must have been the unwritten law of the ancient Church. History certainly does not furnish any instance of the marriage of a man already ordained, which did not meet with reproach.

Hippolytus, among the several charges brought against Callistus, says that in his time (218–223) clergymen were permitted to marry, without sin, which evidently implies that early in the third century the rule of prohibiting marriage after ordination was well established in the Roman Church, and that probably this was the first transgression of the law.¹

The 26th Apostolical Canon—of ante-Nicene date according to some authorities²—allows marriage after ordination to readers and singers only³; from which it is to be inferred that the contraction of marriage was not permissible to higher orders. The Apostolical Constitutions confine the prohibitory rule only to bishops, priests, and deacons.⁴ At any rate it is certain that when in the Council of Nicea an attempt was made to enforce the celibacy of the clergy and Paphnutius protested against it, he referred in his speech to the practice of not marrying after ordination as an ancient tradition of the Church.⁵

At the beginning of the fourth century a partial deflection from the ancient practice had been made in the East. The Council of Ancyra (314), probably owing to the necessities of the moment, granted the right of contracting marriage to deacons who at the time of their ordination had declared their intention not to remain single; in which case marriage did not deprive them of office, because it had been allowed by the bishop. Other-

¹ *Philosoph.* ix 12 *Εἰ δὲ καὶ τις ἐν κλήρῳ ὢν γαμοίῃ, μένειν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ὡς μὴ ἡμαρτηκότα.* Dr Dollinger argues at length that this passage should be understood not in a general sense but as referring to subdeacons, acolytes, and others of minor orders (*Hip. and Cal.* p. 140).

² This is Dr Drey's view, followed by Hefele, who adds that this canon 'is a faithful interpretation of the ancient practice of the Church' (*Hist. of the Councils* i p. 468).

³ *Apost. Can.* 26 *Τῶν εἰς κλῆρον προσελθόντων ἀγάμων κελεύομεν βουλομένους γαμεῖν ἀναγνώστας καὶ ψάλτας μόνον.*

⁴ *Ap. Const.* vi 17 *Ἐπίσκοπον καὶ πρεσβύτερον καὶ διάκονον εἶπομεν μονογάμους καθίστασθαι, κὰν ζῶσιν αὐτῶν αἱ γυναῖκες, κὰν τεθνῶσι· μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐτοῖς μετὰ χειροτονίας ἀγάμοις οὖσιν ἐπὶ ἐπὶ γάμον ἔρχεσθαι (vi c. 17).*

⁵ *Socr. H. E.* i 11 *Ἀρκείσθαι τε τὸν φθάσαστα κλήρου τυχεῖν μηκέτι ἐπὶ γάμον ἔρχεσθαι, κατὰ τὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀρχαίαν παράδοσιν.*

wise, if they accepted ordination unconditionally, they could not marry, on pain of deposition.¹ The general rule of the Church, even in Galatia, required that deacons should not marry after ordination, and permission to contract matrimony was limited, and granted only under the conditions mentioned.

What use the bishops made of this right is not clear. It appears that after the lapse of nearly a century and a half the canon of Ancyra, probably under different conditions of life, had fallen into disuse. Such at least would be a natural deduction from the 14th canon of the Council of Chalcedon.² That canon, taking some precautions concerning the contraction of marriage by those orders of clergy who possessed this privilege, does not include deacons amongst them. If at that time the canon of Ancyra was observed in some dioceses (as we shall see was the case later on), there is no reason why the Council of Chalcedon should exempt deacons from the rule applied to the readers and singers; for these, although allowed to marry, as the same canon expressly says, only in certain provinces, nevertheless attracted the attention of the Council.

As for priests there is no ecclesiastical law of concession similar to that made for deacons by the Council of Ancyra. Canonical testimony, however, points to the occurrence of some transgressions in practice. Thus the Council of Neocaesarea felt it necessary to enact that, if a presbyter marry, he is to be degraded to a lower order, but if he commits fornication, or adultery, he is to be finally expelled and subjected to penance.³

St Basil, dealing with the case mentioned in the latter part of this canon, expressed the view that canonical persons should not be allowed to contract marriage with those who shared their sin. He commands dissolution of the union at all costs; 'For,' he says, 'this is both profitable for the security of the Church and

¹ Can. 10 Διάκονοι ὅσοι καθίστανται, παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν κατάστασιν εἰ ἐμαρτυρήσαντο καὶ ἔφασαν χρῆναι γαμῆσαι, μὴ δυνάμενοι οὕτω μένειν, οὗτοι μετὰ ταῦτα γαμήσαντες, ἔστωσαν ἐν τῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ, διὰ τὸ ἐπιτραπῆναι αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. Τοῦτο δὲ εἴ τινας, σιωπήσαντες καὶ καταδεξάμενοι ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ μένουν οὕτω, μετὰ ταῦτα ἦλθον ἐπὶ γάμον πεπαῦσθαι τῆς διακονίας.

² Can. 14 Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τισιν ἐπαρχίαις συγκεχώρηται τοῖς ἀναγνώσταις καὶ ψάλταις γαμεῖν, ὥρισεν ἡ ἁγία Σύνοδος μὴ λείπειν τινι αὐτῶν ἑτερόδοξον γυναῖκα λαμβάνειν.

³ Can. 1 Πρεσβύτερος ἐὰν γῆμῃ τῆς τάξεως αὐτοῦ μετατίθεσθαι, ἐὰν δὲ πορνείῃ ἢ μοιχεύῃ, ἐξωθεῖσθαι αὐτὸν τέλεον καὶ ἀγεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς μετάνοιαν.

will prevent heretics from accusing us, as though we induced men to join us by the attraction of liberty to sin.'¹

The ecclesiastical law might punish the offenders with deposition and insist on the dissolution of the union; but marriage is a civil contract and subject to the law of the State as well; therefore inasmuch as the State did not pronounce the marriage of the clergy void, and the Church could not enforce its dissolution, there was dissension for a long time between ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions on this subject.

In the sixth century Justinian's legislation, which solemnly professed to follow the sacred canons, gave the force of civil law to the prohibitions contained in them. Especially with regard to marriage of ordained men the tone of Justinian's decisions is very severe. The constitution of October 530 declared that priests, deacons, and subdeacons marrying after ordination should be deposed according to the canons, and that children born of such marriage should be neither legitimate nor spurious, but be considered of incestuous or nefarious birth.

It has been inferred that this enactment declared clerical marriages void; such a conclusion, however, hardly appears admissible. The law does not explicitly speak of the dissolution of marriage; a tie between the parties may still have subsisted, unless the declaration of the children as of incestuous and nefarious parentage may be taken to imply the nullity of marriage.

All those disqualifications, with which the innocent children are invested, concern not the marriage itself, but rather the parental property. Justinian was anxious to secure the Church property from passing into alien hands, as is obvious from the text itself. The children of such marriages, says the law, could not enter into hereditary claims nor accept any parental donation, either themselves or their mothers, but whatever parental donation might be given to them was to be returned to the Church to which their parents belonged. At any rate, this is the first civil law which constitutes all orders of the ministry, from the subdiaconate upwards, an impediment to marriage.²

¹ Can. 6 Τῶν κανονικῶν τὰς πορνείας εἰς γάμον μὴ καταλογίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τρόπῳ διασπῶν αὐτῶν τὴν συνάφειαν. Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν λυσιτελεῖ, καὶ τοῖς αἱρετικοῖς οὐ δώσει καθ' ἡμῶν λαβὴν, ὥς διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀμαρτάνειν ἀδειαν ἐπισπωμένον πρὸς ἑαυτούς.

² Code i 3 § 44 Τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων μηδὲ τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις πρεσβυτέροις μηδὲ τοῖς

In 535 the emperor dealt with the matter in one of his Novels,¹ and in the following year he dealt again with the same subject,² and in both enactments the penalty of degradation, and the reduction of the offender to the lay status, is prescribed.³ It seems that advantage was being taken of the 10th canon of Ancyra, previously mentioned, and that marriages not only of deacons but of priests as well, had taken place on a large scale. For the tightening of discipline Justinian in 546 issued another Novel, treating the canon of Ancyra as irrelevant, and requiring that the bishop must enquire of a candidate before his ordination whether he could live a single life in chastity, since the ordainer cannot allow a deacon to marry after ordination, under the penalty of being expelled from his bishopric. Priests, deacons, or subdeacons marrying after ordination are to be degraded and handed over with their property to the senate of the city in which they had served as clerics.⁴

εὐλαβεστάτοις διακόνους ἢ ὑποδιακόνους γαμῆν μετὰ τὴν τοιαύτην χειροτονίαν ἐφίενται, ἀλλὰ μόνοις τοῖς εὐλαβεστάτοις ψάλλται τε καὶ ἀναγνώσταις τοῦτο συγχαροῦντων, ὁρῶμέν τινας περιφρονοῦντας μὲν τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων, παιδοποιουμένους δὲ ἐκ τινῶν γυναικῶν, αἷς ἀρμολογεῖν κατὰ τὸν ἱερὸν θεσμὸν οὐ δύνανται. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ ποινὴ τοῦ πράγματος ἐν μόνῃ τῇ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἦν ἐκπτώσει, τοὺς δὲ θεῖους κανόνας οὐκ ἔλαττον τῶν νόμων ἰσχύειν καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι βούλονται νόμοι, θεσπίζομεν κρατεῖν μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὰ τοῖς ἱεροῖς δοκοῦντα κανόνι, ὥς ἂν εἰ καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἐνεγέγραπτο νόμοις . . . καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐιρημένῃ τῆς ἐκπτώσεως ποινῇ μὴδὲ εἶναι γνησίους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀτόπου συνδιαφορᾶς τεχθέντας ἢ τικτομένους . . . Τοιούτους γὰρ αὐτοὺς τίθεμεν ὁποῖους οἱ νόμοι τοὺς ἐξ ἰσχύος ἢ νεφαρίων τεχθέντας γάμων διορίζουσιν, ὥστε μὴδὲ φυσικοὺς ἢ νόθους νοεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν ἀπηγορευμένους, καὶ διαδοχῆς γονέων ἀναξίους, οὐδὲ δωρεὰν λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτῶν δυναμένους, οὐδὲ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ τὰς τούτων μητέρας, οὐδὲ διὰ παρενθέτων προσώπων, ἀλλὰ πασῶν τῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς γινομένων παρὰ τῶν πατέρων φιλοτιμιῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀγιοτάτην ἐκκλησίαν, ἐξ ἧς εἰσὶν οἱ τοῦτο ἀμαρτάνοντες, ἐρχομέναν . . . Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐσχηματισμένη τις γένοιτο δῆθεν ἐνοχὴ ἐν προσποιήσει δαναεικῶν ἢ ἄλλων συμβολαίων ὑπεύθυνον ποιούσα δῆθεν τὸν τῆς τοιαύτης φθορᾶς μετασχόντα, καὶ ταύτην ἀνίσχυρον εἶναι βουλούμεθα καὶ τὴν τῶν τοιούτων δόσιν οὐκ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον, εἰς ὅπερ ἐκτέθηται τὰ τῆς συγγραφῆς, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀγιοτάτην Ἐκκλησίαν.

¹ Nov. vi c. 5 (cf. also Nov. v c. 8) Εἰ δὲ καὶ τις πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος ἢ ὑποδιάκονος ὢν, εἴτα εἰσάγει γαμετὴν ἢ παλλακὴν, ἢ φανερώς ἢ ἐσχηματισμένως, τῆς ἱερᾶς εὐθὺς ἐκπιπτέτω τάξεως, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἰδιώτης ἔστω.

² Nov. xxii c. 42 Ἀλλὰ κἂν εἴ τις ἐν τοῖς εὐλαβεστάτοις τελῶν κληρικοῖς (τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀναγνώστην ἢ ψάλλοντα φαιμέν) ὅλως ὁμολήσῃε γάμος, τοῦτον ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας διατάξεως ἐκπιπτειν τῆς ἱερωσύνης διατεταγμένῳ τε καὶ βουλούμεθα.

³ It should be noted that the penalty of strict deposition mentioned in the 6th Novel of Justinian was modified by Leo VI, who enacted that a clergyman, having been dedicated to God through ordination, should not be totally deposed in this case and reckoned as a mere layman, but that degradation from the order he held at the time of his marriage to a lower one should be regarded as a sufficient punishment. Nov. lxxix (Zacharias iii pp. 175-176).

⁴ Nov. cxxiii c. 14 (cf. Basilica III i 27) Εἰ δὲ ὁ μέλλων χειροτονεῖσθαι διάκονος

These successive imperial laws leave no doubt that there was a proportionate number of transgressions. What was the real reason for those infractions? Was it due to contempt of the law, because of relaxed morals? Or had the interdiction of marriage after ordination been found incompatible with the general views of the Eastern Church, in which the use of marriage contracted before ordination was never forbidden to deacons and priests? The fact is that nothing certain can be said, as there is complete absence of any contemporary evidence.

Nevertheless, the resuscitation of the force of the canons by the Civil Law with its strictness could not prevent violations of the old ecclesiastical discipline. As we learn from the proceedings of the Council in Trullo priests and deacons contracted not only first marriages, but even second, one before and the other after ordination. The Council, in dealing generally with the irregular clerical marriages then existing, assigns their cause rather to ignorance of the law than to any base motive (*καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ ἐξ ἀγνοίας πτώματος εἰς οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν πλῆθος διήκοντος*).

The Fathers of the Council, it seems, were not unanimous as to the measures that should be adopted in these cases. The Papal Legates insisted on the strict application of the canonical prescriptions. The Eastern bishops, on the other hand, were inclined to leniency, partly because the offence was due to ignorance, partly because the large number of offenders rendered the employment of stringent measures unsafe. For this reason, it was decided to temper the demands of the ancient canons with leniency, and the Council issued a special canon settling the matter.

In the first place, all the uncanonical marriages were dissolved, and those digamists were subjected to the penalty of deposition who did not put an end to the illegal connexion before a fixed

μὴ ἔχει γυναῖκα καθὰ ἀνωτέρω εἴρηται ζευχθεῖσαν αὐτῷ, μὴ ἄλλως χειροτονείσθω εἰ μὴ πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ χειροτονούντος αὐτὸν ἐρωτηθεὶς ἐπαγγέλλεται δύνασθαι, μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν, καὶ χωρὶς νομίμης γαμετῆς σεμνῶς βιοῦν, οὐ δυναμένου τοῦ χειροτονούντος ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς χειροτονίας ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ διακόνῳ μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν γαμετὴν λαμβάνειν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο γένηται, ὁ ἐπιτρέψας ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐκβαλλέσθω. Εἰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος ἢ ὑποδιάκονος ἀγάγηται γαμετὴν, ἐκβαλλέσθω τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τῆς πόλεως ἐν ᾗ κληρικὸς ἦν μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων πραγμάτων παραδιδόσθω.

date (the 15th of January, 692). Those who willingly dissolved the unlawful marriages, or whose wives were already dead, were debarred from all sacerdotal ministrations, but allowed to retain their title and dignity. Finally, those who had contracted a first marriage after ordination or married a widow, after the dissolution of the marriage suffered a short suspension from sacred ministrations, but were subsequently restored to their grades, being deprived, however, of the right of ascending to higher orders.¹

The application of this canon was limited to the time at which it was passed. For marriage after ordination in general the Council renewed the 26th Apostolical Canon, and enacted that marriage, if desired, is permissible in any grade of the ministry below the subdiaconate; but no subdeacon, deacon, or presbyter is allowed, on pain of deposition, to contract matrimony after his ordination.² This canon is of general force and validity in the Eastern Church and constitutes ordination, from the subdiaconate upwards, an absolute impediment to marriage.³

Notwithstanding the authority of the Council and the preciseness of the canon, the practice of the two centuries immediately following shews that violations were so numerous among the clergy as to assume in course of time the force of custom. We learn from the 3rd Novel of the Emperor Leo VI (886-911), that celibate priests were allowed, if they so desired, to marry within two years after their ordination. The imperial enactment condemned this custom and required that ordination should henceforth be conferred in accordance with the ancient discipline of the Church.⁴

¹ Canon 3.

² Can. 6 'Ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τοῖς ἀποστολικοῖς κανόσιν εἴρηται τῶν εἰς γάμον προαγομένων ἀγάμων μόνους ἀναγνώστας καὶ ψάλτας γαμεῖν, καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦτο παραφυλάττοντες ὀρίζομεν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μηδαμῶς ὑποδιάκονον ἢ διάκονον ἢ πρεσβύτερον, μετὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ χειροτονίᾳ, ἔχειν ἄδειαν γαμικὸν ἑαυτῷ συνιστᾶν συνοικέσιον. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο τολμήσῃ ποιῆσαι, καθαιρεῖσθαι. Εἰ δὲ βούλοιτό τις τῶν εἰς κλῆρον προερχομένων γάμον νόμῳ συνάπτεσθαι γυναικί, πρὸ τῆς τοῦ ὑποδιακόνου ἢ διακόνου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου χειροτονίας τοῦτο πραττέτω.

³ It should be remarked that the subdiaconate, as a distinct and separate order, is practically in abeyance to-day in the Greek Church. The candidate receives it, as a rule, during the same service at which he is ordained deacon, and only as a step to this order.

⁴ Nov. iii (in Zacharias vol. iii p. 71) 'Ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος κρατοῦσα συνήθεια τοῖς πρὸς γάμον συνάπτεσθαι λογισμὸν ἔχουσι δίδωσιν εἰς ἱερέας πρὸ τῆς μηστείας τελεῖν, εἴτα μέχρις ἐτῶν δύο τῷ βουλομένῳ γήμασθαι περαίνειν ὀρίζει τὸ βούλημα. Τοῦτο τοῖνυν ἐπεὶ

This constitution is noticeable equally as elucidating the practice of the Eastern Church in that period, and as being the first extant document which adduces a reason why ordination should be an impediment to marriage. It is not a proper thing, says the Novel, for an already ordained man to look towards marriage and thus fall from spiritual exaltation to carnal debasement. This reason, of course, if indeed it is to be taken as the serious reason, does not, as might appear at first sight, involve any contempt for the married state; such an assumption would be contradicted by the official rule and the practice of the Eastern Church; for she elects her candidates alike from the married and the unmarried, without forbidding the use of marriage previously existing; but at the same time she requires her clergy to be devoted wholly to their sacred calling and not distracted by the desire of securing conjugal unions in the future. To this practice has been applied the analogous expression of St Paul, that a man should abide in the state in which a sacred vocation had found him (1 Cor. vii 20).

Individual writers, indeed, may yet adduce reasons, but, with the exception of Leo the Philosopher, neither the canons nor any ancient ecclesiastical author dealing with this subject gives any reason for this disciplinary regulation.¹ At any rate, the rule indisputably dates back to the early days of the Church and, whatever explanation of it may be given, it remains certain that here, as elsewhere, the facts preceded the theory, and the theory is based upon already existing practice.

In conclusion it may be said that the present practice of the Eastern Church closely adheres to the canons and absolutely forbids marriage after ordination, within the orders affected. Therefore any subdeacon, deacon, or priest, who, being unmarried or a widower, violates the rule by contracting marriage, cannot

μη πρέπειν ὄρωμεν, κελεύομεν, κατὰ τὸ ἄνωθεν καὶ ἀρχαῖον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διάταγμα τὰς χειροτονίας προβαίνειν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄξιον, μετὰ τὸ ἀνυψωθῆναι τῆς σωματικῆς ταπεινώσεως ὑπὸ τῆς πνευματικῆς ἀναβάσεως, τούτους πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν σαρκικὴν ταπεινότητα καταπίπτειν, τοῦναντίον δὲ μᾶλλον χρὴ ὡς εἰς ἀνάβασιν ὑψηλὴν τὴν θείαν λειτουργίαν ἐκ τῆς σωματικῆς ταπεινότητος ἀναβαίνειν.

¹ The reason given by the Emperor Leo is repeated by Balsamon in one of his canonical answers (*Synlogma* iv p. 477), and is quoted by the patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory V, in an official letter issued in September, 1819, against marriage after ordination (M. Theotokas p. 443).

any longer retain his order ; he must be degraded and ranked with lay people.¹

The question here arises whether a cleric already degraded, and reduced to the status of a layman, can contract a valid marriage. The answer must unhesitatingly be that the prevailing rule of the Church absolutely forbids the marriage of clergy-men even after degradation. The principle of this rule is laid down by Balsamon who, in explaining St Basil's 44th canon, among other things says :—

Οἱ ἱερεῖς ἅπαξ τὴν δευτερογαμίαν ἀποθέμενοι διὰ τὸ ἱερωθῆναι, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ εἰς Θεὸν ἐπαγγειλάμενοι, οὐ παραχωρηθήσονται διὰ τὴν σαρκικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν παραιτήσασθαι τὴν ἱερατικὴν ἀξίαν, καὶ τὴν εἰς Θεὸν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀθετῆσαι, καὶ τῇ σαρκικῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ δουλεῦσαι. Ἄλλὰ κὰν παραιτήσωνται τὴν ἱερωσύνην, κωλυθήσονται τὰ ἅπαξ ἱερωθέντα σώματα αὐτῶν δευτέροις γάμοις βεβηλῶσαι.²

On the same theory are based several decisions of the Patriarchal Synod of Constantinople issued at different times.³

This principle of the Church is by no means weakened by the fact that there are instances mentioned, though very rare, in which the Church, taking into consideration some special and urgent circumstances, has allowed persons already fallen from their priesthood to contract matrimony, for concession and convenience (κατὰ συγκατάβασιν καὶ οἰκονομίαν), under the strict condition that the ex-cleric concerned should never exercise his office and should be reckoned as a layman.⁴

¹ Synodical decisions of the Church of Constantinople on the subject may be found in M. Theotokas pp. 441-447 ; Gedeon *Καν. Διατάξεις* ii 171-173.

² *Syntagma* iv p. 193.

³ In 1655 (Milasch p. 397) ; in November, 1819 (Gedeon *Κανον. Διατάξεις* ii pp. 171-173) ; February 15, 1868 (Theotokas p. 445), &c.

⁴ Special permissions for marriages after ordination and under the above-mentioned conditions may be seen in the following Synodical decisions of the Church of Constantinople ; May, 1701 (Gedeon *Κ. Δ.* i p. 82), October 31, 1847, and October 29, 1884 (Theotokas pp. 445, 446, 447). Cf. the Synodical Acts of the same Church, February 4, 1870 (Theotokas p. 445). In the Russian Church to-day, according to a decision of the Synod of Moscow issued in 1667 and the imperial ukase of April 30, 1724, it is permitted to a widower priest, or deacon, after he has been deposed, to contract a legal marriage. This practice is disapproved by the eminent modern canonist of the Eastern Church, N. Milasch (p. 397).

Extension of this impediment to priests' wives.

It should here be remarked that ordination as an impediment to marriage is extended to affect both parties, husband and wife. Thus a priest's widow is not allowed to marry again.

In the Eastern Church this regulation, strictly speaking, prevails only as a custom; for there exists no canon whatsoever enjoining it. Hence to trace its origin in the history of the Eastern Church is no easy matter. The first mention of the question is made by Balsamon, who states that the sacred canons allow neither one who has married a widow to be ordained, nor a priest's widow to marry again; but he does not tell us to what canons he refers.¹

The whole subject is probably connected with the dispute which arose in the twelfth century as to the meaning of the 48th canon of the Trullan Council, viz. whether the canon meant that the wife of a priest advanced to the episcopate ought to become a nun or merely to live in a monastery as a laywoman, and, therefore, as some inferred, free to marry? The view accepted both by ecclesiastical and by civil authorities was in favour of the former interpretation, and Balsamon infers from the canon (evidently concerned with a special case) the general rule that a priest's widow may not be allowed to marry.² That the rule, however, was not generally accepted even in Balsamon's time may be seen from the same scholiast, who, in commenting on St Basil's 44th canon, says that *in his opinion* even a priest's widow must be regarded as forbidden by this canon to marry a second time.³

Meanwhile, this bar to marriage has crept into the practice of the Church as being implied in the sense of the canons. It should, however, be observed that it is not considered an absolute impediment. Whenever such a case arises at the present time the bishop endeavours to prevent the marriage by admonishing

¹ *Syntagma* iv p. 563.

² *Syntagma* ii p. 422.

³ *Syntagma* iv p. 193 Οἶομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κανόνος τούτου καλῶς ἵνα καλυθῶσι δευτερογαμεῖν καὶ αἱ τῶν ἱερέων γυναῖκες, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ οἱ ἱερωμένοι τὴν ἱερωσίνην παραιτοῦμενοι παραχωρηθήσονται ὡς λαϊκοὶ διάγειν καὶ δευτερογαμεῖν. Αἱ μὲν γὰρ γυναῖκες τῶν ἱερέων ἐν σώμα καὶ μία σὰρξ ἱερατικὴ διὰ τῆς μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων συναφείας χρηματίσασαι. κἀντεῦθεν οἷον ἱερωθεῖσαι, οὐ βεβηλωθήσονται διὰ τῆς δευτερογαμίας.

the woman to remain in widowhood, and in case of her persistency, after taking into consideration the circumstances, he may grant, for concession and convenience, to a priest's widow, permission to contract a lawful marriage.¹

¹ See Synodical decisions of the Church of Constantinople. May 12, 1866, April 24, 1867, and Acts of the same Church Nov. 13, 1874, in M. Theotokas p. 173.

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(To be continued.)

DOCUMENTS

A CRITICAL TEXT OF THE *QUICUMQUE VULT*.

I

List of manuscripts employed.

- B codex Ambrosianus O 212 sup., fol. 14 a: saec. vii-viii. This MS with many others came to the Ambrosiana at Milan from the Irish monastery founded by St Columban at Bobbio in the Apennines at the beginning of the seventh century: it is written in an Irish hand, and may be earlier, while it cannot well be later, than 700 A.D. Among its other contents the chief is the *Liber dogmatum* of Gennadius.
- C codex Petriburgensis Q 1 15, fol. 63 a: saec. viii ineunt. One of a small but very important group of MSS which, at the time of the transference of the Benedictine library of St Germain-des-Près to the Bibliothèque Nationale during the Revolution, found their way into the hands of Peter Dubrowsky, a Russian attaché, and so came to the Imperial library at St Petersburg. Most of the older MSS at St Germain's, and this among them, had been brought to the Parisian house from the monastery of Corbie near Amiens. But the script is Irish, and it is not unlikely that the MS was written at the Irish monastery of Péronne—Perrona Scottorum—in the neighbourhood of Corbie.
- M codex Monacensis lat. 6298, fol. 1 b: saec. viii. In the years following the French Revolution the manuscript treasures of the great ecclesiastical libraries in what is now southern Bavaria—St Emmeram at Regensburg, SS. Ulrich and Afra at Augsburg, SS. Mary and Corbinian at Freising—were all collected into the central library at Munich. Our MS belonged to Freising, and, as the hand is insular, it doubtless stands in some sort of connexion with the spread of English missions and missionaries in Central Germany—Mainz, Fulda, Würzburg, and so on—during the eighth century.
- L codex Lugdunensis Sanctae Fidei, fol. 109 b: saec. ix ineunt. Now (according to Dr Burn) in the library of the Marist Fathers at Sainte-Foi-lès-Lyon, but originally presented to the cathedral church of St Stephen by Leidrat, Bishop of Lyons from 798 to 814. The writing is an early, rather irregular, Caroline minuscule.

The text of these four MSS I take from the beautiful photographic reproductions in Dr Burn's *Facsimiles of the Creeds from early manuscripts* (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1908) Plates xv-xxiv. The first

three are the earliest known MSS of the *Quicumque*, and Dr Burn has placed scholars under a new obligation by enabling them to have secure access to such important texts. But the caution must be given that the transcriptions which face the photographs are not always or in all details correct.

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- F codex Parisinus lat. 1451, fol. 7 b: saec. viii exeunt. From the monastery of St Maur-les-Fosses near Paris.
- f codex Vaticanus Reginae 1127, fol. 11 a: saec. ix ineunt. The MS came into Queen Christina's hands from the Petau family, and to them from the representatives of Jean du Tillet, bishop of Meaux. From a very early period it had been in Angoulême, and is often cited as *codex Engolismensis*.

These two MSS represent the same collection of Canons, made in Gaul in the sixth century.

- L codex Vaticanus Palatinus lat. 574, fol. 146 a: saec. viii-ix. Came to the Vatican among the spoils of the Elector Palatine's treasures at Heidelberg: to Heidelberg it had come from the great library of the neighbouring monastery of St Nazarius at Lorsch. A sister MS (now Gotha I 85) was at Murbach; the collection of canons which is represented in both may have been made in the Rhineland. But in this case the *Quicumque* is at the end of the Lorsch MS, outside the canonical collection proper: the Gotha MS does not contain it, so the librarian, Dr R. Ehwald, kindly informs me.
- P codex Parisinus lat. 13159, fol. 161 b: the first page, verses 1-12, is in a minuscule hand, the rest is uncial: if they are contemporary, the date is probably early ninth, though the uncial hand might seem rather earlier, and the minuscule rather later.
- P, codex Parisinus lat. 4858, fol. 109 b: saec. ix ineunt. A fragment, containing only the first eleven verses of the *Quicumque*.
- R codex Karoliruhensis Augiensis ccxxix, fol. 218 a: saec. viii-ix.
- r codex Karoliruhensis Augiensis xviii, fol. 15 b: saec. ix ineunt. Both these MSS came to Karlsruhe from Reichenau (Augia Maior): r is written by the hand of Reginbert, the well-known librarian of the monastery at Reichenau, but its text of the *Quicumque* is commonplace, and very inferior to the text of the other Reichenau MS, R.
- V codex Vaticanus lat. 82, fol. 242 b: saec. ix exeunt.

The eight manuscripts F f L P P, R r V are described and collated from photographs, for the procuring of which I have to thank the unwearied kindness of M. Henry Omont of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Mgr G. Mercati of the Vatican library, and Dr A. Holder of the Grand-ducal library at Karlsruhe.

- U codex Ultratraiectinus, fol. 90 *δ* : saec. ix ineunt. I have used the facsimile edition of the Utrecht Psalter, published in 1873.
- X codex Parisinus lat. 3836, fol. 89 : saec. viii. A MS of Canons, copied from a Trèves book. The Creed is in our MS, and was in its exemplar, imperfect, and begins in the middle of verse 29 'domini nostri Iesu Christi': but it is not only imperfect, it is in verse 35 and from verse 37 onwards nothing but a paraphrase. I have collated it (so far as it gives a text and not a paraphrase) from the plate in the Palaeographical Society's series, vol. III no. viii.

II

Introduction to the text.

In attempting to restore as nearly as possible the original text of the *Quicumque*, I have of set purpose confined myself to a limited number of MSS. Speaking roughly, I have tried to obtain the evidence of all MSS earlier than the middle of the ninth century and of none that are later. No doubt it sometimes happens that an ancient type of text may be preserved nowhere but in some comparatively recent MS: thus, for instance, in a thirteenth-century Padua MS of the *Quaestiones* of Ambrosiaster Mr Souter found the solitary representative of a second branch of the MS tradition, and was able to supply from it at least one long passage absent from all the older MSS through the loss of a leaf in their archetype. But in the case of a document like the *Quicumque*, which from the ninth century onwards was being constantly copied, it seems to me highly probable that the impetus given to the use of the formulary in the Carolingian service-books coincided, if not with the production of an official edition, at any rate with the perpetuation of a particular type of text. Out of the twelve MSS (not counting fragments) which I have employed, there are some which seem to me to bear the mark of this sort of official patronage: they belong to great centres of the Carolingian revival, their text of the *Quicumque* is carefully written and free from the grosser blunders which occasionally disfigure our older MSS, but in crucial variations they are, I think, almost always on the wrong side. Instances of such MSS would be the two which I have called *l* and *r*, the one presented by bishop Leidrat to his cathedral at Lyons before 814, the other written by Reginbert at Reichenau as a complete collection of Creeds and formularies somewhere between 800 and 822: possibly also the two sister MSS, *F* and *f*, both written in France and both between the dates 795 and 825.

Between any two critical texts of the *Quicumque* there are bound to be some common alterations of the received text: and I find myself in

agreement with Dr Burn in reading in verse 19 'et deum et dominum', in verse 20 'tres deos aut dominos', in verse 30 'et deus pariter et homo est', in verse 31 'deus est . . . homo est', in verse 35 'in carne . . . in deo'; in omitting in verse 38 'tertia die', in verse 39 'dei' and 'omnipotentis' and also 'est', and further in verse 40 the conjunction in 'qui vero mala'. Yet these readings, though they amount between them to a considerable total, do not by any means exhaust the list of the deviations from the 'receptus' which the testimony of the older MSS, and especially of the Bobbio MS (B), the oldest of them all, combines with internal evidence to recommend as genuine. Some of these restore a more archaic flavour to the language, such as 'surrexit' for 'resurrexit' in verse 38, and perhaps 'rationabilis' for 'rationalis' (which looks like a literary correction) in verses 32 and 37. 'Sedit' in verse 39 has for it an overwhelming preponderance of MS authority: 'sedet,' just like 'tertia die resurrexit' and 'dei patris omnipotentis', is an echo of the Creed. 'Nisi quis' in verses 2 and 42, a good Latin construction, was possibly altered to 'nisi quisque' by scribes anxious to add emphasis to the warning clauses. But the most extensive alteration which I have made is in the direction of omitting, generally on the authority of the Bobbio MS, with a varying amount of support from the rest, the conjunction and the substantive verb: several verses gain by this change a more forcible and antithetical, if less polished, setting. Thus in verses 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 17, I read 'pater . . . filius . . . spiritus', not 'pater . . . filius . . . et spiritus': in verses 16 and 18, 'unus deus,' 'unus dominus', rather than 'unus est deus', 'unus est dominus' ('unus dominus est' cod. C): in verse 25 (more doubtfully, because without the support of B) 'in hac trinitate' not 'et in hac trinitate'. In verse 5, even with the support of B, I have not ventured to do more than replace 'persona' within brackets in the second and third sub-clause. In verse 12 I have followed the sole authority of B—whose reading is on the lines of our Prayer Book rendering, though not identical with it—because the balance of the sentence is so much improved by the inversion of order 'in creati . . . inmensi . . . inmensus . . . increatus'. On practically the same authority I have retained 'minor patre' in verse 33, where Burn, perhaps rightly, follows our other MSS in reading 'minor patri'.

Some of these alterations do not affect an English rendering: of those that do, I believe that I have everywhere accepted the reading which approved itself to the Archbishop's Committee for the revision of the Prayer Book translation of the *Quicumque*, with the two exceptions of the 'et' in verse 25, and of verse 40 where the 'in corporibus suis' of B (X) seems to me preferable to the 'cum corporibus suis' of the rest.

III

Abbreviations of the Nomina Sacra.

In view of the present existence of an authoritative standard of comparison on this subject in Dr Traube's great posthumous work, I have thought it worth while to put together all instances, occurring in those MSS of the *Quicumque* which I have consulted, of forms of abbreviation other than those which became regular in the Carolingian age.

I. NOSTER.

In verse 29 we have the words 'domini nostri Iesu Christi': in verse 30 'dominus noster Iesus Christus': in verse 38 'pro salute nostra'.

a. In verse 29 the regular form 'dñi nñ ihū xpī' is given by the manuscripts M F f / P R r V: the more exceptional usages are

dñi · ñ · ihū xpī	B
dñi nñ ihū xpī	C L X
dñi nostri ihū xpī	U.

b. In verse 30 the forms for the nominative are more diverse: beside the regular 'dñs nñ ihš xpš' (C M l r V) we have

dñs · ñ · ihš xpš	B
dñs nñ ihš xpš	f
dñs nñ ihš xpš	F
dñs noster ihš xpš	L P R U.

c. In verse 38 'pro salute nostra' is written in full by most of the older MSS, C M L R U: and this corresponds to the original cause of the abbreviation of the word 'noster', which was doubtless due only to its connexion with the word 'dominus'. Of the other MSS B has 'pro salute · ñ ·', and F f / P r V 'pro salute nñā'.

2. OMNIPOTENS.

In verses 13, 14 we have 'omnipotens' four times, 'omnipotentes' once: in verse 39 the inferior MSS give 'dei patris omnipotentis' instead of 'patris'.

a. Our oldest MS B either writes the word in full (so in verse 13), or abbreviates by suspension, *i.e.* leaves out the whole of the end of the word: thus it gives verse 14 'et non tres omñp sed unus omñp'. The only other instance of suspension in our MSS is in the Lyons MS l, where the first hand apparently wrote 'omñ filius', which a corrector has altered to the form used in the rest of the verse 'omps'.

b. Of the abbreviations by contraction—abbreviations, that is, in which the end of the word is preserved as well as the beginning and only the middle left out—the normal form is 'omps', found regularly in F f L l r, and sometimes in P U V. Rarer, and therefore more interesting, forms are the following:—

omiꝑs (nom. sing.), found in V twice in verse 13.

omiꝑtes (nom. pl.), found in V in verse 14.

omiꝑis (gen. sing.), found in V in verse 39.

omnꝑs (nom. sing.), found in P once in verse 13, R once in verse 13.

'omnipotens' for the nominative plural, found in C M² in verse 14, is presumably a common blunder of the two scribes: possibly M² was correcting the text to C or a relative of C. In neither MS is any sign of abbreviation given to the word.

3. PLURAL OF DEUS, DOMINUS, SPIRITUS.

The abbreviations of these words apply only in the original idea, as Dr Traube has taught us, to their use as sacred names, consequently only to the singular. The difference in this respect between early and Carolingian MSS is well brought out in the various verses of the *Quicumque*.

a. In verse 16 all our MSS, except R (di . . . dē), give 'dii . . . dē'. There was properly no abbreviation of the plural of 'deus'.

b. In verse 18 our three oldest MSS, B C M, give 'domini . . . dñs': all others have dñi . . . dñs. In other words, the later MSS abbreviate the plural by false analogy with the singular.

c. In verse 20 half a dozen MSS, B C M L² /r U, give correctly 'deos aut dominos'. But besides that we have

dē aut dñs	FL*
deos aut dñs	fR
deos aut dños	P
dōs aut dñōs	V.

d. In verse 24 the MSS are practically unanimous for 'tres sp̄s': and we must suppose that as the abbreviation for 'spiritus' was invented later than those for 'deus' and 'dominus', the tradition of keeping the abbreviated use for the singular, that is for the Divine Person, had less strength. But the first hand of the Lorsch MS, L, distinguishes the plural by the abbreviation 'sp̄s'.

IV

Titles of the Creed.

In B M P P₂, there is no title. For the rest we have the following:—

Fides sc̄i athanassi episcopi alexandriae	C
Incipit exemplar fidei catholicae sc̄i atanasi (atanasii F) ep̄i alexan-	
drinae (-ne F) ecclesiae (eccl̄ae f)	Ff
Incip̄t fides catholica beati atanasi ep̄i	L
Fides sc̄i athanasii ep̄i alexandrini	/
Fides catholica sc̄i athanasii episcopi	R
Exemplar fidei catholicae sc̄i athanasii ep̄i	r
Incipit fides catholicam	U
Incipit fides catholica quam sc̄s athanasius dictavit	V.

TEXT.

¹ Quicumque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem : ² quam nisi quis integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in aeternum peribit.

³ Fides autem catholica haec est, ut unum deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate veneremur, ⁴ neque confundentes personas, neque substantiam separantes :

⁵ alia est enim persona patris, alia [persona] filii, alia [persona] spiritus sancti ; ⁶ sed patris et filii et spiritus sancti una est divinitas, aequalis gloria, coaeterna maiestas.

⁷ qualis pater, talis filius, talis et spiritus sanctus :

⁸ increatus pater, increatus filius, increatus spiritus sanctus ; ⁹ immensus pater, immensus filius, immensus spiritus sanctus ; ¹⁰ aeternus pater, aeternus filius, aeternus spiritus sanctus :

¹¹ et tamen non tres aeterni, sed unus aeternus ; ¹² sicut non tres increati nec tres immensi, sed unus immensus et unus increatus.

1. *tr* esse salvus B 2. quis B (*cf. vers. 42*) : quisque *codd ceteri*
inviolabilemque C absque dubio : *om P₂* *tr* peribit in aeter-
num CM 4. substantia CfL*P₂ 5. *tr* alia enim (alien . . .
M*) est M persona 2^o et 3^o B : *om codd cett* spiritus : *praem* et r
6. sed . . . sancti : *om per homoeoteleuton* B* est : *om P* 7. et :
om l^a R 8. increatus spiritus BC l^a R : increatus et spiritus MFfL
l*PP₂ rUV 9. immensus spiritus BCM l^a R : immensus et spiritus
FfL l*PP₂ rUV 10. aeternus spiritus BCM l^a R : aeternus
(aeternum l) et spiritus FfLP₂ rUV et eternus et spiritus P *tr vers.*
10 *ante vv. 8, 9 Ff* 11. tamen : -en *in rasura* B aeterni :
deficit abhinc cod P₂ 12, 13 (*cf. verss. 40, 41*) : *in codice* B (*saltem*
in pictura phototypica) *nonnulla sunt quae vel vix vel nullo modo legi*
possunt, ut in vers. 12 *ati nec tres inmen ; in verss. 12, 13* *increatus*
similiter omni ; in verss. 40, 41 *rationem et qui bona ; in vers. 41* *ibunt*
in vitam 12. sicut : sic C nec : non C immensus . . .
increatus B : *tr* increatus . . . immensus *codd cett*

1. ult C tenead f chatolicam P 2. intigram B inuiiolatamq; B
serverit l* dubio : duo C duvio R eternum P 3. hec Pf trinitatem :
trinitate M (*vel M**) PR veneramur C 4. confundentes B confundantes F
5. personam R spū P 6. fili *vel* fili B^a (*om B**) spū P dinitas P
equalis MFP quoaeterna FPP₂ magestas FR 10. eternus 1^o P
eternus 3^o MP 11. tres : .iii. B eterni P eternus P

¹³ similiter omnipotens pater, omnipotens filius, omnipotens spiritus sanctus ; ¹⁴ et tamen non tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens.

¹⁵ ita deus pater, deus filius, deus spiritus sanctus ; ¹⁶ et tamen non tres dii, sed unus deus :

¹⁷ ita dominus pater, dominus filius, dominus spiritus sanctus ; ¹⁸ et tamen non tres domini, sed unus dominus :

¹⁹ quia sicut singillatim unamquamque personam et deum et dominum confiteri christiana veritate compellimur, ²⁰ ita tres deos aut dominos dicere catholica religione prohibemur.

²¹ pater a nullo est factus nec creatus nec genitus : ²² filius a patre solo est, non factus nec creatus, sed genitus : ²³ spiritus sanctus a patre et filio, non factus nec creatus nec genitus, sed procedens.

²⁴ unus ergo pater, non tres patres ; unus filius, non tres filii ; unus spiritus sanctus, non tres spiritus sancti.

²⁵ in hac trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil maius aut minus, ²⁶ sed totae tres personae coaeternae sibi sunt et coaequales.

13. omnipotens spiritus B C M L* /³ R : omnipotens et spiritus F f L³ /² P r U V 14. tamen : om B 15. deus spiritus B C M L* /³ R : deus et spiritus F f L³ /² P r U V 16. unus deus B C M* P R : unus est deus M³ F f L /² P r U V 17. ita : + et C dominus spiritus B C L* /³ R : dominus et spiritus M F f L³ /² P r U V 18. unus dominus B R* : unus dominus est C unus est dominus M F f L /² P R³ r U V
19. sicut : om P et deum et dominum B L* (C* ?) : et dominum et deum C² ad deum et dominum M deum et dominum F f L³ /² P r U V
deum hac (sc ac) dominum R 20. aut dominos B C f L /² P r : aut tres dominos M F R U V dici l catholicam religionem R
21. est : om C 22, 23. a patre solo . . . a patre et filio non factus nec : in rasura M³ (aliquid amplius praeiuit M*) 22. solo est : solus R non : nec C R 23. non : nec C R procedens : + patri et filio coaeternus est B 24. unus 1^o : + est M R
unus 2^o : + est R tres 2^o : om l* sanctus : om P 25. in hac C : in hac enim M* et in hac enim M² sed in hac R et in hac B F f L /² P r U V nihil 2^o : + est M

14. tris P omnipotentes : omnipotens C M² (iniuria M* apud Burn) omnipo-
tentis F R 16. tres : .iii. B 18. tres : .iii. B tris P 19. unam quam
qui ut vid C* unaquaque L* unaquaque R persona R christiani M
christiane P 20. tris P dicere L relegione C M L² l prohibimur L*
23. procedens P 24. tris ter P patris R tres 2^o et 3^o : .iii. B 25. ac F*
26. tote F f P R U V tris P persone F f coeternae M r quoaeternae
V quoaeternae P R quoaeternae F coequalis L coequales M quoaequales f R
quoaequales P

²⁷ ita ut per omnia, sicut iam supra dictum est, et trinitas in unitate et unitas in trinitate veneranda sit.

²⁸ qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de trinitate sentiat.

²⁹ Sed necessarium est ad aeternam salutem ut incarnationem quoque domini nostri Iesu Christi fideliter credat.

³⁰ est ergo fides recta ut credamus et confiteamur quia dominus noster Iesus Christus dei filius et deus pariter et homo est:

³¹ deus est ex substantia patris ante saecula genitus, et homo est ex substantia matris in saeculo natus; ³² perfectus deus, perfectus homo ex anima rationabili et humana carne subsistens; ³³ aequalis patri secundum divinitatem, minor patre secundum humanitatem:

27. supra: superius P* et 1^o: om R et trinitas in unitate et unitas in trinitate: et trinitas in unitatem et unitas in trinitatem L* et unitas in trinitate *in rasura* M² et unitas in trinitate et trinitas in unitate *l* veneranda sit: veneremur R 27, 28. et unitas in trinitate venerandi sit qui vult ergo salvus esse *in rasura* M² (*aliquid amplius dederat* M*, *non tamen plenam ceterorum codicum lectionem*) 28. qui vult ergo: quicumque vult (*e vers. 1*) L* R esse: *œ* P* *ē* (*sc est*) *ut vid* P² 29. est: om P quoque: om L* 30. est: *praem* haec (*e vers. 42*) R et 1^o: ut M noster: om X dei filius: filius est dei R; om L* et deus pariter et homo B C M: deus pariter et homo L* P* R X et deus et homo F deus et homo *f* L² / P² r U V 30, 31. et homo est 1^o . . . saeculo natus: et homo * * * * * (*fortasse pariter*) ex substantia matris (*ceteris per homoeoteleuton omissis*) M* et homo est deus ex substantia patris^h in saeculo natus M²; *litteram h non hoc significare (ut censet qui apud Burn Facsimiles of the Creeds Plate xxi textum descripsit) sed potius codicis defectum intimare puto* 31. deus est . . . natus: *in rasura* (*sed manu prima*) X est 1^o: om R ex . . . ex: de . . . de X ante saecula genitus et: om B*, *supplet in margine* B² (*picturam phototypicam apud Burn Plate xxiii accuratius examinanti certae sunt vocabuli et reliquiae: errore omisit qui e regione textum descripsit*) est 2^o: om R X in saeculum L R in saecula P natus: genitus C 32. perfectus deus: *tr post* aeq. patri (*vers. 33*) C perfectus deus homo (*om perfectus 2^o*) M* perfectus perfectus homo (*om deus*) M² rationabili B C M X (*cf. vers. 37*): rationali (-ale L* ^{vel} P*) *F* f L / P R r U V 33. minor . . . humanitatem: *om per homoeoteleuton* C minor patre B V ^{vel} 2: minor patri M F *f* L* / P R² r U V ^{vel} 2 X minor patris L² R*

29. eternam P aeterna R incarnatione R 30. confitemur X 32. umana F humana X* 33. equalis F P patris R* secundum 1^o: sedum F saecundum X patris R* L²

³⁴ qui licet deus sit et homo, non duo tamen sed unus est Christus ;
³⁵ unus autem non conversione divinitatis in carne, sed adsumptione
 humanitatis in deo ; ³⁶ unus omnino non confusione substantiae, sed
 unitate personae. ³⁷ nam sicut anima rationabilis et caro unus est homo,
 ita deus et homo unus est Christus :

³⁸ qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos, surrexit
 a mortuis, ³⁹ ascendit ad caelos, sedit ad dexteram patris, inde venturus
 iudicare vivos et mortuos.

⁴⁰ ad cuius adventum omnes homines resurgere habent in cor-
 poribus suis, et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem ; ⁴¹ et qui
 bona egerunt ibunt in vitam aeternam, qui mala in ignem aeternum.

34. qui : quia M et : om X tr non tamen duo C (M) christus :
 deus (dñs) C M* 35. unus autem : una R non : om M (cf. vers. 36)
 conversatione B* C M* in carne . . . in deo B C M F f P U X : in car-
 nem . . . in deo L² l in carne . . . in deum R in carnem . . . in deum L* r V
 36. non : in M² (cf. v. 35) unitate : unitatis F f unitatem X ; om l*
 personae : om V* (corr m p) 37. rationabilis B M (cf. vers. 32) :
 rationalis C F f L l P R r U V est 2^o : om C 38. inferos : in-
 ferna C* (corr ut vid m p) surrexit B F f L* R : resurrexit C L² l P et
 resurrexit M tertia die resurrexit r U V (P* ?) 39. ascendit : + ad
 inferos et resurrexit (per homoeoteleuton verborum descendit et ascendit)
 M*, sed corr m p in caelos M sedit B C M F L l P R U : sedet f r V
 ad dextera F patris B C L* : dei patris omnipotentis M F f L² l
 P R r U V inde . . . mortuos : om L*, supplet ad calcem paginae L²
 inde venturus : + est C R V et : ac B R 40. tr habent resurgere
 omnes homines C M in corporibus suis B (in suis corporibus X) :
 cum corporibus suis codd cett 40, 41. de codice B vide supra ad vv.
 12, 13 41. qui bona egerunt ibunt in vitam aeternam : procedent
 qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem vitae f qui bona egerunt ibunt in
 vitam aeternam fecerunt in resurrectionem vitae F (unde conicias arche-
 typum codicum F f non nisi fecerunt in resurrectionem vitae praeuisse,
 reliqua verba egerunt ibunt in vitam aeternam correctorem aliquem in
 margine archetypi codicis F adposuisse) qui mala B C P (X) : nam
 qui mala (per dittographiam post aeternam ?) M et qui mala L² l U qui
 vero mala F f L* V r qui autem mala R

35. conversionem L divinitate M* divinitates r* adsumptionem f L
 adsumptionis ut vid F* adsumptione P humanitatis B* (sed corr m p) umanitatis F
 36. unitatem X persone F f R V 38. salutae M salutem R saluta U di-
 scendit B C M L R : descendit f l P r U V descendet F inferus P 40. ad : a R
 omnis P* propriis C 41. egerunt L hibunt L in vitam eternam P,
 in ignem eternam M

⁴⁸ Haec est fides catholica : quam nisi quis fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.

42. haec est : + ergo (*e vers.* 30) R, autem (*e vers.* 3) V fides :
 bis F quis C M (*cf. vers.* 2) : quisque B F f L I P R r U V ac (hac
 L) firmiterque L l²

EXPLICIT F FINIT P : *nihil habent codices ceteri.*

42. catholica F f chatolica P fideliter L firmiterque F credediret L*

POSTSCRIPT.—After the apparatus above printed was complete, I learnt, through the kind offices of Dom Germain Morin, of three new early authorities for the text : and though it was too late for me to employ them, I mention them here as an aid to future enquirers. (1) Colmar 39 (from Murbach), fol. 29 b : saec. viii exeunt. Like the Paris MS cited above as X, this is a paraphrase rather than a text. See Morin in *Revue Bénédictine* xxii (1905), p. 508. In verse 25 this MS supports the reading adopted by me on the sole authority of C 'In hac trinitate'. (2) Schlesstadt 2 : saec ix : 'Incipit fides catholica sancti Atanasii episcopi'. Morin, *loc. cit.* p. 510. (3) Munich 6330 (from Freising), fol. 53 b : saec. viii exeunt.

Once more my grateful thanks are due to the Rev. C. Jenkins, Archbishop's Librarian at Lambeth, for relieving me of most of the unattractive task of verifying the apparatus.

I ought to have made it clear above that the arrangement by paragraphs is my own, and does not represent the MSS.

C. H. TURNER.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE PERAEAN MINISTRY: A REPLY.

THE interesting paper of the Bishop of Barrow in the January number of this JOURNAL called *The Peraean Ministry* raises some questions about the Gospel history, to which I am in duty bound to reply. Dr West-Watson, in fact, criticizes a theory of my own and puts another in its place: the main object of this paper is to consider what the Bishop's theory involves.

But first let me make a very few remarks upon my own theory, or rather conjecture, that St Luke may after all be historically accurate in bringing our Lord from Galilee to His final Passover at Jerusalem through Samaritan country without crossing the Jordan at all. I want to draw a distinction between defending this conjecture, and attacking Dr West-Watson's theory that Mk. ix 30-xi 1 is a description of two or three separate journeys, separated by visits to Jerusalem. Neither my conjecture nor Dr West-Watson's theory lies on the surface of the Marcan narrative; but whereas I still think that my conjecture can be read into the Marcan narrative without doing violence to it, I think that the Bishop's theory does do violence to the Marcan narrative. If the Bishop's theory be historically true, it means that the narrative in Mark is worthless as an authority for reconstructing the course of events.

I have little to add in defence of my own theory beyond what is set down in my book.¹ It may, however, be remarked that *πέραν* is elsewhere used in Mark of the side opposite to the narrator, so that whereas in Mk. v 1 *εἰς τὸ πέραν* means the east side of the Sea of Galilee, in Mk. v 21 it means the west side. As for the internal textual probabilities in Mk. x 1, whether we are to read *τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου* with \aleph B or to drop the *καὶ* with D and other good Greek MSS, and with the Latin and Syriac versions, I should have thought that the presence of *καὶ* in \aleph B was quite easy to explain. Surely 'the borders of Judaea beyond Jordan' is geographically a difficult phrase; and though I should not be so very much surprised in finding 'a careless error' of this magnitude in \aleph B, I think it far more likely that their inserted *καὶ* is a clever emendation of the Western text than a mere piece of carelessness. The text of \aleph B at this point is not free from suspicion otherwise. Is it not likely that the hand which inserted *καὶ* in *ver.* 1 also inserted *προσελθόντες Φαρισαῖοι* in *ver.* 2?

At the same time I am quite willing to admit that the section Mk.

¹ *Gospel History and its Transmission* pp. 96, 97, note.

x 1-31 may very well refer to incidents during a more or less leisurely journey through part of 'Peraea', or to a short stay in that region. The inadmissible Byzantine text, which has *εἰς τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας διὰ τοῦ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*, definitely implies a journey *to* Judaea *via* Peraea, but the text of \aleph B (i.e. *καί* instead of *διὰ τοῦ*) rather suggests a journey *to* Peraea *via* 'the borders of Judaea'. This might of course be combined with the Lucan route by supposing that our Lord came through Samaritan territory to Jericho, and crossed the Jordan by the fords there, returning presently to the same place, or that He crossed further north, nearer Scythopolis, having only skirted the country of the Samaritans. The summary fashion in which St Mark brings his *dramatis personae* from one scene to another makes all these routes possible, and any particular one of them conjectural.

But whatever the route may have been, and whatever halts may have been made upon the road, it is to me impossible to believe that Mk. ix 30-xi 1 is not intended to describe a practically continuous journey from Galilee to Jerusalem, the journey so dramatically announced in Mk. viii 31 ff. Let us look at the actual links. Mark says:—

Mk. ix 30 'And from thence (i.e. from the scene of the Transfiguration and the first announcement of the Passion) they

31 went forth and journeyed through Galilee, and He would not that any should know, for He was teaching His disciples and saying to them, "The Son of Man is betrayed", &c. . . . And they came to Capernaum, and in the house He asked them, "What did ye dispute on the way?" . . .

x 1 'And from thence He arose and cometh into the borders of Judaea [and] beyond Jordan, and crowds journey together again to Him, and as He was wont He was 2 ff teaching them again. *A question is asked about Divorce and in the house (ver. 10) the disciples are further 17 ff instructed. Children are brought to Jesus. And as He was journeying on the way the Rich Young Man came up.*

32 'Now they were in the way going up to Jerusalem; and Jesus was going before them and they were in great excitement, but some as they followed were afraid. And taking the Twelve aside again He began to say to them 33 what was about to befall Him: "Lo, we go up to 46 Jerusalem, and the Son of Man is betrayed," &c. And they came to Jericho. And as He was going forth from 47 ff Jericho *Bartimaeus was healed*, and he was following Him in the way.

xi 1 'And when they draw nigh to Jerusalem . . .'

This is surely 'a coherent and reasonable account' of a journey to Jerusalem. Dr West-Watson calls Joh. vii-xii 'a coherent and reasonable account of a winter season devoted to a last attempt to win over the heart of the Jewish nation', according to which Jesus went to Jerusalem soon after Tabernacles in the autumn, and again at the Dedication Feast in December. Then He retires to Peraea, leaving it for yet another visit to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, when Lazarus is raised at Bethany, a visit followed by another retirement 'into the country near the desert' (Joh. xi 54),¹ which lasts till the final entry. No doubt 'Mark' and 'John' are more or less coherent with themselves. But can it reasonably be asserted that they are coherent with each other? If Joh. vii-xii gives the historical sequence of events, is it not playing with words to say of the Marcan narrative, as Dr West-Watson does (p. 272): 'St Peter, remembering that in that winter of rapid movements, Judaea was first visited, may have expressed the events compendiously.' If Joh. vii-xii gives the historical sequence of events and Mk. ix 30-xi 1 preserves St Peter's reminiscences, then it would be better to assert that St Peter had forgotten all about it. I cannot understand how any one in the same page on which he discusses the reasons that may have led St Peter to leave the story of Lazarus untold can nevertheless say, 'St Peter's chief interest was evidently in our Lord's miracles' (p. 273). And it is beside the point to suggest that perhaps St Peter was not present at the raising of Lazarus. 'On such a perilous expedition, our Lord may well have taken with Him only one or two personal companions, among them Thomas. A small party would be less likely to attract hostile notice.' Here is rationalism indeed! And is it so certain that 'St Peter' in the Gospel of Mark only relates what he himself saw? Was he present at the Baptism in Jordan, or at the Temptation in the Wilderness? Or at the execution of John the Baptist? Was the execution of the Baptist 'one of the turning-points in his own faith', which we are to suppose he 'pressed in his preaching'?

The discrepancy between the course of events as narrated by 'Mark' and by 'John' is too deep to be bridged over by well-chosen phrases.

In conclusion I must demur to Dr West-Watson's statement that 'value is put nowadays on the Marcan account' because it is 'vivid and practical' (p. 273). The Marcan account, of course, is often vivid, and some of the vivid touches may very well be held to suggest that the narrative is based on the reminiscences of an eyewitness. But this is not the fundamental thing. The Gospel according to Mark has won

¹ 'Ephraim' apparently is somewhere near Bethel. If Mk. x 32 describes, as the Bishop suggests, the last journey to Jerusalem from the city Ephraim (p. 272), what brings the company to Jericho (*ver.* 46)?

its way to recognition by modern historical students as a document of first-rate importance for two reasons. The first is, that literary analysis shews that it forms the base and foundation of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, works which themselves belong to a very early stage of Christianity, so that any document upon which they are founded must be in still closer contact with the underlying historical facts. The second is, that the Gospel of Mark, while in many ways out of touch with the interests and the tendencies of the Church in the second century, is permeated by ideas and expectations that belong to the first century. It is coloured by Jewish apocalyptic expectations ; it is not coloured by the presuppositions and philosophizings of later Christian theology. The problem is, how such a work could survive at all. If we must add to the problem the supposition that the actual course of events at all resembled what is narrated in the Fourth Gospel, it becomes impossible to imagine how St Mark's Gospel ever came to be composed. What on the other hand the Fourth Gospel signified for the generation in which it was written may be seen in Dr Inge's contribution to *Cambridge Biblical Essays*.

F. C. BURKITT.

PSALM LXVIII *EXURGAT DEUS.*

IN attempting to determine the date and purport of this ode, of which Dr Cheyne once remarked, with entire truth, that 'there is no greater in Hebrew literature', our first consideration must, of course, be the internal evidence of the Psalm itself. The clue afforded by this evidence appears to me to be stronger than is the case with most other Psalms. Indeed, to my mind it is decisive.

The author is profoundly acquainted with the earlier literature of his people ; but his piece is no mere cento of borrowed phrases, no mere poetical exercise or scholar's ingenious imitation of an ancient model. In spite of repeated echoes of the voices of the past, the whole is unquestionably inspired by the rush and stir of contemporary life.

It will be admitted that the Hebrew Scriptures alone have not supplied any sufficient explanation of this ode ; for, upon any natural construction, it contains references to incidents certainly historical, about which those Scriptures are as certainly silent. If we had only to deal with obvious poetical allusions to the great Deliverances of the past, such as the Exodus and the passage of the Red Sea, or Joshua's victories, or the triumph of Deborah and Barak, or the conquests of David, we might well despair of ascertaining the age, occasion, and real significance of this noble hymn. Fortunately, when every allowance

has been made for the manifold corruptions of the text, due in part to the fact that the key to the import of the whole was lost within a generation or two after its composition, passages still remain which present insuperable obstacles to any interpretation which would reduce a magnificent Psalm of Thanksgiving to a catena of pious platitudes, and generalize the language of it to the point of sheer vacuity.

*The Lord said, 'From Bashan will I bring back,—
I will bring back from Salmon my people!'*

*(That thou mightest bathe thy foot in the blood of thine enemies,—
That the tongue of thy dogs might be reddened therefrom.)*

Why 'from Bashan', if the reference be not historical? The poet clearly ascribes to the divine Will and Agency an actual restoration of God's people, or a substantial part of them, from the land east of the Jordan to Judea; just as the Prophets of the Exile ascribed to the same high Will and Activity the Restoration from Babylon. And it is no peaceful Return that is thus commemorated, but one achieved by force of arms and the fruit of a fierce and vengeful warfare. It is true, indeed, that the Hebrew Canon gives no hint of events which could fairly be described as a Return of Jewish exiles from Bashan. But the long-sighted volume of the Deutero-canonical books has preserved an account which seems to chronicle in plain prose the series of events of which the psalm is a lyrical record. The First Book of Maccabees tells how the heroic Judas, after rebuilding and dedicating the altar and the sanctuary of Zion, sent his brother Simon with a force of 3,000 men to the rescue of their brethren in Galilee, who were threatened with extermination by their heathen neighbours; while he himself and Jonathan headed a more arduous expedition, marching to the deliverance of the Jews in 'the land of Gilead'. There they stormed city after city, putting all the males to the sword. Bozrah, Ashtaroth-Karnaim, and other strong places fell; and then '*Judas gathered together all Israel, them that were in the land of Gilead, from the least unto the greatest, and their wives, and their children, and their stuff, an exceeding great army, that they might come into the land of Judah*' (1 Macc. v 45).

Thus did the Lord 'bring back' (אָנִיחַ; the proper term for restoration from exile) His people from 'Bashan'; and thus was Judah's foot bathed in the blood of his ruthless enemies, who had conspired to 'destroy' him (τοῦ ἐξῆραι αὐτοῦς, 1 Macc. v 9). Indeed, if we have rightly divined the occasion of the Psalm, it is worth while to point out what may perhaps be called an undesigned coincidence between the narrative in 1 Macc. v and these verses of the psalm. For, according to the history, when Judas was leading the rescued Jews of Gilead ('Bashan') back to the homeland of Judea, the city of Ephron, a strong

place on the way, refused him passage. Whereupon, Judas stormed the town and razed it to the ground, and 'passed through the city *over them that were slain*' (ἐπάνω τῶν ἀπεκταμμένων, 1 Macc. v 51); that is, walking over and treading underfoot the bleeding bodies of the dead and dying, and thus washing his foot in blood, as the psalm puts it, in somewhat more than a metaphorical sense. Even the hideous detail of the dogs lapping the blood might also be fact; as doubtless the numerous families of Gileadite refugees did not leave their dogs behind them. There would be plenty of these animals in the 'exceeding great host' (παρεμβολὴν μεγάλην σφόδρα = מַחֲנֶה כְּבֵד מְאֹד, Gen. 19) of the returning exiles. The episode in Maccabees ends with the record of a solemn Service of Thanksgiving at Jerusalem, when 'they went up to mount Sion with gladness and rejoicing, and offered whole burnt offerings, because not so much as one of them was slain until they returned in peace' (1 Macc. v 54). This epilogue of the history might well serve as a prologue to the psalm, with the language of which it in part coincides (see Stanzas i and vi). It is, in fact, quite likely that our Psalm, or the first draft of it, was the hymn composed for the festal Service on this occasion (cf. 1 Macc. iv 24). A detailed analysis and criticism of the text of this great ode will, I think, go far to establish this theory of its origin and historical relations.

Some may perhaps object that this view dwarfs the significance of the psalm. Truth, however, is careless of consequences. And let those who think the Maccabean age of little account in the history of Redemption remember that, without it, the age of Christ and Paul and John would have been impossible. Protestant dogmatism has come to reject a good deal besides the so-called Apocryphal portions of the elder Canon; but let a candid mind once perceive the fact that no less important a part of that Canon than Psalm lxviii actually commemorates an episode of Maccabean history, and for that mind the supposed distinction between, say, Chronicles and Maccabees, must tend to vanish away.

Textual Analysis and Criticism.

Stanza i. The psalm opens with the martial prayer said to have been uttered by Moses, whenever the Ark of Jahwah 'set forward' at the head of the hosts of Israel while journeying through the wilderness (Num. x 35). Only a slight alteration was needed to adapt the spirited words of a virtual war-cry to the purpose of the poet.

*God ariseth—His foes disperse,
And His enemies flee before Him!*

That is to say, *When God ariseth, &c., or Let God but arise, &c.* It is

what always happens, and has happened on the present occasion. To this echo of the past the singer adds in the same strain :—

*Like the driving of smoke they are driven ;
Like the melting of wax before fire,
The Wicked perish before God !*

We have pointed יִנְרָפוּן and read יִנְרָפוּן, after LXX.* This makes sense, but is hardly so effective as the suspense of the verb until the third line :—

*Like the driving of smoke before wind,—
Like the melting of wax before fire,—
The Wicked perish before God !*

יִנְרָפוּן may conceal רוח (ל), before wind.

*But the Righteous rejoice before God,—
They exult and are glad with rejoicing !*

The first line is unmetrical in M.T. We have transferred יַעֲלֹז to l. 2 (so Kittel). The couplet refers to the joyous festivals of national Thanksgiving for Victory, such as Judas celebrated on his safe return from the expedition of rescue to the 'land of Gilead', when 'they went up to mount Sion with gladness and rejoicing, and offered whole burnt offerings' (1 Macc. v 54). Cf. 2 Macc. x 38 and Rawlinson's note : 'A formal service of thanksgiving, like a modern *Te Deum* after a victory, seems to be intended.'

Stanza ii.

*Sing ye to God, hymn ye His Name !
Acclaim Him who rideth through the deserts !
Praise ye His Name, and exult before Him !*

Here, in l. 2, we have read סִלְוִירֵב for הַלְלוּרֵב. Samech and He might be confused in the old writing, and parallelism seems to demand a term denoting praise. Otherwise, *Make a highway for the Rider in the deserts* would agree with Isa. xl 3 ; lvii 14 ; lxii 10 ; and might refer to preparing the way for Jahwah's triumphal progress to the Temple with the warriors of Israel. But, further, it is a nice question whether, in the light of ver. 33 ('rideth upon the heavens') and Isa. xix 1 ; Ps. civ 3, we ought not to read בְּעִרְפִּים (Kittel) or even בְּעִרְפִּים 'on the clouds' (Isa. v 30), instead of בְּעִרְבֹת. If we do, *Make ye a highway for the Rider on the clouds !* seems incongruous in an address to mortals. Upon the whole, I prefer to retain M.T., as a possible allusion to the march of Judas through the desert (1 Macc. v 24, 28). See the note on Stanza iii, where we have a similar allusion.

In l. 3, M.T.—which can only mean *In Jah consists His Name, and exult ye before Him !*—violates the parallelism and is poor sense in the

context. Read הרו (Ps. cvii 1) for ביה, as parallel to הללו; cf. Ps. xxxv 18; xlv 8; xcix 3; or else ברנו, *Bless ye*! (K.).

*The Father of Orphans and the Judge of Widows
Is God in His holy Habitation*

(i. e. Heaven, Deut. xxvi 15); especially of the orphans and widows of those who had been slain in the persecution instituted by Antiochus Epiphanes, and of those massacred afterwards in 'the land of Tubias' or Tob (1 Macc. v 13), a district of the old Bashan, whose deaths Judas avenged.

'Tis God who settleth the solitary in a home,—

viz. such 'lone ones' (יחידים, Ps. xxv 16) as the widows and orphans just mentioned. But perhaps we should read משיב נדחים for משיב יחידים; thus getting the sense

'Tis God who bringeth the banished ones home again;—

as Judas brought them all safely back from beyond the Jordan.

The general sense of the next line is clear. It is: *Who setteth prisoners at liberty*. The text is sound so far as regards מציא אסירים, *who maketh prisoners go out*; and to complete the sense, we should expect *from prison*, or some poetical equivalent, e. g. *from darkness*, to follow; see Ps. cvii 10, 14; cxlii 8; Isa. xlii 7. But what are we to make of *into prosperity* (בכשרות; perhaps rather *prosperously*)? The Heb. word is probably corrupt; and it seems plausible to read ממסגרות, *out of the strongholds* or *castles* (Ps. xviii 45) or *dungeons* (plur. of מסגר?) of the heathen. *Beth* and *Mem* are often confused in MSS, and כו may represent a broken ט. Similarly, ש may have originated in a broken or partially faded סנ (סן).

Thus we get the line:—

Who bringeth the prisoners out of the dungeons (or castles).

This may very naturally refer to Jewish captives delivered from slavery by the arms of Maccabaeus and his brethren. The passage (1 Macc. v 13) which relates the slaughter of the Jews of Tob, expressly mentions the captivity of their wives and children. Among the great bodies of Israelites removed from Galilee and Gilead by Simon and Judas, there would doubtless be not a few individuals escaped from Gentile slavery. The fact may be vividly illustrated from 1 Macc. iii 41, where the slave-dealers are said to have joined the camp of the Syrians at Emmaus, bringing with them much money *and fetters*, in anticipation of the defeat of Judas, and in readiness to purchase and secure the prisoners. (Cf. 2 Macc. viii 10, 11.)

The closing line of the stanza might be rendered: *But (or Only) the rebellious abide in a scorched land*. As pointed out by Dr Kirkpatrick,

the term סוררים denotes, not the heathen (רשעים, ver. 2), but refractory Israelites (cf. the use of the word in Deut. xxi 18, 20; Ps. lxxviii 8). In our view, then, they will be the Jewish renegades, who were in sympathy with the Hellenizing policy of Antiochus Epiphanes, and, as such, were the bitterest enemies of the Hasmonean patriots. If צרחה, 'scorched ground', or more lit. *dazzling* or *glaring* land (cf. צרחה, Ezek. xxiv 7, 8), be correct, the line may refer to the fact that these apostates sought refuge in the desert from the sword of Judas. In their life-and-death struggle for hearth and altar, the *Chasidim*, or 'Pious', could afford no compromise with the opposing forces of the 'Lawless' (ἀνομοι) and the 'Ungodly' (ἀσεβείς), but did their utmost to exterminate them (cf. 1 Macc. i 43, 52; ii 23; iii 5, 6, 8). Possibly also it is meant that not all the Jews of 'Bashan' cared to return with Judas; some (viz. the Hellenizers among them) preferring the glaring rocks (or the 'moral desert') of the Haurân to the hills of the Judean homeland. The rendering, however, which we find in LXX and Syr., 'in graves' (ἐν ταφοῖς = חב מצב), appears to favour a reading צרחים, 'keeps' or central towers of fortresses; cf. Judges ix 46; 1 Sam. xiii 6. The line will then be:—

Only the Renegades abide in the holds;

a reference to the occupation of the citadel of Jerusalem and similar strong places by the 'ungodly' and 'deserters'. It is expressly recorded that these were confined by Judas to their refuges and not allowed to go abroad into the country (ἀνεστάλησαν τοῦ πορευθῆναι εἰς χώραν, 1 Macc. vii 24). See also 1 Macc. xiii 49 ff. (the reduction of the citadel of Jerusalem by Simon, after it had so long been a thorn in the side of the Chasidim).

Stanza iii. We have here another coincidence with the narrative of Maccabees describing the relief-expedition of Judas to Gilead.

*O God, when Thou wentest forth before Thy people,—
When Thou marchedst through the wilderness,—
The earth did quake, the heavens also dropped
At the Presence of God, the God of Israel!*

The Psalmist, while borrowing almost word for word from Deborah's great Song of Triumph (Judges v 4, 5), makes one or two changes which, upon our view of the matter, are neither capricious nor void of significance.

In 1 Macc. v 24, 28 we are told that 'Judas Maccabaeus and his brother Jonathan passed over Jordan, and went three days' journey in the wilderness. . . . And Judas and his army turned suddenly by the way of the wilderness unto Bosora' (Bozrah). Therefore, instead of going forth 'from Seir' and marching 'from the field of Edom', Jahwah goes

forth 'before His people' and marches at their head 'through the wilderness', leading them on to victory as in the days of old. (בישימון is in LXX *ἐν τῇ ἐρημῷ*; cf. 1 Macc. i. c. *ἐν τῇ ἐρημῷ . . . εἰς τὴν ἐρημὸν*.)

As it stands in M.T., the second distich is completely unmetrical. I have omitted the first מפני אלהים and the obvious gloss זה סיני (= 'This refers to the Theophany at Mount Sinai'), already inserted in the text of Judges v, but probably not adopted by the Psalmist, who has altered the references to Seir and Edom. Some scribe, who remembered it in the ancient ode, has added it here. (It is possible that the couplet:—

אף עבים נמפו מים
הרים נולו מפני אלהים

has fallen out of M.T.; but שמים נמפו is perhaps a sufficient link with what follows).

*Abundant rain Thou sendest down, O God!
And for the pastures of Thine Heritage Thou didst prepare it!
The hapless hath settled therein;
Thou providest in Thy goodness for the oppressed, O God!*

The first couplet, at any rate, is a natural continuation of the statement that 'the Heavens dropped,—(the Clouds also dropped water)'; the general sense being that the God of the storm is also the God of the fertilizing rain (Amos iv 7), so necessary to the parched hill-country of Judea. But we may also recognize something more in the verse, and indeed an apparent note of time; for according to 2 Macc. xii 31, Judas returned from the expedition to Gilead ('Bashan') just before the Feast of Weeks or Pentecost. He may therefore probably have started during the prevalence of the latter or spring rains in the previous April; which would at least explain why the poet makes so much of the rain.

In the first line תניף may mean *shake(d)st out, sift(d)st, or sprinkle(d)st*; but the more usual תריד (Ezek. xxxiv 26; Joel ii 23) seems preferable with נשם, which implies rather a steady downpour, as in the rainy season. In line 2 read: ולנאת נחלתך כוננתה; cf. המכין לארץ מטר, Ps. cxlvii 8. We might also suggest הרננתה for the verb, which would give the sense *And the pastures of Thy domain Thou madest shout for joy!* (cf. Ps. lxxv 9, 14). In the second distich we have substituted חלכה, *wretched*, for חיתך (corrupted from חילך): see Ps. x 8, where, as here, עני follows as the parallel expression. The settlers so described may very well be the great body of refugees whom Judas Maccabaeus led back from 'Bashan' to Judea. (If חיה is ever equivalent to Ar. *حبي*, *tribe*, 'such a kindred group [of clans] as was guided in war and on the march by one chief, migrating together, and forming generally a single settlement' [W. R.

Smith quoted by Kirkpatrick], it would not be unsuitable here. Cf. 2 Sam. xxiii 13 and Ps. lxxiv 19.)

Stanza iv. However obscure in other respects the poet's language may appear to be, it is at least evident that he is here describing a signal victory much nearer to his own day than the times of Joshua or the Judges.

*The Lord giveth the word (i. e. tidings or message);
The women who publish it are a great army:—
'Kings of armies are flying, flying;
And the Lady of the House shall divide the spoil!'*

Instead of **אמר**, *word, tidings* (= **דבר** in prose)—which would seem to suggest the well-known classical idea that Rumour is of Divine origin—I am inclined to read either **אשר**, *luck, success* (Gen. xxx 13), since **W** may be confused with **א**; or **גבורה**, *strength, victory*. (The final **ה** may have fallen out before **המבשרות**.) Or, instead of **יתן אמר**, we might restore **יתנבר**, *playeth the warrior or sheweth Himself mighty*: cf. Isa. xlii 13; Exod. xv 3. We should then have for the first distich:—

*The Lord giveth victory (or is victorious);
The women who tell the good news are a great army.*

The 'women who tell the glad news' (cf. Isa. xl 9) may be a touch partly reminiscent of Judges iv 22, where a woman announces the death of Sisera to Barak (instead of one woman, on the present occasion there is a 'great army'); partly, perhaps, of Miriam and the women singing and dancing at the Red Sea (Exod. xv 20). But the poet may really mean the women of Galilee, rescued by the prowess of Simon, and those of 'Bashan' who had been saved by Judas; the latter forming part of 'an exceeding great army' (1 Macc. v 23, 45). The peculiar phrase 'kings of armies' is probably no more than a grandiose expression for commanders, mighty captains of war. Cf. 1 Macc. ii 48; iii 7. Apparently, Judges v 19 suggested the phrase to the psalmist; and the last line of the stanza seems to echo Judges v 30, where the mother of Sisera speaks of her share in the spoil taken by her son. I have pointed **נות** = **נאות**, *the Beauty* (cf. Jer. vi 2). Otherwise, we might restore **בעלת**; see 1 Kings xvii 17 ('the mistress of the house'). The Book of Maccabees often refers to the spoil taken by Judas (see 1 Macc. vi 6, and the passages cited below).

The poet (or some one else) now asks a rhetorical question of the victorious warriors of Israel; a question which is partly reminiscent of Deborah's sarcastic interrogation of the slothful Reubenites (Judges v 16), partly of the disparaging description of Issachar in the Blessing of Jacob

(Gen. xlix 15). Keeping M.T., except in the closing line, we might translate:—

*Did ye 'lie idle between the twi-folds',
(O ye Wings of the Dove that is decked with silver,
And her pinions with the yellow sheen of gold!)
While Shaddai was scattering the kings,
Like the snow on Salmon? (Or, While He snowed on Salmon?)*

In line 5 we have read *כמו השלג בצלמון*, or *בהשלג בצלמון*; but with no great confidence in either emendation of a certainly corrupted text. If the above interpretation be right, the 'Dove' will have to be Judah (Ps. lxxiv 19; cf. Hos. vii 11), and her 'wings' will be her swiftly moving military forces (cf. Isa. viii 8). The decking with silver and gold may allude to the rich spoils taken from the enemy (cf. 1 Macc. iv 23, 57; v 28, 35, &c.). The uncertainty which attaches to the meaning of *בין המשפחים* in Judges v 16 and Gen. xlix 15 naturally affects the interpretation of the similar (probably identical) phrase in the psalm. Then, again, there is nothing in the Hebrew to connect the first stichus with the distich (obviously a simile) which follows it. Whatever the precise meaning of *המשפחים*; whether it be the ash-heaps or fire-places of the villages or tribal encampments, or *the sheepfolds* (a more poetical idea, as we may think); it is clear from the context of all three passages that to *sit* or *couch* or *lie between* the objects so designated was a proverb of indolent inactivity.

If we fill up the apparent lacuna with some such line as *כי כל לברשכם* *יבין* (cf. Isa. i 18), and read *ככנפי* in the third line, we seem to get a reasonable sense:—

*Did ye lie idle between the ash-mounds (or sheepfolds),
[That all your apparel grew white,]
Like the wings of a dove decked with silver,
And (like) her pinions of gold-green shimmer?*

In the next couplet the warriors reply to the poet (or to the women?), or he replies to himself (cf. Judges v 28 f; Isa. lxiii 1 ff):—

*'While Shaddai was scattering kings,
We (They?) were snowed upon in Salmon.'*

This is reading *נשחלו* or *ישחלו* (= LXX *χαιοσθησονται*) for *בהחשלג* in the last line. We may suppose the question addressed to a procession of warriors arrayed in festal white (cf. Eccles. ix 8). They give a jesting answer to a merry demand.

Wetzstein has identified 'Salmon' as the *Jebel Haurân*, which Ptolemy calls *Ἀσάλμανός* (v 15). This volcanic range, about ten miles east of 'Bosora', and thirty-five east of 'Carnaim' (1 Macc. v 26),

bounded the field of Judas's campaign on the east, as the summits of Hermon bounded it on the north (*see* Deut. iii 8-10).

Stanza v. The mention of Salmon reminds the psalmist of the majestic Hermon, the grandest of the mountains of Bashan and, indeed, of Palestine.

*A mountain of God is the mountain of Bashan ;
A mountain of domes is the mountain of Bashan !*

The 'domes' or rounded tops (Heb. גִּבְנִים) are, according to Wetzstein (quoted by Cheyne, *Enc. Bibl.*), 'a picturesque description of the crater-formation of this highly volcanic region'. But Hermon, with its three rounded summits, seems to be intended here. 'At sunrise the shadow of the great dome is projected far west to the Mediterranean, and at sunset . . . it stretches over the eastern desert, and stands up against the haze. The appearance of the Jaulân craters, as seen from this point some 7,000 feet above them, is very remarkable ; and the plains of Bashan are visible throughout, with the northern part of Gilead' (Conder in Smith's *Dict. Bibl.* ed. 2, s. v. Hermon).

*Why look ye askance, ye domed mountains ?
This is the mountain that God yearned to inhabit,—
Yea, Jahwah will here abide for ever !*

In line 2, read *זה הר (ה) st. constr.* before the Relative Clause). Otherwise *ההר* must be taken as direct object of the verb *רעד* : *Why look ye askance . . . At the mountain, &c.* (cf. Ecclus. xiv 22 Heb.). But this is against the rhythm. The general sense is clear. The mountains of Bashan, though built on a far grander scale than Sion, are envious at the sight of the Mountain of the House, which Jahwah chose for His Abode, and where the Festival of Thanksgiving is being celebrated. Not Hermon only, but, as Kirkpatrick observes, 'the rugged basaltic mountains which rise in precipitous peaks', are included in the poet's outlook.

Stanza vi. The text of M.T. is evidently corrupt. The psalm opens with an adaptation of Num. x 35. Now the next verse there contains the words *רבבות אלפי ישראל*, which resemble our *רבתיים אלפי שנאן* sufficiently to suggest *ישראל* for the meaningless *שנאן* of our text. Further, the precise number 'twenty thousand' (cf. 1 Macc. vi 30) seems an unlikely one for the Chariots of God, and a connecting word is needed in the middle of the line. I therefore propose *רבתיים* for *רבתי עם*. This gives us for the first line :—

The chariots of God are myriads with the 'Thousands' of Israel.

Judas restored the old military organization of the people in 'Thousands', &c. : *see* 1 Macc. iii 55.

The second line may be restored thus :—

אֲדֹנִי בָא (בְּתוֹכֶם) מִסִּינַי בְּקֶדֶשׁ

The Lord is come (in the midst of them) from Sinai into the Sanctuary.

Verse 25 (Stanza ix 1 b) corroborates this correction.

The stanza continues :—

*Thou art gone up to the height, hast led the captives captive,
Hast received tributes in men ;*

Yea, the Renegades also must dwell with God !

The poet imagines Jahwah as coming from Sinai with His countless chariots and horses of fire (2 Kings vi 16, 17), to take part in the triumphal procession of Judas and his warriors up the sacred height of Sion (cf. Ps. xlvii 5 ; Jer. xxxi 12). There He receives His share of the prisoners, to serve as Nethinim or Hieroduli in the Sanctuary ; among them, it would seem, some of the apostate Jews (see on Stanza ii), who had surrendered to the arms of Judas.

Stanza ii proves that the poet also believed that God had headed the expedition against the heathen, and that the heavenly hosts had made the little army of Judas victorious (1 Macc. iii 16–22 ; iv 8, 10, 30 ff) over the horse and foot and chariots (2 Macc. xiii 2) of the Syrians. Jahwah and His chariots had, in fact, been the real conquerors, and therefore figure as such in the triumph.

For the progress of Jahwah from Sinai, cf. Deut. xxxiii 2 ; Hab. iii 3, 8 ; Judges v 4. The phrase 'Thou art gone up to the height' (sc. of Sion) may be compared with *καὶ ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὄρος Σιών* (= וַיַּעֲלֶה אֱלֹהִים) in the prose-account of the matter (1 Macc. v 54). The line *לקחת מתנות באדם* may mean either (1) *Thou hast received gifts* (consisting) *in human beings*, as explained above ; or (2) *Thou hast received gifts for* (= in exchange for ; *beth pretii*) *persons* ; i. e. Thou hast accepted ransom for Thy captives, as a conqueror might do. The former seems to suit the context better. The same word *מתנה* is used, Num. xviii 6, of the 'gift' of the Levites in a similar sense. In the last line of the Stanza I have merely substituted *עם*, *with*, for *יה*. Cf. Ps. cxx 5, 6. The 'rebellious' or 'renegades' are apostate Jews, as in Stanza ii. They have been living among their friends the heathen, but have now (however unwillingly) to 'dwell with God', as bondservants of the Temple. The Syriac turns *לשכן* into *ישכנו* *לא*, with its rendering *And also the rebels shall not dwell before God* ; probably a mere guess, due to missing the idiom.

Stanza vii. The Hebrew is rugged, but presents no serious difficulty. The whole verse applies very well to the unexpected victories and hair-breadth escapes of the Maccabean heroes

*Blessed be the Lord, who day by day carrieth us !
The (one) God is our Salvation !*

For the meaning of *יְשׁוּעָה*, see Isa. xli 3 ; lxiii 9 ; Deut. xxxiii 27. The *ל* marking the object of the verb (as in Aramaic) is not surprising in a late poem.

*The (one) God to us (hath been) a God of saving deeds ;
And to Jahwah, the Lord, (belong) escapes from Death !*

Omit *ל* before *מִשְׁעוֹת*, as dittogr. from *אֵל* (which, however, many MSS omit). In the next line perhaps we should read *וְיָהוָה* and *לְמַח* to the perishing (Gen. xx 3 ; xxx 1), as a parallel to *לָנוּ*.

But God doth break the head of His foes,—

The crown of the wicked one walking in his trespasses.

Cf. the death of Apollonius, 1 Macc. iii 10–12 ; and that of Nicanor, 1 Macc. vii 47. *רָשָׁע*, 'the Wicked', seems necessary as a parallel to *אֵיבִי*, and as a noun of reference for *מַחְלָךְ*. M.T. means 'the hairy crown walking' ; but the reference to hair is superfluous, and the head or crown would hardly be spoken of as walking.

Stanza viii. We have already commented on the historical bearing of this important stanza. We have now to note one or two corrections of the text.

*The Lord said, 'From Bashan will I bring back,—
I will bring back from Salmon My people !'
That thou mightest bathe thy foot in the blood of thy foes,
And the tongue of thy dogs might be reddened therefrom.*

In line 2, M.T. has *מִמְצֵלוֹת יָם*, 'from the depths of the sea' (Mic. vii 19), because some scribe was thinking of the Deliverance from the Red Sea at the Exodus. *יָם* must be a disguise or relic of *עַם* (עַמִּי) ; the natural and necessary complement of the transitive verb *אָשִׁיב*. The line might be :—

I will bring back out of deep distresses a people.

For *מְצֹלָה* in this figurative sense, see Ps. lxi 3 ; lxxxviii 7. But we want another name as parallel to Bashan ; and *מִצְלֻמָן* (from 'Salmon', Stanza iv) consists of almost the same letters as *מִמְצֵלוֹת*. In the next line, Olshausen's *תְּרַחֵץ* for *תִּמְחֵץ* is certain ; and for *מֵאֵיבִים* we must read *הַמֵּאֵדִים*. Probably *אֵיבִיךָ* originally closed the previous line. *מִנֵּהוּ* should be pointed *מִנְהֵי* (Job iv 12).

Stanza ix. An interesting glimpse of the festal procession of singers, musicians, and tripal chiefs, at the Thanksgiving Service.

*Stately is Thy march, O God !—
The march of my God, my King, into the Sanctuary !
The singers go first, behind are the harpers,
In the middle are the maidens playing timbrels.*

Line 1. Or, *Fair are Thy Processions*. For נָאוּ read נָאוּ (Isa. lii 7). Kittel proposes נָאוּ = LXX ἀσθενησας. LXX at least felt the difficulty. Its rendering of the next couplet is: *First went princes* (שָׂרִים for שָׂרִים) *following close upon harpers, Amid tambourine girls*; as if the dancing-girls were on each flank of the Procession, instead of in the middle of it. This last feature may be right (= M.T. בְּתוֹךְ), although we have pointed בְּתוֹךְ above (so Kittel).

(*In the congregations bless ye God,—*

The Lord in the assemblies of Israel!)

Perhaps intended for the cry of the singers; but the connexion becomes easier if we point בָּרְכוּ, *they bless* (Kittel). In the second line, בְּמִקְרָאֵי is a very attractive correction of the meaningless מִמְקוֹר. But the word (Isa. i 13; iv 5) is not found elsewhere in poetry. One may suggest 'מִקְוֵה, *the Hope of Israel* (Jer. xiv 8); or, if a parallel to בְּמִקְוֵהוֹת (cf. Ps. xxvi 12) be desired, אֵל בְּמִקְרָשֵׁי [יִשְׂרָאֵל], *in the holy places of El* (Ps. lxxiii 17; ver. 36) or of Israel.

There little Benjamin leadeth them on,

With the princes of Judah at his heel;—

The princes of Zebulun, the princes of Naphtali!

The verse names those who took part in the festal gatherings, or the lay-folk in the processions. Zebulun and Naphtali may denote the Jews from Galilee and the north (1 Macc. v 14, 23). The mode of expression depends, of course, upon Judges v 14-18.

For the unsuitable לָדֹם, which LXX connects with יָרֵם by its curious rendering ἐν ἀκρόασι (cf. Gen. ii 21), an easy exchange is יָרֵם, *led them on* in the procession (cf. Ps. xlii 7). The second line may have been: וְשָׂרֵי יְהוּדָה בְּרִגְלָיו, *With the emirs of Judah behind him* (cf. Judges iv 10; v 14, 15; viii 5; 2 Sam. xv 17).

Stanza x. A prayer for the continuance of Divine Help, in the spirit of Isa. xix 25; xlv 14; Ps. lxxii 10, 11.

Appoint, O God, Thy Might

As the Help that Thou hast made for us!

Omit אֱלֹהִים from line 2, as a marginal correction belonging to the former line, where M.T. has צִוָּה אֱלֹהֶיךָ, *Thy God hath appointed*, which is corrected as above by the Versions and many Hebrew MSS. For עֲזָרָה and עֲזָרָה as parallels, see Ps. xlii 2. For the sense, cf. Ps. xlv 5: *Appoint Thou the victories of Jacob!* Cf. also the watchword of Judas 'The God of Help' (Θεοῦ βοηθίας = אֱלֹהֵי עֲזָרָה; like אֲבֵן עֲזָרָה, 1 Sam. vii 12, 2 Macc. viii 23).

Unto Thy Temple at Jerusalem

To Thee let kings bring the gift!

Read לְהִתְכַּלֵּךְ (Isa. xviii 7; Hos. x 6); or perhaps בָּה, since ב is more

liable to confusion with מ. For the matter of the distich, cf. 1 Macc. x 39; 2 Macc. xiii 23 (*offered sacrifice, honoured the sanctuary*); Ps. cii 15 f; 21 f. (The pointing הִיכָלָךְ may be meant for an honorific *plur.*; cf. Ps. xlv 9.)

We come now to what is perhaps the most obviously corrupt verse in the psalm. Something of this kind may have been the gist of it in the original form :—

*Rebuke Thou the Wild-beast of the Reeds, the herd of Bulls!
Consume the tribes from Pathros, greedy for pelf!
Scatter the nations that delight in battles!*

In line 2, instead of בְּעוֹלָעִמִּים (*in calves of peoples*), I have supposed an original בְּעַרְלָאִמִּים, *Consume the tribes!* An imperative was wanted to introduce the parallel stichus; and עַמִּים recurs in the third line, where it is clearly right. I have adopted Nestle's מִפַּתְרוֹס, *from Pathros* or Upper Egypt, in place of the certainly wrong מִתְרוֹפֶס, and רִצִּיב for רִצִּיב, after Cheyne (see Ps. cxlvii 10, where also חַפֵּץ is ||, as here). It is possible that 'from Pathros' (Isa. xi 11; Jer. xlv 15; Ezek. xxx 14) is a more or less correct gloss which has crept into the text. Doubtless LXX, Syr., Vulg. are right in pointing בּוֹר (or rather פּוֹר; cf. Ps. liii 6) as an imperative in the third stichus also.

As regards the exegesis of the verse, the 'Beast of the Reeds' must be some wild animal which haunts the jungle on the border of lakes and rivers, such as the crocodile or the hippopotamus (Job xl 21). The Nile, we are told, was anciently infested by malicious hippopotamuses and crocodiles, both now extinct (*Enc. Bibl.*). Egypt, therefore, will be intended by the symbolic animals of line 1. For the 'Bulls' (which the Apis-bulls make specially appropriate here), cf. Ps. xxii 13.

The strife between the rival powers of Syria and Egypt for the possession of Palestine was sufficiently calamitous for the Jewish community, to justify the prayer of the verse. But in view of the fact that the preceding verse links on to that which follows without any apparent break in the sense, it seems probable that this prayer did not belong to the original ode. A later editor may have added it as an allusion to contemporary troubles. We know how the hymns of our own time have been tinkered by successive collectors and would-be improvers.

Of the final couplet of the stanza I make the following :—

*Let them bring an offering from Egypt!
Let Cush direct his hands unto God!*

If we retain M.T. חֲשָׁמַיִם, the meaning will have to be something like 'ambassadors' or 'envoys' (so LXX, Syr., Vulg.; cf. the Rabbinic 'nobles', Kimchi's 'great men and princes', and Isa. xxx 4). Aquila's ἰσπευσμένως (= Jerome's *velociter*) points the first two letters חֵשׁ = חֵשׁ,

'quickly'; see Ps. xc 10. This seems to be a guess depending, perhaps, on the supposed connexion of תריץ (line 2) with רץ 'to run'.

Apart from the fact that חשמנים occurs nowhere else, the collocation of letters חשמנימנימצרים has a suspicious look, with its repeated מנימ; and as *Mem* and *Shin*, *He* and *Yod*, might be confused in the old writing, it seems possible that חשמנה (חממה) is a transformation of מנחה. Read, therefore, יִתְּנוּ אֹמֶת מִנְחָה, *Let men bring an offering* . . . (pointing the verb as Hiphil, with Aquila and Jerome).

The verb of the second line, תריץ, gives no likely sense; not to dwell on the difficulty of the genders of the stichus. Have we not here an Aramaism (תריץ)? At all events, in Assyrian *gât-su ana ili tarâçu* means 'to stretch forth (or *direct*) his hand to the god'. Cf. Luke i 79 Pesh. Otherwise, we must read יִפְרֹשׁ (Ps. cxliii 6; with ידי, instead of the usual כפי).

Stanzas xi-xii. This closing Doxology is generally clear in expression, though not entirely free from textual defects. Thus the second member of the first distich seems too short metrically. Supply ברכו שמו or something similar. This bears some resemblance to לרכב בשמי, which immediately follows; and the fact may account for its omission. לארני (2 MSS) would be a better parallel to לאלהים in the first line. In the next couplet read הללו רכב, and omit בשמי after שמי (*vid. supr.*). שמי קדם (cf. הררי קדם, Deut. xxxiii 15) should perhaps be שמי קדש (cf. Ps. xx 7), since W and M may be confused. These changes give us the quatrain:—

*O ye kingdoms of the earth, sing ye to God!
Hymn ye to the Lord, bless ye His Name!
Acclaim ye Him who rideth on the holy Heavens!
Lo, He uttereth His Voice, a Voice of Might!*

Stanza xii. Two triplets follow. In the first we should probably read השמים (Deut. xxxiii 26; Kittel) instead of ישראל, which may be due to a scribe's eye having wandered to the fourth line below. In the second, read במקדשי (cf. Jerome's *in sanctuario suo*), which may be an honorific plur., or may include the heavenly and earthly sanctuaries; and לעמו ירבה (cf. Isa. xl 29, where we have also the || לְנֶפֶשׁ). The last word, which is metrically necessary, may have fallen out before the somewhat similar ברוך.

*Ascribe ye Might unto God!
Upon the Heavens is His Majesty,
And His Might is in the Clouds!
Terrible is God in His Sanctuaries!
The God of Israel, He giveth Might,
And increaseth Strength unto His people!
[Blessed be God!]*

We append a connected version of the entire Psalm.

A PAEAN OR FESTAL 'SONG OF THANKSGIVING' (1 MACC. IV 24)
FOR THE VICTORIES OF JUDAS MACCABAEUS IN GILEAD (BASHAN).

Καὶ ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὄρος Σιών ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ χαρᾷ
(= וישמחו ויששחו בציין הר אל ה', 1 Macc. v 54.

(*Precentor's Book, Part 'David'. Hymn for Accompaniment.*)

i

First If God but arise, His foes disband,
Prelude.— And His enemies flee before Him.
God's Like the driving of smoke before wind,—
Presence Like the melting of wax before fire,—
Death to The Wicked perish before God.
His foes, But the Righteous rejoice before God,—
Joy to His 'They exult and are glad with rejoicings.
friends.

ii

Praise Sing ye to God, hymn ye His Name!
Him for Acclaim Him who rideth through the deserts!
bringing Praise His Name and exult before Him!
home the The Father of Orphans and the Judge of Widows
'exiles' of Is God in His holy Habitation.
Bashan! God bringeth the exiles home again;
He letteth the prisoners out of the dungeons;
Only the Renegades abide in the holds.

iii

Jahwah O God, when Thou wentest forth before Thy people,—
leads His When Thou marchedst through the wilderness,—
people to Earth trembled, yea Heaven dropped,—
the rescue Yea the clouds dropped water;
of their The mountains flowed down before God,—
brethren in Before God, the God of Israel.
the season Free rain Thou sendest down, O God!
of the And for the pastures of Thine heritage Thou didst prepare.
Latter The hapless hath settled therein;
Rains Thou providest in Thy goodness for the oppressed, O God!
(1 Macc. xii 31).

iv

The women The Lord giveth victory;
spread the The women who tell the glad news are a great army.
news of 'Kings of armies are flying, flying,
the Lord's And the fair dame of the house may divide the spoil!'
victory. 'Did ye lie idle between the sheepfolds,

Bantering the happy warriors at the festival. That all your apparel did whiten
Like the wings of a dove decked with silver,
And (like) her pinions of gold-green shimmer ?'
'While Shaddai was scattering kings,
We were snowed upon in Salmon.'

v

The Alps of Bashan envious of little Sion. A mountain of God is the mountain of Bashan,—
A mountain of domes is the mountain of Bashan !
Why look ye askance, ye domed mountains ?
This is the mountain that God yearned to inhabit,—
Yea, Jahwah will here abide for ever !

vi

Jahwah's triumphal ascent of Sion, with His heavenly and earthly hosts. The chariots of God are myriads with the 'Thousands' of Israel ;
The Lord is come in their midst from Sinai into the Sanctuary !
Thou art gone up to the height, hast led the captives captive,
Hast received tributes in men,—
Yea, the Renegades also must dwell with God !

vii

Second Prelude.— Bless Jahwah who saves us from death, and crushes His heathen foes ! Blessed be the Lord, who day by day carrieth us !
The (one) God is our Salvation ;
The (one) God to us (hath been) a God of saving deeds ;
And Jahwah, the Lord, is escape to the perishing !
But God doth break the head of His foes,—
The crown of the wicked one walking in his trespasses.

viii

The Exodus from Bashan Jahwah's work. The Lord said, 'From Bashan will I bring back,—
I will bring back from Salmon My people !'
(That thou mightest bathe thy foot in the blood of thy foes,
And the tongue of thy dogs might be reddened therefrom.)

ix

Order of the festal Procession to the Temple. Stately is Thy Progress, O God,—
The Progress of my God, my King, into the Sanctuary !
The singers go first, behind are the harpers,
In the middle are the maidens playing timbrels.
(1) *The choir and musicians ;* In the Congregations they bless God,—
The Lord, the Hope of Israel.
(2) *The laity (warriors?) of Judea and Galilee.* There little Benjamin leadeth them on,
With the chiefs of Judah at his heel,—
The chiefs of Zebulun, the chiefs of Naphtali !

x

A Prayer that the heathen may do homage to Israel's God. Appoint, O God, Thy Might
 As the Help Thou hast made for us!
 Unto Thy Temple at Jerusalem
 To Thee let Kings bring the gift;
 (Rebuke the Beast of the Reeds, the herd of Bulls!
 Consume the tribes from Pathros, greedy for pelf!
 Scatter the nations that delight in battles!)
 Let them bring an offering from Egypt!
 Let Cush direct his hands unto God!

xi

Doxology. 'Let all the Earth bless the Lord!' O ye Kingdoms of the Earth, sing ye to God!
 Hymn ye to the Lord, bless ye His Name!
 Acclaim ye Him who rideth on the holy Heavens!
 Lo, He uttereth His Voice, a Voice of Might!

xii

The Lord of Victory in His Sanctuaries. Ascribe ye Might unto God!
 Upon the Heavens is His Majesty,
 And His Might is in the Clouds!
 Terrible is God in His Sanctuaries!
 The God of Israel, He giveth Might,
 And increaseth Strength unto His people.
 (Blessed be God!)

A structural peculiarity of the poem appears to be well worthy of notice. It is that the themes of the successive stanzas of the first half of it meet us again in the corresponding stanzas of the second half. Thus, Stanza i = Stanza vii, both treating of the difference God makes between the heathen and Israel; Stanza ii = Stanza viii, both regarding God as the Restorer of Exiles; Stanza iii = Stanza ix, the one describing God's march to battle, the other His march of triumph to Sion; Stanza iv = Stanza x, both relating to the spoils or tributes of 'kings', consequent on the Lord's victory. The similarity or equivalence of Stanzas v and xi is not so clear; and I have felt some uncertainty as to the real point of division between Stanzas xi and xii. Still, it may be said that, as in Stanza v the loftiest mountains (symbolizing the heathen world-powers? cf. Isa. xli 15) recognize the unique greatness of little Sion, so Stanza xi calls upon all the 'kingdoms of the earth' (i.e. the world-powers) to do homage to the Lord of Sion; while Stanzas vi and xii resemble each other, in that both alike contemplate the Divine Conqueror, the omnipotent God, in His Sanctuaries. This peculiar structure of part against part tends generally to confirm our division of the stanzas, of which the number appropriately corresponds to that of the tribes of Israel.

C. J. BALL.

OLD TESTAMENT NOTES.

I

THE INTERPRETATION OF ISAIAH I 18.

THE interpretation of this passage as a rhetorical question goes back, I believe, to Wellhausen (*Prolegomena*⁴ pp. 423 f), and has obtained a considerable measure of acceptance among students. Most recently we find it adopted by Mr Box in his edition of Isaiah (1908), and by Dr Guthe in his translation of Isaiah in the new edition of Kautzsch's *Die Heilige Schrift des A. T.* (1909). Thus the former scholar renders

'Come now let us argue together, says Jahveh :

If your sins be as scarlet

shall they become white as snow?

Be they red as crimson

shall they become as wool?'

and remarks in a footnote that 'the language of promise and forgiveness (*though your sins be as scarlet, they shall become, &c.*) is quite out of keeping with the stern logic of a legal plea. The most natural rendering of the Hebrew is that given above'.

The purpose of this note is to raise a question which seems not to have been duly considered, viz. whether such a rendering can be justified from the standpoint of Hebrew scholarship.

So far as I am aware, no clear case occurs throughout the Old Testament in which a question is to be assumed as implied by the speaker's tone (without use of an interrogative particle) in the apodosis of a conditional or concessive sentence.

In view of this statement, three passages appear to call for examination, viz. Judg. xi 9; 1 Sam. xx 9; 1 Sam. xxiv 20. The first of these, Judg. xi 9, is rendered by R. V.: 'If ye bring me home again to fight with the children of Ammon, and the Lord deliver them before me, shall I be your head?' (אֲנִכִּי אִזְחִיָּה לָכֶם לְרֹאשׁ). This instance, however, clearly stands upon a different footing from Isa. i 18; and I have no hesitation in saying that the query of R. V. should be omitted. Jephthah is stating the terms of his compact with the elders of Gilead, in order that there may be no misunderstanding:—If I undertake this

task, and am successful, 'it is I who am to be your head' (as promised in *v.* 6).¹

In 1 Sam. xx 9 Jonathan protests to David **כִּי אִם יָדַע אָדָם כִּי** *Chilaleh lakh ki am yad'ed adam ki*; R. V. 'Far be it from thee: for if I should at all know that evil were determined by my father to come upon thee, then would not I tell it thee?' This rendering is adopted by many scholars (e.g. Driver, Kittel, Nowack, Dhorme); but the difficulty of the passage is admitted by all,³ and, if the text is correct, there is a probability in favour of the explanation of Wellhausen, which assumes an aposiopesis:—'If, &c., and I do not tell thee *that*—' (sc. 'so and so may God do to me!'), i.e. in accordance with Hebrew usage, 'If, &c., I will certainly tell thee *that*!'

וכי ימצא איש את איבו ושלחו בדרך טובה ויהוה:—(19 R.V.): 'For if a man find his enemy, will he let him go well away? Wherefore the Lord reward thee good for that thou hast done unto me this day.' ושלחו ו' is thus explained by Driver, Kittel, Nowack, Dhorme, Gesenius-Kautzsch § 150 a. That the whole passage presents difficulty is, however, recognized by scholars; and personally I think that Saul's words gain in force if we regard ו' ושלחו as a continuation of the protasis ו' ימצא, followed by an aposiopesis. Saul, in fact, is so overcome with amazement and gratitude at David's generosity that he cannot find words to express his feelings. All that he can do is to pray that Yahwe may reward his benefactor:—'And when a man finds his enemy, and sends him off on a good way—well! may Yahwe reward thee, &c.' This view of the passage is regarded with some favour by H. P. Smith, who thinks that the speaker intended to add 'Yahwe will reward him' as apodosis, but changed the construction.' Smith's alternative is to emend וי' for ו' with Klostermann, and to strike out איש: 'And who finds his enemy, and sends him off . . . ?'⁴

¹ An exact parallel is furnished by the words of Marduk when he undertakes Ansar's commission to oppose Tiāmat :—

'If I, as your avenger,
Quell Tiamat and preserve your lives,
Hold the assembly, declare my lot supreme!'

Creation Tablet ii ll. 134 ff.

³ H. P. Smith seeks to explain לָא in וְלֹא אִתָּהּ וְנִי as equivalent to the Arabic *la* 'surely'. Budde emends הִלָּא for וְלֹא.

³ LXX actually reads καὶ Κύριος ἀνταποτίσει αὐτῷ ἀγαθά, but the fact that this is a later alteration seems to be indicated by the continuation, καθὼς πεποίηκας σήμερον.

⁴ The analogy of the ordinary cases of implied question as a paradox (as next cited) suggests that, had such a question been intended here, בדרך מובה would have been emphasized (this being the point on which the paradox turns), and we should have read בדרך מובה ושלחור.

It may be well to consider the ordinary cases in which the rhetorical question is assumed in a sentence which creates a paradox when taken in relation to a statement of fact immediately preceding. Such a sentence seems regularly to be connected with the preceding clause by the conjunction *ו*, the antithesis with what precedes being by this simple device brought into bold relief. In such cases it is undoubtedly legitimate to translate into English in an interrogative form; but the sense would be equally well expressed, and would perhaps approximate more nearly to the *feeling* of the Hebrew speaker, if, instead of the rendering 'shall I . . . ?' 'shalt thou . . . ?' &c., we were to adopt such a rendering as 'I am to . . . !' 'thou art to . . . !' &c. Thus we may notice Jon. iv 11, 'Thou hast had pity on the gourd, for the which thou hast not laboured . . . , and I am not to have pity on Nineveh !' (וְאֲנִי לֹא אֲחֻס). Judg. xi 23, 'And now Yahwe the God of Israel hath dispossessed the Amorites from before his people Israel, and *thou* art to possess them !' (וְאַתָּה תִּירְשֵׁנוּ). Judg. xiv 16, 'Behold, my father and my mother I have not told, and I am to tell *thee* !' (וְלִךְ אֲנִי). 2 Sam. xi 11, 'The Ark and Israel and Judah are dwelling in booths, and my lord Joab and the servants of my lord are encamped on the open field, and I am to go into my house to eat and to drink and to lie with my wife !' (וְאֲנִי אֲבֹא אֶל בֵּיתִי וְנִי). So also 2 Kings xix 11 || Isa. xxxvii 11, Jer. xxv 29, xlv 4, 5, xlix 12, Ezek. xx 31. In Exod. viii 26 the paradox lies in the contrast of two hypothetical suggestions:—'Lo, we are to sacrifice the abomination of Egypt before their eyes, and they will not stone us !' (הֲנִי נֹכַח אֶת תּוֹעֵבַת מִצְרַיִם לְעֵינֵיהֶם וְלֹא יִסְקְלוּ). This might be presented as a hypothetical sentence ('Lo, if we sacrifice . . . , will they not stone us ?'); but this is due to the fact that both clauses are potential, and is not the *form* into which the thought is thrown in Hebrew. Job ii 10 is similar.

Assuming, then, that I have not overlooked any instance to the contrary, it follows from this discussion that, apart from Isa. i 18, the construction of an implied question in the apodosis of a hypothetical sentence is non-existent in Biblical Hebrew, or at best very doubtful. The form in which such a question is usually implied as a paradox in relation to a preceding statement suggests that, if Isaiah had intended to put the rhetorical question, he would have expressed himself in some such form as *הֲיֵהָ בְּשָׁנִים חֲמָיִכֶם וְכִשְׁלֵן יִלְבִּינוּ*, 'Lo, your sins are as scarlet, and shall they become white as snow ?' As the passage actually stands, it is in form a concessive sentence exactly of the type of Isa. x 22, Deut. xxx 4, Jer. xv 1, Job xx 6, 7 ; cf. König *Syntax* § 394 a. These facts are entirely in favour of the familiar rendering of A.V., R.V.

We are told, however, that this rendering 'is quite out of keeping

with the stern logic of a legal plea'. The idea that we have to do with a legal plea, and indeed the whole conception of a judgement-scene between Yahwe and His people, appears to be bound up with the interpretation of the expression וְנִיכָחָה. So Dr Skinner, in his note on the rendering of A.V., R.V., 'let us reason together,' remarks, 'more accurately, *let us implead one another* (Acts xix 38, A.V.). The idea is that of a legal process in which each party maintains his own case (see ch. xliii 26).'

It is doubtful, I think, whether וְנוכַח is intended to bear this signification. The verb, as ordinarily used in the Hiph'il, means, in the great majority of cases, *to shew to be wrong or confute*. In a limited number of cases (but still, enough to justify the usage) the meaning is *to shew to be right*. So Job xiii 15 אֲךָ דַרְכִי אֵל פְּנֵי אוֹכֵחַ R.V. 'Nevertheless I will maintain my ways before him' (i.e. *justify them*); Job xix 5 וְתוֹכִיחוּ עָלַי חֲרָפָתִי R.V. 'And plead against me my reproach' (i.e. *shew it to be rightly deserved*). The use in Gen. xxiv 44 is similar, R.V. 'Let the same be the woman whom the Lord hath appointed for my master's son.' Here the word means *hath shewn to be the right one*. So in v. 14. The verb is also used in a neutral sense, *to judge*, i.e. *to distinguish the right from the wrong*, or *vice versa*. So Isa. ii 4 (Mic. iv 3), Isa. xi 4 (in these cases parallel to שָׁפַט), Gen. xxxi 37, Job ix 33, &c. Hence the Niph'al, which might be reflexive or reciprocal, might conceivably mean *to shew one another to be wrong*, i.e. *implead one another* (cf. וְנִשְׁפָּטִים), or, *to shew oneself to be right*, or, *to right oneself in relation to some one else*. Our only decisive test is the examination of each occurrence in the light of its context. Now, besides Isa. i 18, only two occurrences of the Niph'al are found in the Hebrew Bible. The first is in Gen. xx 16, the passage in which Abimelech is explaining the steps which he has taken in order to make amends for the wrong which he has inadvertently done to Abraham and Sarah. Unfortunately the crucial words, addressed to Sarah, are very difficult in construction, and may be suspected of slight corruption. As the text stands, however, וְאַתָּה כָּל וְנִכַחְתָּ is rendered by R.V. 'and in respect of all thou are righted'. Dr Gunkel's emendation has the merit of restoring a good construction, and at the same time not departing far from M.T. He would read וְאַתָּה כָּל וְנִכַחְתָּ, 'and thou art in all respects righted'. In any case, this sense for the Niph'al agrees well with the context.

The other occurrence is found in Job xxiii 2-7, a passage in which Job is stating that, if only he could come face to face with the Almighty, and have the opportunity of fairly pleading his case before Him, he would be certain of justification. In v. 7 יֵשָׁר נִיכָח עִמּוֹ אֵל R.V. 'There the upright might reason with him', and by

Dr Driver, 'There an upright man would be disputing with him.' A point, however, which I would strongly urge, is that this clause does not merely repeat in different words what has already been elaborated in *vv.* 4-6, viz. the setting forth of the argument, but rather, like the parallel clause, *v.* 7^b, the *issue of the argument*, viz. Job's acquittal. Thus I would render *v.* 7:—

'There an upright man would be righted with him;
So should I be delivered for ever from my judge.'

If, then, this sense of the Niph'al can be maintained, we have strong grounds for rendering *וַיִּנְתְּחֵהוּ* in Isa. i 18 'Let us right ourselves', i. e. in relation to one another, or, 'enter into right relations'. Such language, it is true, is scarcely consonant with the strict demands of human legal justice, when pushed to its extreme; but it can hardly be maintained that it is inconsonant with Yahwe's character if, in His graciousness, He still leaves room for repentance, and offers, like the father of the prodigal son, to meet the returning sinner half-way. Once we rid our minds of the idea of the judgement-scene in *vv.* 18-20, there is no reason why we should not connect these verses with the passage immediately preceding; and the opening words of *v.* 16, 'Wash you, make you clean', shew that the idea of the washing away of sins even so heinous as those of apostate Israel is prominent in the speaker's mind.

It may perhaps be replied that such a presentation of Yahwe's attitude is not in agreement with Isaiah's normal mode of thought, and his leading conception of the unique holiness of Yahwe. This I do not think. It is surely significant that nowhere do the awful holiness of Yahwe and the heinousness of His people's guilt (as seen in the prophet standing as Israel's representative, *v.* 5) come into bolder contrast than in the account of Isaiah's call in chap. vi; yet here the word used of the removal of sin (*חַטֹּאתַי תִּכַּסֶּה*, 'thy sin is atoned') contains, without a doubt, the very idea of wiping away and making white or bright, which is prominent in chap. i 18.¹ For a later writer,

¹ Certainly the meaning of the verb *כָּסָה* is not 'to cover' but 'to wipe away'. This is clear from Babylonian. Cf. the story of Nerigal and Ereskigal, col. ii, line 20 *isbasima unašakši dimtaša ikappar*, 'he caught her, and kisses her, and wipes away her tears'. In Brit. Mus. *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets* vol. xii plate 6 there is a Babylonian syllabary which gives the various equivalents of the sun-ideogram. Most of these have to do with the idea of brightness, e.g. *ellu*^m 'bright', *namru*^m 'bright', *namaru*^m *ša ūmu* 'the brightness of day', *nūru*^m *ša šāli* 'the light of fire', *šit (ilu) šamši* 'sunrise', &c. There also occur *kapparu*^m *ša kēmi*, apparently 'the whitening or cleansing of wheat-flour', and *kuppuru*^m *ša šaru*^m 'the cleansing (brightening) of the righteous.' If such a sense is rightly to be inferred from the parallels, the root-notion of the verb *kāpāru* seems to have been

too, who was the spiritual heir of Isaiah in the conception of the holiness of Yahwe, this attribute is brought into striking connexion with His disposition to invite to penitence and forgiveness, and not to cherish anger for ever:—‘For I will not contend for ever, neither will I be always wroth: for the spirit would faint before me, and the souls which I have made’ (Isa. lvii 15 ff.).

Upon these grounds I maintain that the familiar rendering of Isa. i 18 as a promise of forgiveness, rightly prized by many generations of English readers, is far more probably correct than its proposed substitute.

II

THE ‘BOOT’ OF ISAIAH IX 4.

Happening to refer recently to Prof. Kennett’s article in *J.T.S.* vol. vii pp. 321 ff, entitled ‘The Prophecy in Isaiah ix 1–7’, it struck me that certain disputable statements contained there had been allowed to pass without challenge. The facts which I bring together in this note are familiar enough to students of Semitic philology; but it seems worth while to mention them, if only to guard the ordinary reader against supposing that Semitic scholars are content to dismiss the authenticity of Isa. ix 1–7 upon the grounds cited by Prof. Kennett.

In the article in question Prof. Kennett seeks to prove that this prophecy belongs to the period of the Maccabees, and he lays considerable stress upon the expression of *v.* 4 (*v.* 5 E.V.) כָּל-סָאֵן סָאֵן בָּרֵעַשׁ, which he is convinced must refer to ‘the heavily nailed boots’ of the Macedonian soldiery (pp. 331 f). In arguing that סָאֵן cannot here refer to the boots of the Assyrians, he states, on hearsay, that ‘the *sunu* of the Assyrians seems to have been something of the nature of a legging, or rather *puttee*, to protect the legs in marching through thorny places. But we cannot assign the sense of *legging* to the Hebrew word used in the passage before us (סָאֵן), otherwise the adverb “noisily” or “heavily” (בָּרֵעַשׁ) would be unexplained. The phrase seems to require *heavily nailed boots*; but there is no proof that these, even if they existed, were the ordinary equipment of the Assyrians, who in the eighth century B.C.

that of *whitening* or *brightening*, ideas which are in other roots connected with *wiping* or *polishing*. The reference to the syllabary I owe to Mr C. J. Ball, who further notices that we have here the connexion of the noun כָּפָר ‘hoarfrost’ (hitherto unidentified), doubtless ‘the white or bright thing’.

The sense of *wiping* is found in the Syriac usage of the root, both in Pe’al and Pa’el.

are frequently represented as shod merely with a sort of sandal turned up at the heel, or even barefoot' (p. 327).

I am unable to find that *sûnu* denotes a *legging* or *puttee*. There is a *sûnu* which denotes the *loins* or *middle part of the body*. Another *sûnu* (the one in question) denotes a *tie* or *bandage*. It seems possible that the two words may have been originally one, and that the latter denotes, in the first place, a *bandage for the loins*. This, however, is uncertain. The *locus classicus* for this second *sûnu* is a Babylonian list given in v. R. 28, 5-11. Here the scribe gives seven equivalents of *sûnu*, viz. *mu-ug(k,k)-ru*, *ri-ik-su*, *e-šu-u*, *e-nu-u*, *a-pa-ru*, *a-da-du*, *a-na-bu*. About the nature of the *bands* or *ties* denoted by these words not much can be affirmed. We know, however, that *riksu* can denote a *head-bandage* or possibly *turban*, since the phrase *riksis kaḫḫadi* occurs; and it is reasonable to connect *aparu* with the Heb. פָּרָה which occurs in 1 Kings xx 38, denoting a *head-bandage* or bandage over the eyes.

But that these two words can only be used of head-bandages of course does not follow. The verb *apâru* is specially used of decking (binding) the head with a diadem (*agû*),¹ but *rakâsu* denotes binding or tying in a general sense. Muss-Arnolt explains *sûnu* in certain passages as 'a garment for the lower portion of the gods (statues)'. It cannot be maintained, in default of evidence, that *sûnu* could not be used of a puttee-legging, regarded as a leg-bandage; but the evidence for such a usage appears to be unknown both to Delitzsch and Muss-Arnolt.

Discussion of this matter is, however, quite immaterial to the present issue. What has to be remarked is that *sûnu* and פָּרָה have no philological connexion whatsoever. The real Assyrian equivalent to פָּרָה is the familiar *šenu*; and, strange to say, Prof. Kennett makes no allusion whatever to this latter word. Now with regard to *šenu* there is no room for the supposition that the word means a legging. It denotes a foot-gear of leather (usually with determinative prefix SU, i.e. *mašku* = 'leather'), whether boot, shoe, or sandal. This, I take it, is proved by the common formula of salutation in the T. A. letters:—*a-na-ku ip-ru iš-tu šu-pa-li (mašku) še-ni šarri be-li-ia*, 'I am the dust beneath the *šenu* of my lord the king.'² As to the form, Assyrian *š* = Hebrew *š* is seen also in *rēšu* = רֶשֶׁת, *šenu* = שֵׁנָה. The interchange Assyrian *š* = Hebrew *š* is frequent, and *š* and *š* are commonly confused in Hebrew. Thus, e.g. we have *šaru* 'wind' = שָׁר, שֶׁר.

¹ Possibly פָּרָה 'turban', whence denom. פָּרָה 'deck with a turban', and then, generally, 'adorn', is connected with פָּרָה, either as a transposition, or through internal trilateralization of the biliteral פָּר.

² Most common in the salutations of Abi-milki's letters: see Knudtzon no. 146 (Winckler 155), 147 (W. 149), 149 (W. 150), 151 (W. 151), 152 (—), 154 (W. 156), 155 (W. 152). Addu-dāni also uses the same formula, K. 295 (W. 240).

I do not, however, think that סָאָן stands for שָׂאָן. The fact needs carefully to be remarked that certain other words exist in Hebrew in which ס and not ש is the equivalent of Assyrian š, and that these all appear to be *loan-words* from the Assyrian or Babylonian. Thus סִפְּרָ = *šipru* 'missive' is probably an ancient loan-word; and this may be affirmed with greater certainty of סָנָן = *šaknu* 'prefect', סוּגָר = *šigaru* 'cage' (Ezek. xix 9), and the proper name סָרְגָּן = *Sargānu*. If סָאָן is also a loan-word from the Assyrian, the fact that this is the only occurrence of the word in the Hebrew Bible seems to favour the Isaianic authorship of the prophecy in which it occurs; since it is not improbable that the word was ordinarily unused in Hebrew, and that Isaiah intentionally used the native word applied by the Assyrians to their military boots.¹ I never read Isa. x 8 without thinking that Isaiah must have had some knowledge of the Assyrian language, and that, when he pictures the Assyrian king as saying הֲלֹא שָׂרִי יְהוָה מַלְכִּים 'Are not my princes all of them kings?' he is playing on the fact that, while Heb. מָלָךְ = Assyrian *šarru*, Heb. מֶלֶךְ = Assyrian *maliku*; and, knowing that the Assyrians called their princes *malkē*, quotes this fact as an instance of overweening arrogance.

That the Assyrian soldiers wore boots admits of no doubt. It is true that, as Prof. Kennett notices, they are sometimes represented bare-foot; but many instances exist in which they appear to be wearing a high boot reaching half way up the calf of the leg. This may be seen in the relief which represents Sennacherib receiving tribute at Lachish, and more clearly still in sculptures in the Louvre of the period of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal.²

The precise meaning of Isaiah's phrase כָּל-סָאָן סָאָן בְּרַעַשׁ is not quite clear, as we do not know exactly what sense to attach to the denominative verb סָאָן. There exists in Assyrian a verb *šenu* (another point of connexion with Isa. ix 4); and the passages in which it occurs seem to demand the sense *to put on boots or sandals* (as in Syriac and Ethiopic). Upon this analogy, סָאָן should mean 'one wearing boots', and the whole phrase might be rendered, 'every boot of the booted warrior in the tumult'. The objection to this rendering is the sense which it assigns to רַעַשׁ; for it is doubtful whether the meaning

¹ Here I assume that the operation of the law which governed the interchange of vowels was constant, and that Isaiah, hearing *šenu* (or more probably *šnu*) pronounced, would reproduce it, not indeed by סָאָן as pronounced by the Massoretes, but by its original form *sa'n*, which appears to have been the nearest Hebrew equivalent.

² I have not actually seen these latter sculptures; but I base my statement upon the excellent reproductions published under the title *Assyrian Sculptures*, by H. Kleinmann & Co., Plates XIV and XV.

'tumult' = 'tumultuous throng', though adopted by R. V., can be substantiated.¹ רָעַשׁ may mean 'earthquake'; 'trembling' (of a man, in fear, Ezek. xii 8; of a horse, in excitement, Job xxxix 24); 'noise'. The last meaning is the only one appropriate to our passage; and, if we adopt it, we must conjecture that the verb מָרַח can mean 'to march in boots', and is qualified by בְּרֵעַשׁ. We may then render, 'every boot of him that trampeth with noise'. Such a rendering, however, does not necessarily imply 'heavily nailed boots'. The thought is not of the tramp of a single soldier, but of the measured march of a well-disciplined army; and, nails or no nails, the boots of such an army would make a noise impressive to the hearer, and appropriately to be described as רָעַשׁ.

Thus we conclude that the phrase under discussion, if not actually favourable to the Isaianic authorship of the section in which it occurs, is at any rate in no way opposed to it. Full criticism of the whole of Prof. Kennett's argument against the authenticity of the complete section would be too lengthy a matter for the present note; yet I cannot forbear making short reference to another argument which is based upon the linguistic characteristics of the passage. On p. 322 Prof. Kennett candidly admits that, 'if we argue only from the occurrence of words characteristic of Isaiah, a strong case can be made out for his authorship': and there follows a full list of such characteristic expressions. On pp. 326 f, however, we are told that, though the prophecy 'undoubtedly contains words which are characteristic of Isaiah, there are others which it is difficult to ascribe to him, or indeed to any one living in the golden age of Hebrew literature'. At this point a footnote comments upon 'the impersonal use of participles, as in מִיָּעָה or מִיָּעָה', which is rightly said to be 'most unusual in Hebrew'. Since these participial forms occur in *ch.* viii 23^a, which scholars as a whole regard as a late marginal comment, not on our section viii 23^b-ix 6, but on the preceding viii 22, Prof. Kennett cannot complain if I attach no weight to the bearing of this illustration upon the subject in question. In continuation, we read, 'Thus the phrase "Galilee (the district) of the nations" is one which cannot satisfactorily be accounted for on the supposition that it refers to Assyrian and other settlers after Tiglath Pileser's invasion in 734. There is no evidence, either from the Bible or from the monuments, that any colonists were introduced into Palestine before the fall of Samaria; and though the prophet *might*

¹ It might be supported by the analogy of רָעַשׁ, which means both 'noise' and 'noisy multitude'; still, it is strange that, among the numerous occurrences of רָעַשׁ, no parallel can be cited for such a sense.

conceivably pass over the disaster which befell Samaria in 734, it cannot be supposed that he would have ignored the crushing blow which came upon it in 722.'

What value are we to attach to an argument which absolutely ignores the most obvious explanation of the phrase, 'the district of the nations', viz. that this northern district was so named *from the time of Israel's earliest occupation of Canaan*, because the foreign element, from the first, largely predominated over the Israelite? Judges i 30-33 (J) claims no conquests for Zebulon, Asher, and Naphtali, but tells us, on the contrary, that they failed to expel the inhabitants of certain specified cities, and settled down among them.¹ The same reference to this foreign element in northern Canaan is found in חֲרֹשֶׁת הַגּוֹיִם 'Harosheth of the nations', mentioned as the home of Sisera in Judges iv 2, 13, 16; a locality which, whether it corresponds to the modern *el-Harīṣīye*, on the right bank of the lower Kishon, or is to be looked for further north, would in any case fall within the district denoted by חֲרֹשֶׁת הַגּוֹיִם. For the rest, my explanation of the fact that Isaiah 'ignored the crushing blow which came upon [Samaria] in 722', is the relatively simple one that this had not yet occurred when he wrote. The evidence afforded by 2 Kings xv 29 that it was North Israel and Gilead which was ravaged and depopulated by Tiglath-Pileser is in entire accord with Isa. viii 23^b ('the district' is expressly mentioned as included in 'all the land of Naphtali'), and we have absolutely no grounds for doubting this information, derived doubtless from the contemporary annals of the Northern Kingdom. If Tiglath-Pileser claims, in the very fragmentary copy of his Annals which is known to us, to have deported 'the whole of the inhabitants' of the land of Israel to Assyria,³ no student of Assyrian annals would take this boast very seriously;³ and the fact that the Assyrian king immediately continues, 'Pekah, their king, they

¹ Quite possibly these northern Israelitish tribes were already settled in Canaan when the central tribes made their entry under Joshua. Cf. my article in *J.T.S.* vol. ix pp. 334 f.

² (*māt*) *Bit-Ḥu-um-ri-a*, '(land) the House of Omri' occurs at the end of one broken line, *pu-ḥur niše-ḥu*, 'the whole of its inhabitants' at the end of the next; and we cannot say for certain that some qualification did not intervene; though, from what we know of the exaggerated boasting of Assyrian annals, it is probable that this is not so.

³ It is appropriate, in this connexion, to notice the fact that, in the case of the campaign of Sargon's first year against Merodach-Baladan, king of Kaldu, and Ḥumbanigas, king of Elam, we have the opinions of both sides as to the result of the campaign. Sargon (*Cylinder Inscr.* l. 17) describes himself as 'the brave hero who met Ḥumbanigas of Elam at Durilu, and accomplished his defeat'; while the Babylonian Chronicle states, on the other hand, that, 'in the second year of Merodach-Baladan, Ḥumbanigas, king of Elam, inflicted a defeat upon Sargon, king of Assyria, in the district of Durilu' (*Chron.* col. i ll. 33, 34).

deposed, Hoshea [to rei]gn over them I appointed',¹ favours the inference that the nobles of Samaria did not wait for Tiglath-Pileser to advance further south, but made terms with him by executing their king and accepting the nominee of Assyria, thus escaping the devastation inflicted on the districts mentioned in 2 Kings xv 29 and Isa. viii 23^b.

III

THE THREE SERPENTS OF ISAIAH XXVII 1.

For the purposes of this note I take for granted the post-exilic date of Isa. xxiv-xxvii, and the apocalyptic character of the prophecy as a whole. The questions of the closer dating of the prophecy, and its possibly composite character, it does not in this connexion concern me to discuss. The principal apocalyptic feature is apparent in the dominant conception of a great world-judgement. This judgement seems to culminate in the symbolical description of *ch.* xxvii 1: 'In that day Yahwe with his sore and great and strong sword shall punish leviathan the fugitive serpent, and leviathan the winding serpent; and he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea.'

The interpretation of this passage has hitherto baffled expositors. It is generally supposed that there is reference to three great empires which were dominant at the time when the prophecy was penned. If this is so, Egypt is denoted by 'the dragon that is in the sea'; the identification of the two serpents depends upon the more exact dating of the prophecy:—'If the prophet wrote during or soon after the Exile they might denote Assyria and Babylonia; if at a later period, perhaps Babylonia and Persia, or even Persia and Greece.'²

In view, however, of the strongly marked eschatological character of the prophecy, the theory asserts itself that the writer's prospect is not limited by the temporal circumstances of his own age. Quite probably he may have in mind, not three specific empires which were dominant when he wrote, but the powers of evil generally in final antagonism to Yahwe at the end of the age. Before this can be determined, there is another question which calls for solution, viz. the origin of the peculiar symbolism employed by the writer.

The purpose of this note is to suggest (1) that the three serpents are in origin astronomical, and (2) that the conception of them is derived, as might be expected, from Babylonia.

That the serpents are astronomical suggests itself to me from the fact that there are three constellations which take the form of different kinds of serpents, viz. *Serpens*, *Draco*, and *Hydra*.

¹ *Pa-ḥa-ḥa ṣarru-ṣu-nu is-ki-pu-ma A-u-si'* [*a-na ṣarrû-ti*]-*na eli-ṣu-nu aš-kun*. Cf. Rost *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileasers III* p. 80.

² Skinner *Isaiah* i p. 199.

I would identify נָחִישׁ בָּרִחַ, 'the fugitive serpent', with the constellation *Serpens*, a little to the north of the Ecliptic. This נָחִישׁ בָּרִחַ is mentioned again in Job xxvi 13, in a connexion which suggests, if it does not prove, that it is a celestial phenomenon; and the common, though unwarranted, assumption is that it represents a mythical dragon which was supposed by the ancients to devour the heavenly bodies during eclipses. In close connexion with *Serpens* is another constellation, *Ophiuchus*, 'the serpent-grasper', representing to the Greeks the arms and shoulders of a man who is grasping the serpent with both hands, and variously identified by them with Herakles, Prometheus, &c.¹ May we here find the origin of the statement in Job xxvi 13—'His hand hath pierced the fugitive serpent'—Ophiuchus, for the writer of Job, representing the hands of Yahwe, transfixing the serpent with his weapon as it turns to flee from him? Such an idea is not in itself less probable than the kindred idea that it was Yahwe who fastened 'the bands' (belt) of Orion, and so kept him chained in the sky (Job xxxviii 31).

נָחִישׁ עֲקָלֹתָן, 'the winding' or 'crooked serpent', I take to be the constellation *Draco*, which winds its long-drawn length between *Ursa major* and *Ursa minor*, in the neighbourhood of the North Pole. According to Dr Schiaparelli,² the Dragon is 'a constellation whose shape does not carry conviction, just as, for that matter, the two other serpents of the sky, the serpent of Ophiuchus and the Hydra, have no obvious shape, and are mere expedients for filling up'. With all deference to such an authority, I cannot admit that this is so. Personally, I always regard *Draco* as one of the most striking objects in the sky upon a bright starry night; and that this was the view of the ancients seems to be indicated by the fact that Aratus speaks of the constellation as μέγα θάυμα,³ and especially by Ovid's comparison of it with the dragon which confronted Cadmus:—

'Ille volubilibus squamosos nexibus orbes
Torquet et immensos saltu sinuatur in arcus,
Ac media plus parte leves erectus in auras
Despicit onne nemus, tantoque est corpore, quanto,
Si totum spectes, geminas qui separat Arctos.'⁴

Here is no reference to a constellation of 'no obvious shape', recognizable only to astronomers, but to a celestial monster which would be familiar enough to the poet's readers, and would convey to them a conception of the gigantic, winding form of the dragon which suddenly

¹ Cf. the Scholiast to Aratus, ll. 74 ff.

² *Astronomy in the Old Testament* (Eng. trans.) § 54 p. 72.

³ l. 46.

⁴ *Metamorphoses* iii ll. 41-45.

presented itself to the astonished gaze of Cadmus and his companions. Certainly no epithet in Hebrew could better describe the bold curves of the celestial *Draco* than עֲקֻלָּתוֹן 'crooked', or 'winding'.

The third serpent, תַּחֲמִין אֲשֶׁר בַּיָּם, 'the dragon that is in the sea', corresponds, as I believe, to *Hydra*. Why should this constellation bear the name *Hydra*, 'the water-snake', there being nothing in its form to suggest that it is an inhabitant of the water rather than of the land? The answer, I feel confident, is that, lying, as it does, to the south of the Ecliptic, it is in the Heavenly Ocean, and must therefore be supposed to swim. For the Babylonians there were three divisions of the heavenly universe corresponding to the three divisions of the earthly universe. That is to say, just as the earth is bounded above by the upper air, and around and below by the watery deep, so is the Ecliptic or Zodiac circle (the heavenly counterpart of the earth) bounded above by the northern heavens with the North Pole as their zenith, and around and below by the southern heavens south of the Ecliptic, which figures as the Heavenly Ocean.¹ This suggestion, which carries the origin of the name *Hydra* back to the Babylonians, offers an explanation for the choice of such a name which, so far as I am aware, has previously been wanting.

Assuming, then, that the three serpents are astronomical, can evidence be brought to indicate that the conception of them is derived from Babylonia? As to the existence of a popular mythology among the Hebrews, having its roots in the mythology of the Babylonians, I need not pause to argue. All that is necessary is to refer in passing to the existence of a primitive form of the Creation-myth in which the conflict between Yahwe and Rahab or the Dragon (i. e. *Tiāmat*) must have taken a form much more closely approximating to the Babylonian Creation-narrative than does the story of Creation as given in Genesis. Traces of this primitive myth are abundantly evident in the Prophets, the Psalms, and Job.² Granted, then, the mythological character of our passage, and assuming its connexion with astronomy, it is reasonable to look for Babylonian connexions.

The fact ought not to escape notice, that, assuming my explanation of the three serpents as *Serpens*, *Draco*, and *Hydra*, we have a serpent for each of the three divisions of the heavens as contemplated by the Babylonians. *Serpens*, from its proximity to the Ecliptic, may be taken as the earthly serpent, and so is *merely Serpens*, an ordinary serpent, since it has no occasion to do anything but crawl. *Draco*, which winds about the North Pole is the heavenly serpent, and its habitat demands

¹ Cf. Jeremias *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients* pp. 6 ff.

² Cf. Zimmern *The Babylonian and the Hebrew Genesis* pp. 8 ff, and, more recently, Oesterley *The Evolution of the Messianic Idea* pp. 45 ff.

that it should be a dragon or flying serpent. *Hydra* is the swimming sea-serpent, inhabiting the Heavenly Ocean.

We read in Tablet I of the Babylonian narrative that, after the mingling of the waters of primeval *Apsû* (Ocean) and *Tiāmat* (the watery Deep), the mother of all things,

'Then were created the gods in the midst of [heaven],

Lahmu and *Lahamu* were called into being [. . .].

Ages increased [. . .].

Then *Anšar* and *Kišar* were created, and over them [. . .].'¹

Now *Lahmu* and *Lahamu* are generally regarded by scholars as serpent-forms.² *Anšar* and *Kišar* are personifications respectively of 'the host of heaven' and 'the host of earth'. Is it not possible that, since *Lahmu* and *Lahamu* stand in parallelism to *Anšar* and *Kišar*, they may denote respectively the heavenly serpent and the earthly serpent? If this is so, *Lahmu* answers to *Draco*, 'the winding serpent', and *Lahamu* to *Serpens*, 'the fugitive serpent'. *Tiāmat* herself doubtless corresponds to *Hydra*, 'the dragon which is in the sea', since it is clear from other passages that she is thought of both as the watery deep and the dragon which inhabits it.³

I believe that we can advance further still. In Isa. xxiv 21 we have a passage phrased in a way remarkably similar to xxvii 1. We read that 'it shall come to pass in that day that Yahwe shall punish the host of the Height in the Height, and the kings of the Earth upon the Earth'. The expression 'the host of the Height' (עֲצָת הַקְּדֻמִּים) is remarkable, and is not the ordinary expression used to denote the host of Heaven (עֲצָת הַשָּׁמַיִם).

עֲצָת 'the Height' is not, I think, merely a choice synonym for עֲצָת הַשָּׁמַיִם 'the heavens'. It seems usually to denote, whether explicitly or implicitly, the north pole or zenith of the Ecliptic (Babylonian *Anu*), i. e. the highest point of the heavens regarded as the abode of Deity.⁴ May we not, then, in 'the host of the Height', &c. actually find an echo of the Babylonian *Anšar* and *Kišar*? If this is so, we have, upon my theory, the following five identifications:—

'The host of the Height in the Height'	= <i>Anšar</i>
'The kings of the Earth upon the Earth'	= <i>Kišar</i>
'Leviathan, the fugitive serpent'	= <i>Lahamu</i>
'Leviathan, the winding serpent'	= <i>Lahmu</i>
'The dragon that is in the Sea'	= <i>Tiāmat</i>

¹ The translation is that of King *The Seven Tablets of Creation* i pp. 4 f.

² See references in Muss-Arnolt's Dictionary i p. 478.

³ Cf. Isa. li 9, Ps. lxxiv 13.

⁴ Cf. especially Isa. xxxii 15, xxxiii 5, lvii 15, Mic. vi 6, Jer. xxv 30, Lam. i 13, Ps. vii 8, xviii 17, lxviii 19, xciii 4, cii 20, cxliv 7.

It is true, of course, that in the primitive Babylonian myth, *Anšar* and *Kišar*, *Laḫmu* and *Laḫamu*, and the gods who are subsequently produced, represent the forces of kosmos in conflict with primaeval chaos represented by *Tiāmat*. But, with the adoption of the mythology as a mere *symbolism* by writers to whom Yahwe was the only God, it is natural that the perspective should be altered, and that all that savours of polytheism should stand in opposition to the One who is supreme.

C. F. BURNEY.

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S BIBLE AND THE *ITALA*.

II

The Gospel Quotations in the De Consensu.

THE treatise of S. Augustine called *De Consensu Evangelistarum* is nothing less than a critical study of the Synoptic Problem, with the problem of the Fourth Gospel thrown in. Naturally it is full of extracts from all four Gospels, often quoted with particular stress laid upon a certain word or phrase. Augustine's contribution to historical criticism need not be examined here, but it is obvious how valuable a work like this may be to the textual critic, if only we can be sure of Augustine's own text. The work was admirably edited in 1904 by Wehrich (*CSEL*. vol. 43), who gives reasons for believing that the treatise was written at the end of the year 399.

The first thing that strikes the reader with regard to the Gospel quotations in the *De Consensu* is that they agree generally with the Vulgate. The Vulgate Gospels had been published in 384, fifteen years before; less than four years later, in 403, Augustine wrote to Jerome thus: 'Proinde non paruas Deo gratias agimus de opere tuo quod *Euangelium* ex Graeco interpretatus es, quia paene in omnibus nulla offensio est' (*Ep.* 104). It would therefore not be surprising that in a critical work Augustine should use the new and scientific revision, the execution of which he himself actually approved.

Dr Vogels of Munich, however, has brought forward the theory that the Vulgate element in the Gospel extracts in the *De Consensu* is intrusive.¹ Some editor has altered the text: 'Burkitt hat nicht ernstlich genug mit der Möglichkeit gerechnet, dass der Evangelientext auch gefälscht sein könne' (p. 270). Readers of the *Journal of Theological Studies* for October 1909 will see Dr Souter's opinion of Dr Vogels' thesis. But I feel that in the circumstances it will

¹ *Biblische Zeitschrift* for 1906, 267-295, repeated in *Biblische Studien* xiii 5, pp. 477-506 (1908).

not be out of place for me to give at some length the reasons why I adhere to the conclusions which I published in my book *The Old Latin and the Itala*. In opposition to Dr Vogels, I believe that the text of the *De Consensu*, as found in the MSS and edited by Weihrich, is the text put there by Augustine.

I do not propose to follow Dr Vogels point by point. Indeed, as to the textual facts we are to a great extent in agreement, and the illustrations of detail which Dr Vogels has brought forward are very often pertinent.¹ The Gospel quotations in the *De Consensu* are, as they stand, taken from the Vulgate, but there really is in the work an underlying strain derived from the Old Latin (i.e. a strain of text that agrees with Codex Bezae and the Old Latin codices), together with occasional readings which do not agree either with the Old Latin texts or with the Vulgate. The difference between me and Dr Vogels is just this: Dr Vogels thinks it easier to imagine an elaborate textual revision by an unknown later editor than to ascribe these inconsistencies to S. Augustine, while I think it easier to believe that the inconsistencies come from S. Augustine than to credit a theory of textual revision.

This really is one of the instances where Dr Sanday's remark about some modern schools of literary investigation applies: 'The complexity of a critical hypothesis very rarely stands in the way of its adoption; but a very little psychological complexity acts as a deterrent.'² I do not think Dr Vogels has quite realized to himself what his critical hypothesis involves. The case is quite different from that of the *Speculum*. The *Speculum* was compiled very shortly before Augustine's death, and we do not even know that it was published during his lifetime. The nature of the work was such that it would have been comparatively easy to alter the Biblical text in the body of the compilation. The *De Consensu*, on the other hand, was published thirty years before Augustine died, yet the 'revised' text is found in every one of the MSS, which range in date from the sixth century onwards. Does Dr Vogels think that all our knowledge of the works of Augustine has filtered down to us through Eugippius? Moreover, Dr Vogels' hypothetical revision has been carried out with extraordinary thoroughness, as he himself admits.³ I feel it very difficult to believe

¹ As Dr Souter points out (*J. T. S.* for October 1909, p. 153), Dr Vogels has sometimes brought forward terribly irrelevant illustrations. But after all deductions have been made, there does remain a residuum of real Old Latin influence, and it is with that residuum that I wish to deal.

² Sanday *Criticism of the Fourth Gospel* p. 30.

³ Es lässt sich nicht leugnen, dass die äusserst mühsame Arbeit der Textveränderung—man denke nur daran, dass die Kapitel- und Verseinteilung fehle—mit vielem Fleisse und grosser Aufmerksamkeit durchgeführt worden ist (p. 290, or 500).

that so thoroughgoing a textual revision of any literary work was ever undertaken in ancient times. And this care for the biblical text, be it observed, was entirely confined to the Gospels. The quotation of 2 Cor. iv 3 (p. 334) agrees, as we should expect, with the Freising MS (*r*) and not with the Vulgate; the quotation of 1 Pet. iv 18 (p. 89) agrees very nearly with Cod. Floriacensis (*h*) against the Vulgate; the quotations from the Acts are notoriously unlike the Vulgate. All this suits the state of things presupposed in the *Acta cum Felice* (A.D. 404), where Augustine reads out from one codex Lk. xxiv 36-49 in agreement with the Vulgate, followed by Acts i 1-ii 11 from another codex in agreement with the Old Latin text found in Cod. Floriacensis (*h*).¹ Of course I shall be told that the *Contra Felicem* has been revised also, but is it not odd that all Augustine's works published earlier than 399 should have escaped this strange revision, while all those later than 399 have undergone it? Why is it that the *De Sermone Domini in Monte* (394), the *De Agone Christiano* (396), and the *Contra Faustum*² have escaped, while the *Quaestiones Evangeliorum* (say, 400), the *De Consensu* (399), and the *Contra Felicem* (404) have been revised? Is it not more likely that something happened at Hippo about 398, which produced this marked difference in the text of Augustine's Gospel citations?

What, then, is the alternative to Dr Vogels' theory of textual revision? It is simply this, that at the time of the writing of the *De Consensu* Augustine had approved the Vulgate text of the Gospels and had, so far as in him lay, adopted it as the standard text for critical purposes and, apparently, for Church use also. But, as any English-speaking person knows who has attempted regularly to substitute the Revised Version of 1881 for the Authorized Version of 1611, the formal substitution of a new text for an old one does not entirely drive the old one out. For at least six years before the Vulgate text appears in Augustine's writings he had been actively engaged in Christian controversy and literary work: it was not to be expected that the new Revised text, however much it may have been theoretically approved, would be so familiar as that to which he had become accustomed.

Furthermore, I venture to think that S. Augustine is not a man in whom we should expect to find any extraordinary measure of verbal accuracy or consistency. He was very far indeed from being a pedant, and was much more concerned with the meanings of words than their sounds. I have already quoted his assertion that *amor* and *caritas* and *dilectio* mean the same thing (*De Civ.* xiv 7): elsewhere he asserts

¹ See the discussion in *The Old Latin and the Itala* pp. 66-71.

² The date of the *Contra Faustum* cannot be determined with accuracy. All that is certain is that it was written 'long before' *Ep.* 82, i.e. 'long before' 405.

that *glorificare*, *honorificare*, and *clarificare* are synonyms,¹ and in the *De Consensu* itself he equates *uilla*, *castellum*, and *municipium* (iii 71). Nor is there any reason to suppose that S. Augustine never made downright mistakes. He certainly put Barnabas instead of Silas into the prison at Philippi (*in Iohan.* 113), a reading for which neither the Vulgate nor the Old Latin of Acts xvi 25 is responsible, and it is difficult to believe that some of the peculiar readings of the *De Consensu* have any other origin than the fallible pen of a busy writer.² It is very hard to write a book upon textual subjects without making occasional mistakes.³

There is no absolute limit to human carelessness or forgetfulness, and, in the case of Augustine, we cannot tell *a priori* how largely reminiscences of the Old Latin text to which he had been accustomed would influence his quotations when he was not actually copying from a codex. But instances of marked agreement between Augustine and the Vulgate cannot be explained away as pieces of forgetfulness or carelessness. If we can find a series of passages in the *De Consensu*, where on the one hand we can be sure that the readings are Augustine's own, and on the other that they are definitely Vulgate readings and not Old Latin readings at all, then it will be very difficult to regard the Vulgate element as really intrusive in the rest of the work.

How are we to identify definitely Vulgate readings? S. Jerome described his work on the Vulgate Gospels as a *Nouum opus*: was that altogether a vain boast? If the Vulgate really did contain new features, introduced into the Latin Gospels for the first time by S. Jerome, it ought to be possible to recognize some of them. The whole array of extant Old Latin MSS of the Gospels is

a b c d e f f f g h i k l m n p q r s t v z.

¹ *C. serm. Arrianorum* 35.

² See *Retr.* ii 4, where Augustine's excuse for synchronizing Plato and Jeremiah is *me fefellit memoria*.

³ Here are two recent curiosities:

(1) In Dr Ernst Hautsch's *Evangelienzitate des Origenes* (Leipzig, 1909), a careful study of Origen's text in the light of modern editions of his works, I find on p. 117 B and D expressly cited for omitting *ὡς ἐλάλει ἡμῖν* in Lk. xxiv 32, as well as the preceding *ἐν ἡμῖν*. If a learned and capable scholar can fall into this kind of error in the twentieth century, surely Augustine may sometimes have done as badly 1500 years ago.

(2) Lord Halifax in defending the Athanasian Creed at Cambridge (*Church Times Report*, Nov. 12, 1909) quoted as a saying of Christ 'Unless ye also believe, ye shall all likewise perish'. This is exactly parallel to some of Augustine's slips: I do not suppose that Lord Halifax's words imply either knowledge or approval of the text of Cod. Veronensis in Lk. xiii 5. It would be different if a whole series of agreements with a particular text could be produced.

Of these *npstv* and *z*¹ are mere fragments, and *m* is a series of extracts. *c* (Colbertinus) was written in the twelfth century, and though it assuredly contains very ancient elements, it has frequently been interpolated from the mediaeval Vulgate. *h* (Claromontanus) is 'Old Latin' only for Matthew, *l* (Rehdigeranus) only 'Old Latin' for Luke and parts of John. There is a Vulgate element in *g* (Sangermanensis, ninth century), and perhaps in the fragments of *i* (Vindobonensis) and in the Irish MS called *r* (Usserianus), both of the seventh century. We are thus left with

a b d e f f k q

as the leading representatives of the Old Latin. It would be perhaps too much to say that the whole range of Old Latin variants is contained in these eight MSS, but there is certainly a strong presumption that a Vulgate reading which is not found in either of them is one due to Jerome himself.

It should be added that *e* and *k*, the two representatives of the 'African' text, are very rarely extant together. *d* is the Latin of Codex Bezae (fifth century), and though free from contamination from the Vulgate it is often so accommodated to the Greek on the opposite page as to lose its genuine Old Latin character. Finally, *f* (Brixianus, sixth century), which I have felt bound to include, while it certainly has in it an element derived from the Gothic version, does not escape the suspicion of having also been adapted here and there to the Vulgate text.

In the passages of the *De Consensu* which follow I venture to think that the reading of the text is for one reason or another clear from the context. The pages are those of Wehrich's edition (*CSEL*. vol. xxxiii).

1. *De Cons.* ii 2 (p. 82, line 11), cf. Matt. i 16:

exsequitur ergo humanam generationem Christi Mattheus ab Abraham generatores commemorans, quos perducit ad Ioseph uirum Mariae de qua natus est Iesus.

The last eight words are so much a part of Augustine's own sentence that Wehrich does not seem to have noticed that they agree word for word with the second half of Matt. i 16.² The extant renderings are:

Ios. uirum M. de qua natus est Iesus vg *f*

Ios. cui desponsata uirgo M. genuit Iesum *a k (q)*³

Ios. cui desp. erat uirgo M. uirgo autem M. genuit Iesum *b*

Ios. cui desponsata uirgo M. peperit Christum Iesum *d.*

¹ Amelli's *Sarazanensis*.

² Note that on p. 83, line 21, Joseph is spoken of as *uirum Mariae*.

³ *q* omits *uirgo*.

2. *De Cons.* ii 3 (p. 83, line 17) = Lk. ii 33 :

ipse item Lucas superius dixit *et erat pater eius et mater mirantes . . . unde eum patrem eius appellat.*

Augustine's text of Lk. ii 33 therefore called Joseph 'father' of Jesus. This is true of the Vulgate and of *d* (following its Greek), but *a b e f f f q* have *Ioseph et mater eius*, together with some of the inferior Old Latin MSS and two of Wordsworth and White's.

3. *De Cons.* ii 12 (pp. 123, 124) = Lk. xxiv 46 :

oportebat, inquit, *Christum pati et resurgere tertio die*, non ait '*oportebat me pati*'.

Augustine quotes this phrase with some others merely to shew that our Lord sometimes spoke in the third person. No weight need therefore be attached to the fact that he omits *a mortuis* after *resurgere*, or that he makes *dies* masculine (as he also does in *contra Felicem*).¹ But it is evident that his text contained the verb *oportebat*. Now in Lk. xxiv 46 we find :

sic scriptum est et sic oportebat *vg*
 sic scriptum est et sic oportuit *f q*
 sic scriptum est *a b d f f*
 scriptum est *e*.

This example appears to me particularly cogent, inasmuch as it exhibits the Vulgate and Augustine in agreement with the Greek text supported by *f* and *q*, but differing from them in Latinity. In other words this reading, which is attested as Augustine's own by the turn of his phrase, has come to him by way of the Vulgate, not by way of *f* or *q*.

4. *De Cons.* ii 57 (p. 159, line 14), cf. Lk. v 20 :

quod ergo Mattheus dicit Dominum dixisse *Confide, fili, dimittuntur tibi peccata tua* (Matt. ix 2), Lucas autem non dixit *fili*, sed *homo* . . .

Thus Augustine expressly attests the vocative *homo* for Lk. v 20, where we find

dixit : Homo *vg ff*
 dixit paralytico : Homo *d f*
 dixit homini *a b e q*.

This instance, of course, is not absolutely decisive, because *ff* here agrees with the Vulgate.

5. *De Cons.* ii 59 (p. 162, line 13) = Mk. ii 14 :

vidit Leuin Alphaei . . . nihil hic repugnat ; ipse est enim Mattheus qui et Leui.

It would be rash to assert too confidently that we know how Augustine spelt 'Alphaeus' or 'Matthew', or how he declined 'Levi', but it is evident that he read *Leui* or *Leuin* in Mk. ii 14, and not 'James'. Here we find *Leui* or *Leuin* in *vg f q*, but *Iacobum* in *a b d e ff*.

¹ *Dies* is also masculine here in Cod. Amiatinus.

6. *De Cons.* ii 86 (p. 189, line 7) = Lk. xi 37 :

et cum loqueretur, rogauit eum quidam Phariseus ut pranderet apud se. non autem ait 'cum haec loqueretur', sed cum loqueretur. nam si dixisset 'cum haec loqueretur', necessario cogeret intellegere hoc ordine non tantum a se fuisse narrata, uerum et a Domino gesta.

Whatever be thought of Augustine's exegesis, there can be little doubt that his text had *et cum loqueretur* for the introductory clause. The extant readings are :

et cum loqueretur vg
et cum haec loqueretur f
et cum loqueretur haec e ff
in eo autem cum loqueretur b q
loquente autem eo a
om. d.

Thus Augustine's text is that of the Vulgate and of the Vulgate only.

7. *De Cons.* ii 100 (p. 208, line 10) = Joh. vi 15 :

Mattheus dixit *ascendit*, Iohannes autem *fugit*, quod esset contrarium, si fugiens non ascenderet.

In the next line Augustine speaks of the 'causa fugiendi', so that it is clear that in Joh. vi 15 he read *fugit* with the Vulgate and *a ff*, while *b d e f q* have *secessit*. No doubt the evidence of *a ff* proves that *fugit* was a genuine Old Latin reading, and very likely its appearance in the Vulgate is only due to what Wordsworth and White (p. 484) call the 'ignauia Hieronymiana', but the distribution of the evidence suggests that the presence of *fugit* in the *De Consensu* is due rather to Vulgate than Old Latin influence.

8. *De Cons.* ii 133 (p. 236, line 22) = Matt. xxi 44 :

Sequitur Mattheus (xxi 28 ff), . . . et cetera usque ad illud ubi ait *et qui ceciderit super lapidem istum confringetur, super quem uero ceciderit conteret eum*.

The verse quoted is the Vulgate text of Matt. xxi 44. If Dr Vogels' theory be correct, that the Gospel quotations in the *De Consensu* have been assimilated to the Vulgate, the agreement of text may, of course, be due to the corrector and not to Augustine. I only quote it here as presumptive evidence that the verse, in whatever form, was quoted by Augustine. Matt. xxi 44 is found in the Vulgate, and in *f* and *q*.¹ But it is omitted altogether in *a b d e ff*.

9. *De Cons.* iii 83 (p. 389, line 18) = Lk. xxiv 51 :

ita narrans : ⁶⁰ *eduxit autem illos foras in Bethaniam et eleuatis manibus suis benedixit eis. et factum est, cum benediceret eis, recessit ab eis et ferebatur in caelum. uiderunt ergo eum praeter quod in terra uiderant, etiam cum ferretur in caelum.*

¹ Both *f* and *q* read *conminuet* for *conteret*, and *q* reads *hunc* for *istum*.

The last clause makes it quite clear that *et ferebatur in caelum* was part of the quotation as Augustine made it. The texts have :

et ferebatur in caelum vg
et eleuabatur in caelum *f*q
om. *a b d e f f*

10 and 11. *De Cons.* iii 75 (pp. 378, 379), cf. Lk. xxiv 36 and Joh. xx 19 :

sed erant ibi utique non credentes, unde uerum est quod Marcus dicit^a : *nec illis crediderunt*. his ergo iam, sicut Marcus dicit^b, discumbentibus et adhuc inde, sicut Lucas dicit, loquentibus stetit in medio eorum Dominus et ait illis : *pax uobiscum*, sicut Lucas et Iohannes^c. *fores* autem clausae erant, cum ad eos intrauit, quod solus Iohannes commemorat.

For ^a Wehrich gives Mk. xvi 13, for ^b Mk. xvi 14, for ^c Lk. xxiv 36 ; Joh. xx 26. I venture to think it very hard to believe that a passage of this kind has been textually worked over. Not only are the Scripture references very closely mixed up with Augustine's own words ; they present also verbal differences from the actual wording of the Vulgate. In Mk. xvi 14 *q* has *conquirentibus*, while the Vulgate has *recumbentibus* with *ff* and the seventh-century 'supply' of *n*. Neither *a b d e* nor *f* is extant and *k* has a different ending. In Lk. xxiv 36 and in Joh. xx 19, 21, 26 the vast majority of Vulgate MSS have *pax uobis*, not *pax uobiscum*, though the ordinary ecclesiastical salutation has found its way into several Old Latin texts, notably the 'African' *e* (in John). In these points it is quite open to Dr Vogels, or any one else, to maintain that Augustine shews himself to be under the influence of the Old Latin versions, though it seems to me quite likely that the variations may have arisen from his writing *currente calamo*, without verifying his references in small things.

However that may be, the biblical allusions in this paragraph also most distinctly shew the influence of the Vulgate. Unless the sentence quoted above has been altogether rewritten, Augustine attests the presence of 'Peace be unto you' in Luke. But the salutation is altogether absent from Lk. xxiv 36 in *a b d e f f*, i. e. it is absent from the whole phalanx of the unrevised Old Latin texts.

Still more convincing to one who is accustomed to work at the details of Old Latin biblical texts is the word *fores*. Of course if Dr Vogels is prepared to believe that the paragraph quoted above has been revised into conformity with the Vulgate he may put down *fores* to the reviser. Whether that is likely or not, I leave to the judgement of scholars. In any case its source is the Vulgate text of Joh. xx 19. Of *fores*, as of *porro* and Herr Denk's *caerimoniae*, it may almost be said 'quod nomen non est in usu sanctarum litterarum'

so far as the pre-Vulgate texts are concerned.¹ As a matter of fact, Joh. xx 19 is the only instance where *fores* is used in the Vulgate N. T. ; and of the Old Latin texts, *abdq* have *ostia*, while *cefff* have *ianuae*. In Joh. xx 26, the Greek being the same, the Vulgate has *ianuae* with *bcef*, while *adq* have *ostia*. When therefore we find Augustine referring to Joh. xx and using the word *fores*, it is difficult to avoid the inference that he got it from the exclusively Vulgate rendering of verse 19.

Out of these eleven passages, where the reading of the *De Consensu* is practically free from the suspicion of having been revised, the attested text agrees in all eleven with the Vulgate, in one with *a*, in one with *d*, in two with *ff*, in three with *q*, in four with *f*. In four cases (Lk. xi 37, xxiv 46, xxiv 51, Joh. xx 19) the *De Consensu* agrees with the Vulgate in renderings which there is every reason to believe originated with Jerome himself. But if the Vulgate be once admitted as having influenced Augustine's quotations in the *De Consensu*, what valid reason is there for disbelieving the evidence of the MSS, according to which the long formal quotations all agree with the Vulgate? Why should we go out of our way to accept Dr Vogels' hypothesis of textual revision? Is it not easier to suppose that the scanty traces of the influence of the Old Latin that Dr Vogels has detected in the *De Consensu* are due to Augustine's own reminiscences of the pre-Vulgate Bible?

As I have said already, it is no part of my case to deny the occasional influence of the Old Latin upon the Gospel references in the *De Consensu*. Only I think they are best regarded psychologically, as reminiscences of the text once familiar to Augustine.

I venture to consider that I have shewn that the use of the Vulgate in the *De Consensu* cannot satisfactorily be explained away, and consequently that the hypothesis of a wholesale alteration of the Gospel quotations in that work is to be rejected. The length of the investigation may be excused on the ground of the real importance of this conclusion for the textual criticism of the Vulgate. If we can trust the text of the *De Consensu*—and since Weihrich's edition has been published we are very well able to do so—we have in Augustine's elaborate quotations a witness to the form in which the Vulgate reached Africa only fifteen years later than its first publication. The acceptance of the Vulgate Gospels by S. Augustine is, in fact, the first event we know in the long and varied history of S. Jerome's great achievement.

¹ The only exceptions are Mk. i 33 *b* (ad fores), and Mk. xiii 29 *k* (in foreibus, sic). 'Ostium' and 'ianua' are used almost interchangeably to render *θύρα*, e.g. in Joh. x 9 'Ego sum ostium' is in *dcfvg* and Cyprian ²/₁, but *abeffqr* and Lucifer have 'Ego sum ianua'. Notice in *limine* for ἐνὶ *θύραις*, Matt. xxiv 33 *q*.

A couple of observations may be added here. When an ancient ecclesiastical work is badly preserved in MSS and there is reason to think the text may have been systematically tampered with by scribes or editors, then no doubt we may most safely recover the biblical text used by the original writer from the shorter quotations and allusions. But the case is entirely altered whenever the real text of the writer himself is ascertained. Long biblical quotations may be more exposed to subsequent corruption; but in the form in which they were originally written down by the author, or his amanuensis, they represent more nearly the text he used than the shorter allusions to the same passage in the course of his argument. It is worth while to copy out five, six, or a dozen verses,—or to give directions that they shall be copied out,—but in quoting part of the verses a second time a writer would not always take the trouble to verify his language. Certainly S. Augustine did not always do so: unless I am very much mistaken, he was given to the very human habit of quoting his own quotations.¹

The other remark is to draw attention to the necessity of studying the extant Old Latin MSS as wholes, and not merely referring to their evidence where S. Augustine, or some other writer, happens to differ from a standard text of the Vulgate. It looks mightily impressive to see in Weihrich's apparatus (Matt. xxvi 52–54, p. 287): 'milia legiones *B R E*¹ (*ueron. colb. clar. sgm. pal. brix. Big. Foroiul. al. . .*), legiones *cet., edd., v.*' The textual critic may wonder what '*pal.*', i. e. Codex Palatinus (*e*), is doing in this company, seeing that it is not extant for Matt. xxv–xxvii, but the long list of witnesses is very impressive for all that. One gets the feeling that *B*, the sixth-century Lyons codex of the *De Consensu*, supports the Old Latin and is supported by it. True '*Big.*' and '*Foroiul.*', i. e. Wordsworth's *B* and *J*, are not Old Latin at all, but Vulgate codices which have retained or admitted a certain number of widely-spread readings derived from the Old Latin. When we turn to Wordsworth and White's own note we find the clue. They say '+ milia B J O X Z *cum b e f f₂ g₁ h r*', i. e. by a misprint *e* has been put for *c*. Dr Weihrich suppressed *f₂* (which omits *legiones*) and added *colb.* from Sabatier, but the tell-tale '*pal.*' remains.²

Of course Dr Weihrich is quite right to take Old Latin readings

¹ In that way I explain the occurrence of the 'African' *sarcina* in the reference to Matt. xi 30 in the Capitula of the *De Consensu* (II xxxiii, p. 67), where the text (p. 183) has *onus* in agreement with the Vulgate. Dr Vogels regards these Capitula as having been made before the text had been tampered with. It should be noted therefore that in II xli (p. 69) the Net in Matt. xiii 47 is called *sagina*, as in the Vulgate. Here *a b c e f g h* have '*retia*', *f* and *g* have '*rete*', and *k* has '*retiaculum*'. Only *d* has '*sagina*', corresponding to *καρηνή* on the opposite page.

² Part of Wordsworth and White's note to Mk. xiv 43 is quoted by Weihrich on p. 286, instead of the note to Matt. xxvi 47.

from 'Wordsworth and White', as long as he and his readers realize that the Oxford editors only give a selection of the innumerable differences of *a b d e f f k* and *q* from the Vulgate. Nothing but Dr Vogels' wholesale revision can turn the *De Consensu* quotations into an Old Latin text, and it seems to me that if that hypothesis be rejected, the only alternative is to treat the quotations as if they were fragments of the oldest Vulgate MS that we possess.

This does not mean that they are invariably to be preferred to the line of transmission preserved in Cod. Amiatinus and adopted by Wordsworth and White. We have to allow not only for Augustine's errors and reminiscences, but also for the possibility of uncorrected errors in the first Vulgate codex that came to Hippo. We know from *Retr.* ii 12 that the codex Augustine was using when he wrote the *Quaestiones Euangeliorum* had, by an error, '2' for '12' in Matt. xx 17. This work of Augustine's is made up of detached Notes, some of which are certainly based upon the Vulgate, as may be seen from *Qu. Euang.* ii 29, where Lk. xii 29 is given with the characteristically Vulgate reading.¹ Augustine's first knowledge of the Vulgate, therefore, was derived from a codex that sometimes dropped words and syllables, a state of things very well illustrated by the well-known crux in *De Consensu* ii 26 (pp. 126, 127), where Augustine declares Luke to omit *sancto* in iii 16, against the evidence both of the Old Latin and the Vulgate. But if his codex read *duo* for *duodecim* (or 11 for 12) in Matt. xx 17, it may very well have accidentally omitted *sancto* in Lk. iii 16. If the omission had been really characteristic of the Vulgate or of the Old Latin, it would have left more trace elsewhere. The same may be said of *gloria sua* (for *gloria patris sui*) in *De Consensu* ii 111 (p. 218), which no doubt is a mere slip of S. Augustine's pen.²

On the other hand, when the variants in the *De Consensu* quotations are supported by two or three of the better Vulgate codices, then they deserve great attention, because they cannot be put down to mere mistakes. I add a list, partly for the intrinsic interest of the readings, partly to shew the very small extent of their range. The standard adopted is the text approved by Wordsworth and White.

Matt. ix 38 *eiciat*] p. 173 = A^{PH}*JKMMO^cQVX^cYZ *d reh*, mittat BCD(E)H^m
ΘLO*RTX*W *vg.*

xiv 14 *eius*] p. 199 = AC^{PI}FHΘKLMOT^cVWX^cY^cZ, eis BDE^P*JMQRX*
vg. f corb, illis *a b c f f g h*, de eis *d*, pro illis *q*, super eos *e k*.

xv 28 *filia illius*] p. 212 CP M HAEL = ACFHΘLMO^m*QRY, filia eius
p. 212 BRTD V ONQ = B^PJKM^O*TVWXZ *vg.*

¹ *Nolite in sublime tolli* (= *vg.* only).

² Other peculiarities of a similar nature in the *De Consensu* are, e.g. *inquisiuit*, p. 109, *dicitur* 112₁₁, *mulier* 172₉, *ex* 210₁₀, *nisi* 218₁₅, *abs* 234₂₇, *illi* 236₁₈.

- *xvii 14 genibus prouolutus] EHJKLMRVWZ *vg.*, genibus prouolutis p. 220 = ABC~~PF~~ΘMOQ~~TX~~Y.
- *xvii 15 filio meo] *vg.*, filii mei p. 220 = AE~~P~~JO*~~X~~YZ*.
- xxiv 16 ad montes] p. 253 *C rel.* = ABCDE~~P~~HΘOQTVY, in montes p. 253 *BR*TD = FKL~~M~~RWX*Z.
- xxvi 47 turba . . . missi] *vg.*, om. missi p. 286 = FM *d g.*
- xxvi 71 alia] p. 293 = ACD~~P~~H*JLMRTX*, alia ancilla BEFH~~Θ~~KMOQV WX~~Z~~ *vg.*
- xxvi 75 plorauit] p. 299 = ABCHΘX~~c~~Y *b c (ff) (h) q rel.*, fleuit *vg. rel.*
- xxvii 9 a filiis israhel] *vg.*, filii israhel pp. 304, 308 = CD~~P~~^mLQT~~c~~ *fg h.*
- xxvii 35 sortem mittentes] p. 323 = CD~~P~~*H*IJLMO~~c~~RTV *d fff g corb rel.*, + ut impleretur &c. ABE~~P~~^mH~~c~~ΘKMO*QWXYZ *vg.*
- *xxvii 44 crucifixi erant] *vg.*, fixi erant p. 339 = A*CH*T*XYZ* *g*, crucifixi sunt ~~P~~.

The list might be indefinitely prolonged for the other Gospels. In the three passages marked with * it seems to me that the evidence of the *De Consensu* turns the scale against the reading preferred by the Oxford editors; elsewhere it either supports their text, or has adopted an easily explained misreading. The readings in Matt. xv 28 and xxiv 16 I have quoted here, as illustrating the impression I formed in going through the *De Consensu*, that Weihrich's *B* and its followers *R T D* are not always free from sporadic corruption, and that Augustine's text is sometimes better preserved in Weihrich's *C*—but this may be prejudice! In any case the marked affinity between the *De Consensu* and the text of Cod. Cavensis (Wordsworth's *C*) is worth notice. It is a 'Spanish symptom', which I leave for others to explain.

This investigation should be followed by a study of the character and affinities of the pre-Vulgate Gospel quotations in Augustine's earlier works. Perhaps, however, it is better to wait until the appearance in the Vienna Corpus of the *De Sermone Domini in Monte*. The general impression that I have gained from a fairly extensive, though not systematic, study of these earlier quotations is that they have an 'African' base, but that here and there Augustine has introduced renderings taken from Jerome's version, even in works published before 398. This is notably the case in the *Contra Adimantum*, the Gospel quotations from which are appreciably nearer to the Vulgate than those from the first 'Volumen' of the *Contra Faustum* (i. e. *c. Faustum* i-xxi). But whatever explanation we may give, the fact remains that in these earlier works of S. Augustine the non-Vulgate element in the quotations from the Gospel is very large, while in the works published by him after 398 the non-Vulgate element is very small.

F. C. BURKITT.

AN ANCIENT ENGLISH LIST OF THE SEVENTY DISCIPLES.

IN two quite early manuscripts, and probably in others of later date, is contained a list of the seventy disciples, which seems to merit attention both because of its relationships, and because it has as yet (so far as I am aware) only seen the light in one of my Catalogues. The earliest copy is that in the Cottonian MS Vespasian B. VI, of the ninth century (Vesp.): the next in date is the Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS No. 183, which appears to have been given by King Æthelstan to the see of St Cuthbert in the tenth century (about A.D. 931). A third copy, of the twelfth century, is furnished by the MS of Florence of Worcester, No. 92, in the same College Library: from this I printed the list in the first part of my *Catalogue of the C.C.C. Manuscripts* (p. 178).

Two recently published books by Dr T. Schermann, (1) *Propheten- und Apostellegenden: Texte u. Unters.* xxxi 3, 1907; (2) *Prophetarum vitae Fabulosae*, &c., Teubner, 1907, afford materials for the criticism and classification of the list. It will be found to be essentially identical with that contained in the MS Vatican. graec. 2001 of cent. xii, printed by Schermann (Teubner, p. 171) as *Index Anonymus Graeco-Syrus*, and discussed by him (*Texte* p. 300) under the heading of *Die palästinensisch-syrischen Kataloge*.

I proceed to give a text of the list, taking *Vesp.* as the basis, and giving the variants of C.C.C. 183 and 92, and of Schermann's text.

Vesp. B. vi, f. 107 ^b , col. 2	<i>Schermann</i>
<i>Nomina septuaginta duorum discipulorum Christi.</i>	
i Iacobus Iustus	92 Iacob
ii Maththias	183, 92 Mathias
iii Ioseph	3. for whom the lot was cast with Matthias
iiii alius Iosep	92 Ioseph alius
v Marcus euuang(e- lista)	4. of Arimathaea
vi barnabas	6. ἀνεψιός of Mark
vii lucas euuang.	
viii cleopas	92 cleophas
viii seneca	9. whose letters to Paul are extant

x	symeon		
xi	lucius		
xii	manain		
xiii	sostenes		
xiiii	caefas	92	cephas
xv	Thaddeus	92	taddeus
xvi	ermen et pastor	92	e. qui et pastor 16. ὁ καὶ ποιμὴν
xvii	andronicus		
xviii	Iohannes	92	Iohannes 18. Ἰωάννης
xviii	amplias		
xx	urbanus		
xxi	erodiones	92	erodion 21. Ῥωδίων
xxii	asyncritis		
xxiii	iasonem	92	nason 23. Ἰάσων
xxiii	Stephanus <i>primus martir</i> 183	<i>pri martir</i> 92	prothomartyr
xxv	philippus		
xxvi	prochorus		
xxvii	nicanor		
xxviii	Timon	92	Symon
xxviii	parmena		
xxx	aquilas	92	aquila 30. Νικόλαος
xxx	iudas qui uocatur barsabbas	183	barnabas 92 iudas <i>om. cet.</i>
xxxiii	silas	92	Hilas
108a xxxiii	siluanus		
xxxiii	symon cleopae	92	-cleophe
xxxv	nason	92	Iason 35. Μνάσων
xxxvi	agabas	92	Agabus
xxxvii	anantias		
xxxviii	ignatius		
xxxviii	symon quirenense	183 39	Symon 39. Σ. ὁ Κυρηναῖος
		92	S. cirenensis: numbering agrees with Vesp.
xl	Alexander	183 40	quirenense 40. Ροῦφος
xli	Rufus	41	Alex. 41. Ἀλέξανδρος
xlii	Nathanahel	42	Rufus 42. Ναθ.
xliii	nicodemus	43	nathanael 43. Νικόδ.
xliiii	cleopas	44	nichod. 44. Κλοπᾶς καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ
xlvi	simon	45	Cleophas 45. Ἰωσήφ
xlvi	Iudas	46	Symon 46. Ἰάκωβος
xlvi	Iacobus	47	Iudas 47. Ἰούδας
xlvi	simon	48	Iac. 48. Σίμων

xlviiii simon coriarius	49 Symon Coriarius	49. Σίμων ἑτερος (and reference to Acts x)
l Lucas		
li barnabas		
lii iohannes		52. ὃν καλοῦσι πατήρ
liii barnabas		53. Βαρσάββας
liiii stephanus		
lv chorisius		55. Χαρίστος
lvi milichus	92 Hilichus	56. Μίλιγγος
lvii gaius		
lviii flegonta		58. (Ἄ)κύλας
lviii ermen		56. Φλέγων
Hi sunt qui electi fuerunt	92 has this note	on the note see
ab apostolis in ordinem pro	opposite Nos.	below
quibus(dam) qui recesserunt	68-72 and	
so 183	reads 'prohis qui'	
lx appellem probauilis	183 apelles proba-	60. Ἀπέλλης ὁ δόκιμος
	bilis	
	92 apellen probabilis	
lxi dionysius ariop(agita)	183 dyonisius	61. Ἀ(μ)πλίας
lxii æpenetus		62. Οὐρβανός
lxiii Iesus qui dicitur iustus		63. Στάχυς
lxiii stachyn	183 stachin	64. Πούπλιος
lxv ponplius		65. Ἀριστόβουλος
lxvi aristobulus	183 -bolus	66. Στέφανος οὐχ ὁ Κορίνθιος
lxvii stephanus corinthiensis		67. Ἀροδίων ὁ Ναρκίσσου
lxviii erodius		68. Ροῦφος
lxviii Rufus		69. Ὀλυμπᾶς
lxx olympus	183 olympus	
lxxi Titus		
lxxi filimonem		

There are so many lists of the seventy in existence,—and all, it may be said in passing, are historically so worthless—that readers are amply justified in asking what is the special interest of the particular one which I produce here, and how it differs from others. I would answer that it is interesting to find a list current in England so far back, whose only traceable connexions are Syrian. That it *is* essentially the same as Schermann's Graeco-Syrian list is obvious; and a very slight study of Schermann's work will shew that the Graeco-Syrian list is very clearly marked off from all others. To take a single striking instance, it is the *only* one (among all Schermann's lists) that includes Seneca.

The notes which accompany the names in the Graeco-Syrian list, but which are almost wholly omitted in the Latin equivalent, serve to shew in some cases what persons are intended. It may be worth while to give the substance of those which have not been already cited, in the order of their occurrence.

7, 8 Lucas and Cleophas are clearly meant to be the two disciples who went to Emmaus.

10-12 are from Acts xiii 1. 16-23 from Rom. xvi. 24-30 are the seven deacons; but, in the Latin, Nicholaus has given way to 'Aquila'. 31, 32 are from Acts xv 22.

34 is Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem.

45-48 seem all to be 'brothers of Cleopas' (44).

55-59 are stated to be the brethren who went with Peter from Joppa to Caesarea (Acts x 23). According to Acts xi 12 there were six of them; the *Book of the Bee* gives seven names agreeing with ours in two cases (Milichus, Gaius), and perhaps in a third Criscus (? Charisius). I do not know from what source these names are drawn.

The Latin note which precedes 60, 'Hi sunt qui electi fuerunt,' &c., is given at much greater length in the Graeco-Syrian list, which first sets down a list of twelve who apostatized with 'Corinthus' (Cerinthus), and then a list of ten elected to supply their places: confessing ignorance of the reason why there were only ten. The Latin gives in all thirteen names, and slightly varies the list. It adds Dionysius, Titus, Philemon, and substitutes Epaenetus and Jesus justus for Amplias and Urbanus. This is its most considerable divergence from the Graeco-Syrian.

The identity of the Latin and Graeco-Syrian lists is the point which I specially wished to bring out. It may prove to have an interesting bearing on the question of the presence of Oriental texts in these islands in early times.

M. R. JAMES.

REVIEWS

HANS VON SODEN'S AFRICAN NEW TESTAMENT.¹

THIS is an excellent book, which will be very useful to students of the Latin Bible. It contains a collection of the chief surviving fragments of the 'African' version of the N.T., viz. the quotations of Cyprian himself and the quotations from the African Pseudo-Cypriana, together with the full texts of Cod. Bobiensis (*k*), Cod. Palatinus (*e*), and Cod. Floriacensis (*h*). It is very convenient to have these allied texts edited together in a handy form, more especially as Fr. v. Soden has prefixed to them 363 pages of admirable Prolegomena. His conclusions will not indeed be new to English scholars, who are familiar with Dr Sanday's epoch-making article on *k* in *O. Lat. Bibl. Texts* vol. ii, and of the literature that directly flows from that article, but they are all the more welcome in that they do agree with the English results. They represent a real consensus of scholars, a recognition of permanent order in a region of N.T. textual criticism, where a century ago everything was unknown or in confusion.

Here are a few of Fr. v. Soden's conclusions. 'The African Version is an entirely independent version, not a recension of what lies before us in the "Itala-codices" and in the Vulgate' (p. 360). That is to say, the old-fashioned method of regarding *a*, *b* and *c* as normal specimens of the 'Old Latin', and treating the texts of *k* and *e* as excentric 'Alexandrian' revisions, is finally abandoned. Further, *k* and Cyprian are to be regarded as on the same level (p. 133 f), while *e* is less pure than either, having been considerably 'europeanized' (p. 184). Among the European insertions in *e* must be reckoned the Pericope de Adultera (p. 111 note): on the other hand, the witness of *k* to the 'shorter conclusion' of Mark, and to that alone, is apparently accepted as evidence for the version itself (p. 245 note).² Fr. v. Soden very sensibly refuses to regard the trifling differences between *k* and Cyprian as evidence for differences in the underlying Greek text; if *k* has 'your Father which is in heaven' in Matt. v 48 (= D* and *ε*), while Cyprian has 'your heavenly Father' (= *ℵ* B Z, &c.), that is because *k* has been mechanically assimilated to Matt. v 45 (p. 132). The same argument might perhaps be extended to the imperatives in Matt. xiii 15 *a k* Iren, a passage where v. Soden recognizes the influence of the Hebrew text (p. 214). If the agreement with the Hebrew be not accidental, then these Latin texts have alone preserved the true wording of Matthew, and all our Greek MSS have been assimilated to the LXX of Isaiah vi 10.

¹ Hans Freiherr von Soden *Das Lateinische Neue Testament in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians* (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1909).

² Contrast Hort's curious refusal to accept the witness of *k* (*Notes* p. 45).

It will be seen from the last reference that v. Soden's book raises a number of most interesting questions for his fellow-workers in this fascinating field of study. I hope it will not seem captious if I indicate a few of the points where it appears to me that there is still room for improvement. It is, I venture to think, a pity that the long quotations of Augustine (*Contra Felicem*, *CSEL*. xxv pp. 804-807, and *Contr. ep. Fundamenti* pp. 203-204) were not included. These quotations give us Acts i 1-ii 12 in a text which is as much Cyprianic as *k* itself, that in the *Contra Felicem* actually professing to be directly recited from a codex of the Acts.¹ The plan of the work precluded discussion of the 'African' readings in the 'European' MSS, but it might have been mentioned that the corrector of *n* seems to have used an African exemplar,² and that whole sections of the late MS *c*, notably towards the end of Luke, are almost wholly African—a most fortunate circumstance, as it is a portion of the text which has been more than usually 'europeanized' in *e*. On the general question of the European texts, v. Soden excellently observes (p. 274 note): 'The surviving fragments of the non-African text of the Bible which date from the third century, scanty as they are, shew clearly enough that texts such as that of Cyprian were confined to Africa. Where we meet with African variants in Europe, they are signs of a historical connexion with Africa, the nature of which it is one of the chief problems for the investigator of the Old Latin to ascertain.'³

The actual editing of *k* and *e* is very sensibly carried out. Something must be done to emend *k* in any publication not purely palaeographical and diplomatic in character, but v. Soden has been conservative where possible. It is a relief to find that he does not regard *magnus magnus* as a genuine superlative. In Matt. xi 19, however, he might have retained *uinaria* for *οἰνοπόρις*, as the same word occurs in Augustine's quotation of the verse (*c. Faust.* pp. 478, 479), at least in the best MSS. The odd form in *-ia* is therefore dialectical, not a blunder made by *k*. A more serious error is the emendation of *loqui* into *loquebatur* in Mk. viii 32. This is all the more remarkable, since *loqui* in *k* is one of those readings which might legitimately be used to support Dr Hermann v. Soden's thesis of the far-reaching textual influence of the Diatessaron.⁴

¹ See *CSEL*. xxv pp. 802-807 and my *Old Latin and the Itala* pp. 57, 66 ff.

² Compare what v. Soden says about the *ad Vigilium* on p. 264.

³ I take this opportunity of pointing out that the text of *a* (and *n*) in S. Mark would well repay independent investigation.

⁴ I may be permitted to refer to my Note in *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* ii 240, as well as to *J. T. S.* ii 112. On the same page, I may add that when I was at Turin I was quite certain that in Mk. viii 28 *k* reads *dixerunt illi dicentes* (in agreement with Mr Turner), not *dixerunt illi omnes*.

Another textual puzzle not noticed by v. Soden occurs in Matt. vii 23, where the ordinary text has 'and then I will confess (ὁμολογήσω) to them "I never knew you"'. For ὁμολογήσω, *k* and Cyprian ²/₂ have *dicam*, in agreement with Justin (ἐρῶ) and with some other authorities, the whole group being

a c g h k syr.C Diat^{ar} x 43 Just ²/₂ Cyp ²/₂ Aug.

(It should be remarked that syr.S is not extant, and that the parallel passage Lk. xiii 27 is given in quite another context by Diat^{ar} and *Fuld.*) Furthermore, *b*, *q*, Wordsworth's E and *ℙ*^{ms}, with Hilary, Orosius, *Op. Imperf.*, and Juvenius, i.e. a typical 'European' Latin group, have *iurabo*, which looks like the translation of a Greek variant δμόςω. Now the *De Rebaptismate* § 7 p. 78, which v. Soden regards as genuinely 'African', refers thus to Matt. vii 22, 23:

illa uerba Christi, qui negaturum se esse dixit nec nosse eos qui sibi in die iudicii dicturi essent *Domine, Domine, nonne in tuo nomine prophetauimus et in nomine tuo daemonia eicimus et in nomine tuo uirtutes magnas fecimus*, respondendo eis etiam cum iureiurando *quia numquam cognoui uos, discedite a me qui operamini iniquitatem*.

On pp. 282-284 we find elaborate discussions about 'in tuo nomine', 'eicere' and 'cognoui uos', but not one word about 'iureiurando', which must surely be a paraphrase of the 'European' *iurabo*, and therefore it implies the alternative Greek variant δμόςω. There are really two problems here, each almost equally obscure: (1) what is the true reading of Matt. vii 23? (2) what is the meaning of the groups into which our documents fall? Obviously ἐρῶ is secondary; a colourless word has been substituted for something that might be misunderstood or give offence. In favour of the originality of δμόςω may be urged the patent contradiction with our Lord's prohibition of all oaths; in favour of ὁμολογήσω may be urged the fact that Matthew substitutes ὁμολόγησεν in xiv 7 for the ὥμοσεν of Mk. vi 23. But whichever reading we prefer, we have still to explain the affiliation of the documents that support ἐρῶ, and also the agreement of the presumably African *De Rebaptismate* with one branch of the European group.¹

On pp. 242-255 is an elaborate examination of the *Sententiae Episcoporum*. Mr Turner's article on Nemesianus (*J. T. S.* ii 602) is referred to on p. 244 note: I wish I could be as confident as v. Soden that there were really no serious differences of text between the Bibles of Cyprian and his fellow-bishops in other parts of Africa.

¹ Does not the *De Rebapt.* § 9 p. 81 appear to attest the 'Longer Conclusion' to S Mark? It has: '*quidam ipsorum uiso eo non crediderunt sed dubitauerunt* (Matt. xxviii 17), *quique tunc non interfuerunt omnino non crediderunt, nisi postmodum ab ipso Domino omnibus modis fuissent obiurgati atque increpati*' (Mk. xvi 14). Note that Matt. xxviii 17 precedes Mk. xvi 14 in Diat^{ar} lv 2, 3

I confess also to being a little disappointed with v. Soden's treatment of the text of *h*, and of the allied question of the nature of the later African text of the N.T. It will be remembered that *h* is the Codex Floriacensis, the palimpsest fragments that remain of a volume which once contained the Apocalypse, the Acts, and all seven Catholic Epistles. That the text of the Apocalypse and the Acts in *h* is Cyprianic is admitted by every one; further, v. Soden admits that *h*, which has the full Canon, cannot exactly represent the Bible of Cyprian, from which James and 2 Peter (at least) appear to have been absent. But he goes on to say (p. 241) that this difference of Canon cannot be brought as an argument against the African origin or the antiquity of the text of *h*. Perhaps not; but at least it makes it necessary to bring some arguments which positively suggest that the text of *h* in 2 Peter—no fragments of James survive—is either old or African. So far as I know no such arguments have ever been offered. Certainly *gloria* (2 Pet. i 3, 17) and *caritas* (i 7) do not suggest the earliest stratum of African Biblical Latin. Is it not likely that the later African Bible, the Bible of Christian Africa after the time of S. Augustine, was a composite affair, revised in some books more than in others, and in some books not at all, while the defects of the Canon may have been made up by means of new translations of the missing books? Whatever Herr Denk may think of my thesis about Augustine's term *Italia* (p. 49 note), it is at least certain that the *Contra Felicem* shews us a codex of the Vulgate Gospels side by side with a codex of the 'African' Acts in Augustine's official library. Even to this day the Latin Church uses the Book of Wisdom in the unrevised African text, the text that we find in the quotations of Cyprian himself. For these reasons I still hold to Berger's opinion that *h* represents the later African text of the N.T., a text in which the Acts and Apocalypse had come down unchanged from Cyprian's day, while new translations had been supplied of the missing epistles (2 Peter, &c.). The genesis and reception of the Vulgate N.T., apart from the Gospels, is still an obscure problem, and nothing has been done since Ziegler with the investigation of the text used by Augustine in the Pauline Epistles. All this very properly lies outside the scope of Freiherr v. Soden's book. At the same time I doubt whether the text of the Catholic Epistles in *h*, printed by v. Soden, has any more natural right to be grouped with the Gospel texts of *h* and *e* than the Freising fragments have.

F. C. BURKITT.

JOHN OF SALISBURY'S *POLICRATICUS*.

Ioannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Polycratici sive de Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum Libri viii: recognovit et prolegomenis, apparatu critico, commentario, indicibus instruxit CLEMENS C. I. WEBB, A.M. Collegii B. Mariae Magdalenae apud Oxonienses Socius. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909, 2 vols. (pp. xlix + 368 and viii + 512).

MR WEBB has executed most admirably the first part of the project which, as he tells us, he first conceived some sixteen or seventeen years ago, of producing a new edition of the *Polycraticus* and *Metalogicus* of John of Salisbury, the friend and biographer of Thomas à Becket, and Bishop of Chartres. We here have the *Polycraticus* (not *Polycraticus*: the word is intended to mean 'a book for the use of rulers of πόλεις'): may the *Metalogicus* follow in due time. It may fairly be said that this is the first really readable edition of an exceedingly interesting book. Hitherto we have only had access, probably, to the very imperfect text of Giles, or to the inferior reprint of it in Migne. We now have a text constructed from the best available manuscripts, and furnished with an apparatus of notes, critical and explanatory, and an introduction (not to speak of indexes) which make the using of the book a pleasure. We are unusually fortunate in possessing a manuscript of the work which may very well be—which, in fact, almost certainly is—a presentation copy given by the author to Thomas à Becket, to whom the work is dedicated. This MS is now at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and has naturally been taken by Mr Webb as the basis of his text; and other copies of not much later date,—at the Bodleian (from Battle Abbey, from Malmesbury, and from Cirencester), at the British Museum (from St Albans), at Soissons, and at Montpellier, have been used.

The Introduction, in a Latin which excites one's respect and admiration, gives, what is specially welcome and interesting, namely, a survey of the authors used by John of Salisbury. These form perhaps the most immediately attractive and surprising feature of his work to the ordinary reader: for it is evident that John had access to certain books of quite ancient date which have since his day either suffered mutilation or disappeared: a tract attributed to Plutarch and called the *Institutio Traiani* lay before him in a Latin version (for he knew no Greek) and is very extensively quoted. He probably had the *De Republica* of Cicero: he certainly had the *Caena Trimalchionis* of Petronius, the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius unmutated, and lost works by authors otherwise unknown, Flavianus *de vestigiis philosophorum*, Caecilius Balbus, and Catullus Parmensis. Moreover—a matter more directly appropriate to this JOURNAL—he seems to have had some form, or some fragment, of the ancient *Acta Pauli*. My attention was called to this long ago by Mr Webb, and it has been discussed more than once by writers on the *Acta*, some of whom accept and others (including Dr C. Schmidt, the

editor of the Coptic version of the *Acta*) reject it. Dr Schmidt's objections are twofold, (1) that in the middle of the twelfth century the Latin version of the *Acta* can hardly have been accessible, (2) that the reported speech of Paul bears an entirely different stamp, theologically speaking, from that of the undoubted fragments of the book. Neither objection is convincing. We are not by any means at the end of our discoveries as to the persistence of old Latin translations: in England, as I have elsewhere pointed out, some curious apocrypha were current (e. g. Jannes and Mambres, Acts of Andrew and Matthew, possibly the *Contradictio Salomonis*). As to (2), the resemblance between John of Salisbury's passage and another probable fragment of the *Acta* quoted by Clement of Alexandria is worthy of remark.

I am tempted to bring into connexion with this interesting citation the curious fragment in the Paris MS lat. 12949 of cent. ix (printed by Traube, *Neues Archiv*, 1902, p. 276), which speaks of a book brought by Cuthwin, bishop of the East Angles (cir. 750) from Rome, which contained pictures of Paul's acts and sufferings 'in quo uidelicet libro omnes pene (p. poenae) ipsius apostoli passionis (p. -es) siue labores per loca oportuna erant depictae'. One picture, of the Apostle being scourged with forty stripes save one, is specially mentioned. I gather from this that the book was not an illustrated copy of the Canonical Acts, in which those scourgings are not described; it may have been a copy of the Epistles; but the text rather suggests that it was an illustrated Life of Paul, and that it contained his passion.

Another interesting apocryphal citation is that in V iii (p. 288) which speaks of our Lord's face shining when He cast the buyers and sellers out of the Temple. The passages adduced by Mr Webb from Pseudo-Bede and Rupert of Deutz are both quoted from Jerome on Matthew; an annotator of the *Aurea* of Petrus de Riga in a Fitzwilliam Museum MS gives the Nazarene Gospel as the source (see *J.T.S.*, 1906, p. 566). To the list of apocryphal writings quoted in *Policraticus* may be added the Vision of the Sibyl (II xv p. 89) printed with Bede's works and elsewhere (e. g. Opsopoeus *Sibyllina*, Sackur *Sibyllinische Texte*), and the *Somniarium* of Daniel (IV xvii p. 97).

It is no part of my purpose to give either an analysis of the *Policraticus* or an estimate of John of Salisbury's position as an author; but the perusal of the 800 pages of his text has given me a very high opinion both of him and of his editor, and I can and do most warmly commend these two volumes. In parting from them I suggest two emendations. In vol. i, p. 21, l. 28 should not *praeferunt* be *praefererunt*? and on p. 100, ll. 29, 30 'Quale est quod nocticulum quandam uel Herodiadem uel praesidem noctis dominam concilia et conuentus de nocte asserunt conuocare', should not we almost certainly read *noctilucam* for *nocticulum*, and *Dianam* for *dominam*?

M. R. JAMES.

RITSCHLIANISM.

Ritschlianism: An Essay, by JOHN KENNETH MOZLEY, M.A. (James Nisbet & Co., London, 1909.)

Faith and Fact: A Study of Ritschlianism, by ERNEST A. EDGHILL, M.A. (Macmillan & Co., London, 1910.)

THESE essays divided the Norrisian prize for 1908. Both are works of the greatest promise for the future of Cambridge theology, and must in future be taken into account among the authorities on the subject.

In the English Church Mr Mozley can find nothing beyond references by Dr Inge and Dr Rashdall, and he only cites them as marks of a growing interest in the subject. More, it is to be feared, they do not shew. Dr Rashdall, in an article in the *Liberal Churchman*, Nov. 1904, begins with an able and lucid account of the problems Ritschl faced, and then, after this promising beginning, passes to the thesis that Ritschlianism is a developement of Lutheran sentimentalism. Mr Mozley rightly sees that Ritschl's danger lay precisely in the opposite direction, in being able to look at nothing except through the moral issues. Dr Inge, in his recent book, *Faith and its Psychology*, has devoted considerable space to Ritschl. To him Ritschl is a specially pernicious example of one who maintains a static view of revelation, who has no place for any revelation but the Christ of the Gospels, not even for the Old Testament, who even there substitutes the judgement of worth for history, and finally makes so much of conquering this world that he has logically no right to need another. A perusal of Mr Mozley's book will shew that these are all simply misunderstandings of Ritschl's position.

Dr Inge's chief authority apparently is Dr Orr, and in following Dr Orr, he fails to allow for the vast difference between his point of view and that of Ritschl. Dr Orr's book still remains the most learned book on the subject, but it suffers from one fatal drawback. A person who has never felt the real stress of criticism, and who still thinks he can maintain an externally guaranteed Christianity, is not likely to appreciate Ritschl.

Dr Garvie has known what it is to be on the high seas, and is consequently a much more sympathetic exponent. Yet even he never quite escapes from the storm cloud raised by Pfeiderer, and he too often indulges himself in the pleasure of saying a little on both sides.

Prof. Swing's book on the theology of Ritschl is the only work in the language by an ardent disciple, and, though it is a little indiscriminating in praise, it shews for the most part real understanding of Ritschl's meaning.

So far is Mr Mozley from claiming to supplant his predecessors that he is generous, even beyond the absolute requirements of gratitude, in his recognition of the labours of Dr Orr and still more those of Dr Garvie. Nevertheless, his clear, fine English, his power of simple exposition, his restriction of his task within narrower limits, and his concentration upon the central issues, will give him a great advantage over all his predecessors with many readers, and especially with students beginning the subject.

He has been well advised in confining himself to Ritschl and such illumination and expansion as can be found in his immediate disciples. The attempt to trace Ritschlianism in all its ramifications has ceased to be profitable. This kind of study repays intense rather than extended application, and in spite of the immense mass of work which has been done under Ritschl's influence, it is still Ritschl himself who is best worth the toil of digging in.

Within the sphere to which he has restricted himself Mr Mozley is well informed. There are only three important sources upon which he has not drawn. The frequent assertion, mainly by persons who have not read it, that Vol. II of the *Reconciliation* is a worthless collection of bad exegesis, has hindered others besides Mr Mozley from seeing its value, not only for illuminating Ritschl's views, but, in spite of the vigour with which he reads his theology into Scripture, for just and able treatment of some great Scriptural questions. The second is Ritschl's *Life* by his son. This is the one indispensable commentary on Ritschl's work. Had Mr Mozley used it, he might not have altered much, but he would have trodden in many places with surer step. He would have known, and not merely have guessed, that the theory of knowledge was incorporated into the system late and mainly by outside suggestion. Also he would have been enabled to regard with more sympathy Ritschl's failures, when he saw a personality, much more attractive than ever appears in his systematic writings, groping towards the truth. The third is Herrmann's *Ethik* which is of value mainly because it reverses the point of view, shewing how the Ritschlians look at ethics from the religious side, and not merely how they look at religion from the ethical side. There he would have seen that the idea of freedom plays a larger part in the system than he has discovered. In all other respects his knowledge is adequate and his penetration has enabled him to a large extent to do without the helps he might have had from these sources, so that he seldom misses his way, even in the most intricate path.

The exposition is almost uniformly admirable, and the criticism usually lacks neither independence nor insight. Yet Mr Mozley sometimes follows Dr Garvie when his own insight proves that he has no

right to do anything of the kind. Dr Garvie thinks that the believer is chiefly concerned with his relation to God, while his relation to the world matters very little. Mr Mozley sees that this misses Ritschl's whole point, which is that the world can only be conquered by patience and humility, and that patience and humility can only be the outcome of a right relation to God, of which also they are the sole indubitable proofs. As that mistake is not a slip but a fundamental misconception, after discovering it Mr Mozley should have seen that Ritschl should no more be accused of Socinianism than of Deism. Socinianism rests on a belief that the doctrine of God's providence and beneficence is a truth of natural religion—so easy and evident that the only relation sinful men need have towards God is to say they are sorry and to try to do better next time. With this temper Ritschl has nothing in common. Peace with God issuing in victory over the world is for him no patent truth of natural religion, but the outcome of real pardon and of reconciliation with God and with His purpose, something which can have no abiding power in the life except through Jesus Christ.

There is just one other point on which Mr Mozley shews less than his usual penetration. He finds nothing more defective in Ritschl than his view, or rather want of view, of the Church. One would almost infer that Ritschl had given no due consideration to the matter at all. There is, however, no subject on which he has thought more, or from which he more definitely starts. He objects to Schleiermacher's distinction that the Catholic comes to Christ through the Church, and the Protestant to the Church through Christ. All alike, he maintains, come to Christ through the Church. The difference lies in the kind of Church through which we believe they come. To the Catholic it is primarily the official Church, the Church which is fundamentally the clergy. To the Protestant it is fundamentally the fellowship of believers. The significance of the official Church Ritschl discusses in his *Rise of the Old Catholic Church*. He does not deny its historical value or even its divine significance. Yet, so far is he from regarding it as a basis for faith, that he thinks one who really knows Church History requires a good stout basis of faith to begin with before he can trace the operation of the Spirit of God in it at all. Occasionally Mr Mozley speaks as if he held a quite different opinion, and criticizes Ritschl as if he himself still had the right to speak with the external guarantee of the official Church. In that case Ritschl has no more value for him than for Dr Orr with his externally guaranteed Scripture. It is, however, quite certain that he could never have penetrated so far into Ritschl's meaning, if he had felt himself securely raised above Ritschl's problem.

Now Ritschl's problem only begins when we realize that the wonder of Christianity is in the religious life it has maintained, and not in the

external guarantees it has set up. His historical studies, the most original probably ever devoted to the first three Christian centuries, led him to see that Christianity spread in the Greek world, precisely as it would spread in China to-day if the missionaries were withdrawn. In the process of deeply influencing the Greek life, it was itself influenced. Especially, he thought, it was affected by the philosophic conception of God and the social idea of the state. At the time this was unavoidable and even useful, but it is now only a hindrance, and, as we can go behind it and measure it all by the direct impress of Christ, it is not necessary. His conception of Christ as regulative of all revelation shews itself here in the practical form, not that everything is to be brought back to Apostolic beginnings, but that we have a standard which enables us in all humility to subject all authorities to renewed investigation.

This significance of Christ was for Ritschl a personal religious emancipation. Through Christ's worth for man's religious life, Christianity, unlike all other ancient authorities, imposes itself upon men only by setting them free, and putting them in the position of the spiritual who in humility can judge all things.

Yet nothing has been gained for this end, if we only threw over the Pope for the professor of criticism and exegesis. Nor has anything been gained if the highest truth lies in the recesses of the Transcendental Philosophy. Ritschl had worshipped at that shrine only to find the cosmic process instead of God, and he had also been a disciple of the Tübingen school, till he found out that its criticism was only subjection to this metaphysical idol.

A new discovery of Jesus was his emancipation. It came to him specially out of Mark, which to the Tübingen school was a worthless compilation from Matthew and Luke. Precisely because Mark would not fit into their intellectual scheme, but had the directness and variety of life, Ritschl felt that it was near reality. He here followed what later he would have called a judgement of worth. Manifestly such a judgement is not opposed to reality. On the contrary, he maintains, that all historical judgement is in the last issue a judgement of worth. The religious value of the result was that after years of critical labour, he felt that the thing which had been justified was the judgement of the ordinary devout man. This could not take the place of enquiry, nor decide upon any detail, but it had a right to a general belief in the reality of a life which means so much for the life a man now lives. Yet Ritschl never uttered the maxim, 'Back to the Christ of the Gospels'. He recognized that this judgement of the worth of Jesus could not begin there, seeing there was a still more fundamental question, the question of what Jesus meant for the souls that trusted in Him. Hence

it was natural that the literature of Christianity began with the Epistles and not with the Gospels.

This discovery involved another, the significance of personality and freedom above cosmic process and necessity. History became for Ritschl, not a study of straws to find out the irresistible flux of things, but a real struggle for ideals, a real battle in which there were genuine defeats and victories. Through this conflict, and not through large abstractions, men reach up to God. They find themselves small and weak, yet with both the burden and the promise of freedom; while, opposed to them is a world vast and powerful, yet subject to necessity. In the struggle which ensues, they find, not the world, but a Being like themselves, a Being, that is, who is on the side of freedom and its possessions, and rules the world for the ends of freedom. Then the significance of the world too appears. It is the means whereby our true freedom is to be won, and God's end in us fulfilled, the means whereby God can endlessly work on us, and yet not set aside the use of means; a thing necessary in all intercourse that will not override the bounds of personality. God is always revealing Himself, but always by means, and not by direct influx. Hence Ritschl's polemic against mysticism and pietism. He regarded them as esoteric, even aristocratic. Pietism to him was essentially mystical, and mysticism was essentially pantheistic, and pantheism was for him the enemy of souls. Personality is the prime religious basis. Men do not start from the Absolute and then add personality. They start from personality, and, by discovering that in spite of sin and evil they can, or at least ought to, subject all things to moral and spiritual ends, they arrive at a belief in omnipotent Personality.

The whole world is the means whereby God manifests Himself, and our supreme need is an interpretation and standard of this self-manifestation. This we have in Jesus Christ, not in some mystical Christ corresponding to our feelings, but in the Christ who manifested God in an actual life. We have it in His fulfilment of His vocation, His victory over life by obedience unto death, in His founding of the Kingdom of God as God's end in all His operations in time, and in His power to pardon men, introduce them into this Kingdom, and form them into a society which shall at once work for the Kingdom, and also enjoy the blessings of it, peace and victory over the world, and so have even in this present time eternal life. Our response to this revelation lies not in accepting a body of doctrine or stirring up in ourselves a special type of feeling, but in fulfilling our calling, in meekness and patience in the tasks and burdens of life, and in living in love in the Christian fellowship.

The relation of the risen Christ to this scheme is not left without

vagueness ; but that is not because Ritschl in any way denies its reality. He wishes to avoid two positions which he considers wrong. The first is that a man could enter into this liberty of the children of God merely by a belief in miracle, or that he could be excluded because of his want of such a belief. Liberty alone can witness to his faith, and other way of entrance there can be none. Secondly, he wished to avoid such a use of the idea of exaltation as practically substitutes power and glory for the way of the cross, and so replaces the patience of faith by ideas which do not become unworldly merely because they are held by the Church.

At the same time Ritschl, like all men who have strongly reacted against a system of thought, had strongly felt its power, and could not in every particular throw off its yoke. It may be, therefore, that he not only insisted that belief in miracle could not be the sole way into Christianity, if it was to win men by setting them free, but that he had only a hesitating belief in it himself. Yet it must not be forgotten that he was the earliest and strongest opponent of the pantheistic scheme to which everything unusual is not only useless but positively objectionable, and which, far more than physical science, has been the stronghold of the belief that miracles could not happen.

Probably he was also so far under the influence of the system he opposed, that his doctrine of sin is inadequate. Yet he stood, as no one else in the age, for the things which make sin a reality, and his conception only needs to be compared with Schleiermacher's for it to be seen how much he had advanced from the Romanticism to which sin was only a smudge on the canvas to be speedily wrought into the picture. One result was his inability to rest in the comfortable universalism which a process to which human wills are nothing can always guarantee.

Mr Mozley chiefly criticizes Ritschl because he makes so little of the category of substance. Since Hume it has not been a very secure category for any one to rely on very much, especially if we conceive it like Hume and Ritschl as an abstract unknown, something unrevealed by experience and yet behind it. His real opposition to it was theological, for it seemed to him the final refuge for *Mysticism*, which, be it remembered, is not *Mystik*, but the attempt to reach God above the distinctions of thought by which we know and act ; an endeavour which to Ritschl is of the essence of pantheism. At this point there is unquestionably a limitation in his thinking, a failure to realize elements in life beyond our analysing ; but its cure needs something different from the introduction of the category of substance. It needs rather a deeper feeling for the mystery of personality and perhaps also of all experience. Ritschl admitted mystery, and said the only difference

in his case was that after acknowledging mystery, he did not then proceed to explain it; but, as a matter of fact, his mind was so exclusively ethical that he had very little place for it, and his sense of the evil of pantheism was so great that he touched it always as a burnt child touches fire. Hence his doctrine of the Spirit is not adequate to the whole facts of the Christian life.

At the same time the theory of knowledge with which he buttressed his position was much less than he imagined, or than his critics suppose, an inference from Lotze or Kant, and was rather a heritage from the same Critical Idealism which threatened him with the pantheism he so energetically opposed. Substance is there a category of thought and nothing more; and so in the main it was with Ritschl. Hence the charge of naïve or popular realism is probably a mistake; but to enter here upon the theory of knowledge with which he buttressed his system and his opposition to metaphysics in religion, would require too much space and, moreover, is not necessary, for, like most buttresses subsequently added to a building, it adds little either of ornament or of utility. Ritschl's strength did not lie in metaphysics but in Church history and in ethical religion. There he is, beyond any question, the greatest influence since Schleiermacher. To go to him expecting a system capable of being appropriated *en bloc* is a wrong way of using any teacher, and is especially absurd with one struggling like a Titan against a mighty intellectual flood. Yet it is just such men who most inspire those who also would find their own way and win their own victories.

Mr Edghill's essay has come to hand since the above was in type. Though in the present reviewer's opinion it is not as important a contribution to the subject as Mr Mozley's, many readers will not only agree with the examiners, but possibly regard this work as the more brilliant contribution of the two. It covers a much wider territory, if not with profound learning, yet with adequate information. It is cleverly, almost too cleverly written. An extremely difficult subject has seldom been treated more lucidly and interestingly. If it shews less knowledge of the subject, it shews more knowledge of what has been said about it.

The preliminary historical sketch is a brilliant piece of exposition, but the omission of Hegel and the Hegelian Tübingen criticism would alone shew that it is not always the essential things which are insisted on. To believe with Dr Orr, that Ritschl's sojourn in the Hegelian cave left no effect on him, is to miss the chief key to a right understanding. A more careful study of Otto Ritschl's *Life*, and his own *Rise of the Old Catholic Church*, would have done more to shew Ritschl's real origins. There it would be seen that Ritschl had a right to speak

of early Christianity for the only reason that even can be a justification, that he had studied it as no one had ever done before. Moreover, the two most learned students of it in our day, Harnack and Loofs, have in the main accepted his contentions. The same is true of Hatch, and Sohm only differs in going farther. Nor is it, as Mr Edghill and others before him have contended, a depressing view. The really depressing view is that Christianity kept all right for three centuries, and then proceeded to the developments which led to the present confusion. Whereas, the view that the long preparation of Judaism had provided a few who could receive the Gospel in its fullness, but that in the task of working out the Kingdom of God in the world, a new discipline of the law in some form or another is always necessary, and that as time goes on this discipline becomes more spiritual, and the Gospel itself more powerful, is full of hope and can justify even the sad necessity of our present divisions. The real question is whether the Incarnation was sacramental or ethical. If it is primarily ethical, there is no wonder that it remains hidden in the three measures of meal till the whole be leavened. The value of the New Testament is that we can always return to the original leaven, so that Christ remains not only a power for extending Christianity, but also for purifying it. Otherwise we are likely to be driven to the Modernist position that Plato was as much inspired as Paul, and that the pagan elements Christianity incorporated are as vital to it as the primitive.

Mr Edghill affirms, even more strongly than usual, that the distinction between judgements of worth and theoretical judgements introduces an irreconcilable dualism into knowledge. As the one is fundamentally an estimate of the world by its origin, and the other by its end, the methods must be different; but the Ritschlian contention is that knowledge must be unified by the predominance of the latter not the former. This position must surely be true for every religious man. The curious thing, however, is that Ritschl embraced the idea as a way of saving religion from philosophy, yet philosophers have been far more hospitable to it than theologians. Many of them see that the fundamental question for a spiritual view of the universe is just to determine the reality of the ideal judgement of worth. The fundamental question is whether the truth of necessity is freedom, or the truth of freedom merely necessity.

J. OMAN.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, January 1910 (Vol. lxi, No. 138: Spottiswoode & Co.). THE EDITOR The Christ of History—H. H. B. AYLES The date of Deuteronomy—T. HANNAN The reunion problem: another Scottish Episcopal view—W. O. E. OESTERLEY Jerusalem—H. T. MORGAN Port Royal and preaching—E. ARMSTRONG Aeneas Silvius: Pope Pius II—‘In quest of joy’: a French study in the psychology of religion—W. H. FRERE Lollardy and the Reformation—Short notices.

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February 1910 (Seventh Series, No. 50). E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ The eschatology of the Gospels: 1. The problem and its history—S. R. DRIVER The method of studying the Psalter: an Ode celebrating

a royal marriage—E. H. ASKWITH The historical value of the Fourth Gospel: 7. The Resurrection—R. H. STRACHAN The Christ of the Fourth Gospel—D. S. MARGOLIOUTH Studies in the Sermon on the Mount: 2. The 'completion' of the Law—J. ORR Sin as a problem of to-day: 2. Sin as a moral transgression; the primary certainties—W. M. RAMSAY Historical commentary on the First Epistle to Timothy—G. A. JOHNSTON ROSS The indispensableness of Jesus.

March 1910 (Seventh Series, No. 51). E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ The eschatology of the Gospels: 2. Various tendencies in transmission; stock of Jesus-tradition—D. S. MARGOLIOUTH Studies in the Sermon on the Mount: 3. The composition of a Gospel—S. R. DRIVER The method of studying the Psalter—E. H. ASKWITH The historical value of the Fourth Gospel: 8. Cleansing of temple, feeding of five thousand, walking on the sea—C. W. EMMET Galatians the earliest of the Pauline Epistles—J. LL. DAVIES St Paul's beliefs: some reconciliations—J. ORR Sin as a problem to-day: 3. Sin and the Divine Holiness; the moral end—J. H. MOULTON and G. MILLIGAN Lexical notes from the papyri.

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Maur : Mercier de Saint-Léger—M. D'HERBIGNY Sur le second *Qui sunt undique* dans le texte d'Irénée iii 3—A. WILMART *Missa Catechumenorum*—G. MORIN Jean Diacre et le pseudo-Jérôme sur les épîtres de S. Paul—G. MORIN and P. LEHMANN Le glossaire biblique du moine Albert de Siegburg—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques.

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January 1910 (Vol. xi, No. 1). J. FLAMION Les actes apocryphes de Pierre (*suite, à suivre*)—J. DE GHELLINCK Le traité de Pierre Lombard sur les sept ordres ecclésiastiques : ses sources, ses copistes (*suite et fin*)—FR. BLIEMETZRIEDER Conclusions de Guillaume de Salvarvilla, maître en théologie à Paris, sur la question du concile général pendant le grand schisme d'Occident (1381)—P. RICHARD Origines et développement de la Secrétairerie d'État apostolique (1417-1823)—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

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The Journal of Theological Studies

JULY, 1910

ORDINATION AND MATRIMONY IN THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH. II.

II. THE EPISCOPATE IN RELATION TO MARRIAGE.

THE general principles which governed the relations between the sacred ministry and marriage, according to which in the East family life was consistent with the clerical status, continued for some centuries to be applicable, from a canonical point of view, to the highest order as well. That bishops in the oldest times of Christianity were not inevitably required to be single is unquestionable.

In the first place St Paul, as has previously been explained, required that a bishop should be husband of one wife, and nowhere mentions that he ought, after consecration, to cease to cohabit with his wife. Of course he did not exclude those who were unmarried; for if in general he gives a noticeable preference to the single life,¹ how much more might he be expected to apply this to ministers of the Church. In fact St Paul himself remained single, in conformity with his own teaching. Timothy, Titus, and many others led a single life, but voluntarily. So tradition appears to have rightly glossed St Paul's thought in the *Epitome* or *Apostolic Church Order*, where it is stated in regard to a bishop: *Καλὸν μὲν εἶναι ἀγύνατος, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀπὸ μιᾶς γυναικός.*² The Apostle himself did not lay much stress on the mere question whether a candidate for episcopate was or was not married, provided that he satisfied the prescriptions laid down in his epistles.

There were sufficient reasons for the view that single life could not be required of candidates for the priesthood. The morals of Roman society were so depraved that most young men,

¹ 1 Cor. vii 32, 33.

² *Apost. Church Order* 16.

especially in the higher classes, avoided marriage in order to give a loose rein to their passions. This state of affairs was not unnoticed by the civil authorities, and laws had often been promulgated inflicting penalties on unmarried persons.¹ Hence it seems improbable that the Church at that time would have imposed the obligation of celibacy on her ministers, and so submitted them to the disadvantages of the civil statutes in question. Moreover the Church, being then at the beginning of her growth and propagation, required such freedom. To demand celibacy would probably have made it difficult for the Church, as Theodoret explains, to secure a sufficient number of persons for her service.²

Meanwhile St Paul, whether for these or for other reasons, freely allowed the ordination of married men and the right of cohabiting with their wives. The teaching of the Apostle was not forgotten, and it was used by St Clement of Alexandria in support of the practice of the Church, as an argument against the heretical views respecting marriage.³ And the Apostolical Canons in condemning the abhorrence of marriage and forbidding clerics to repudiate their wives include bishops amongst them.⁴

This did not cease to be the practice of the Church even when Christianity was openly recognized in the Roman Empire. The attempt made in the first Oecumenical Council to impose compulsory celibacy on the clergy concerned bishops as well as the rest. Certainly that proposal, while shewing the growth of ascetic feeling in the Church, proves at the same time that there were many clergymen, and among them bishops, who lived with their wives and begat children. And, as the historians inform us, practice remained unchanged. The ancient freedom of *all* orders to continue their married or unmarried life was not in the least restricted. The only enactment on the subject passed by the Nicene Council deals with some precautions concerning the life of unmarried clergymen.

Not less explicit is the testimony given by St Athanasius

¹ *Lex Iulia* and *Lex Papia Poppæa*.

² *In 1 Tim.* iii 'Ἀρχὴν εἶχε τὸ κήρυγμα, τὴν δὲ παρθενίαν οὔτε Ἕλληνες ἤσκουν, οὔτε Ἰουδαῖοι μετήεσαν· ἐύλογίαν γὰρ τὴν παιδοποιίαν ἐνόμιζον. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν οὐχ ὁλόν τε ἦν βραδίας εὐρεῖν τοὺς τὴν ἀγνείαν ἀσκούοντας, τῶν γεγαμηκότων τοὺς τὴν σωφροσύνην τετιμηκότας κελεύει χειροτονεῖν.

³ *Strom.* iii 18. See above, p. 350.

⁴ *Apost. Canons* 5 and 51.

about thirty years after the Nicene Council. The abbot Dracontius was elected bishop, but refused to accept the bishopric, fearing lest the episcopal dignity should be a hindrance to the fulfilment of his ascetic duties. St Athanasius addressed a letter to Dracontius and endeavoured to remove his hesitation, saying among other things: Μὴ λέγε, μηδὲ πείθου τοῖς λέγουσιν ἁμαρτίας εἶναι πρόφασιν τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν, μηδὲ ὅτι ἐκ ταύτης ἀφορμὴ τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν ἐστίν. Ἐξεστι γὰρ καὶ ἐπίσκοπον ὄντα σε πεινᾶν καὶ διψῆν, ὡς ὁ Παῦλος· δύνασαι μὴ πιεῖν οἶνον, ὡς ὁ Τιμόθεος, καὶ νηστεύειν καὶ αὐτὸς συνεχῶς, ὡς ὁ Παῦλος ἐποίει . . . Μὴ οὖν ταῦτα προβαλλέτωσαν οἱ συμβουλευόντές σοι. Οἶδαμεν γὰρ καὶ ἐπισκόπους νηστεύοντας, καὶ μοναχοὺς ἐσθίοντας. Οἶδαμεν καὶ ἐπισκόπους μὴ πίνοντας οἶνον, μοναχοὺς δὲ πίνοντας. Οἶδαμεν καὶ σημεῖα ποιῶντας ἐπισκόπους, μοναχοὺς δὲ μὴ ποιῶντας· πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπισκόπων οὐδὲ γεγαμήκασι, μοναχοὶ δὲ πατέρες τέκνων γεγόνασι· ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπισκόπους πατέρας τέκνων, καὶ μοναχοὺς ἐξ ὀλοκλήρου γένους τυγχάνοντας.¹

The interest of this passage for us lies in the statement of St Athanasius that he knew of many bishops who had never been married, and monks who had been fathers of children; and on the other hand he knew of bishops begetting children and monks having no posterity. This evidence of St Athanasius has been misconceived. It has been contended that the children of bishops here mentioned must have been born before their fathers' consecration, since the bishops are paralleled with monks, who were fathers of children.²

This contention, however, is unnecessary and unconvincing. Though lifelong celibacy was supposed to be one of the conditions of the monastic life, yet, until the time of St Basil, it was undertaken tacitly without any formal vow³; and apart from this, it is known that some monks could not endure the strictness of solitary life and did not always remain loyal to their profession. Thus transgressions of the monastic discipline occurred even in this period, as may be inferred from the writings of St Basil.⁴ It is no doubt to this monastic relaxation that St Athanasius refers when he says that he knows of monks not fasting, drinking

¹ *Epist. ad Dracont.* 9 (Migne *P. G.* xxv c. 532).

² Thomassinus *Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Disciplina* I i 43 § 21.

³ St Basil *Can.* 19.

⁴ St Basil *Can.* 19 and 60: *Epp.* xlv and xlv.

wine, and becoming fathers of children. On the other hand, if he really has in view the private life of men before they became bishops or monks, we cannot see what this would contribute to the purpose of his argument. He desires to illustrate by examples that it is possible for Dracontius to lead as a bishop the same life as he had hitherto led as a monk. And the parallel drawn between bishops and monks aims simply at pointing out the fact that virtues may be found in the ranks of bishops and deficiencies among ascetics, and that holiness of life is not the privilege of monks, but, as he says, Πανταχοῦ τις ἀγωνιζέσθω· καὶ γὰρ ὁ στέφανος οὐ κατὰ τόπον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀποδίδοται.

Besides the evidence already cited, several examples of married bishops have been adduced in defence of the contention that until after the fourth century it was not required that bishops should abstain from their wives.¹

It should, however, be remarked that almost all these examples, owing to the lack of sufficient evidence, are of little or no value. It cannot be denied that continence was considered a useful discipline in the Church, and it has accordingly been assumed that, though married, the clergy did not cohabit with their wives after ordination. It is therefore hazardous to lay stress on the mere mention in writers or canons of the name of a bishop's wife or of his children, without any further confirmation.

We must not pass over two examples, which have frequently been cited as proof that bishops were allowed in this period to continue their family life. The first is that of St Gregory the Elder, the second that of Synesius of Cyrene.

As to the former, an examination of the authorities makes it clear that, though Gregory might, without any reproach, have begotten children even after his elevation to the episcopate, yet chronological facts do not allow us to accept the belief that his

¹ As married bishops are mentioned—Marcion's father (Epiph. *Haer.* xlii 1); Chacremon, bishop of Nilus (Euseb. *H. E.* vi 42); Demetrianus of Antioch (*ibid.* vii 30); Phileas of Thmuis (*ibid.* vii 9); Philogonius of Antioch (Chrys. *de Beato Philog.* in Migne *P. G.* xlviii c. 751); St Spyridon of Trimitheus in Cyprus (Socr. *H. E.* i 12); Eulalius of Caesarea in Cappadocia (Socr. *H. E.* iii 43); Hilary of Poitiers (*Epist. ad Abram filiam suam* in Migne *P. L.* x 549); Gregory of Nyssa (Greg. Naz. *Ep.* cxvii); Gregory the Elder (*ibid.* ἐπιδάμιος, &c.); six bishops whose wives are cited by Palladius *Vita Chrysost.* (Migne *P. G.* xlvi 51); Synesius of Cyrene (*Ep.* cv). Cf. Apost. Canons 38 and 40; Carthag. Canons 15, 21, 35.

eldest son, Gregory the Theologian, was born after his father's consecration.¹ With regard to Caesarius all we know is that he was the second son, and this means that he was born after his father's ordination, but it does not follow that he was born during his father's episcopate.

Concerning the bishop of Ptolemais, Synesius, it should be noted that it has been hastily assumed that he continued to live

¹ Gregory the Theologian tells us that he was about thirty years of age at the time when St Basil left Athens for Cappadocia (*Carm.* xi *de vita sua* 511). It is known that Basil quitted Athens in 355, after Julian's departure in October. It follows that St Gregory was born in 325 or rather early in 326. Again he tells us that his father, Gregory the Elder, was baptized in the presence of some bishops (among them Leontius of Caesarea), who were then on their way to the Council of Nicaea (*Oratio* xviii 12: Migne *P. G.* xxxv 1000), and that the priesthood was conferred on him not immediately after his baptism, as was frequently the case at that period, but after a short period had elapsed (*ibid.* c. 1004: cp. Nicene Canon 2). Therefore Gregory the Elder's ordination may be placed at the end of 325 or at the beginning of 326. Now the dates of the father's ordination and the son's birth come so close together that it is not easy to say precisely whether St Gregory was born before or after his father's ordination. The question turns on what meaning is given to the following verses of St Gregory:—

Οὐκ ὡς τοσοῦτον ἐκμεμέτηρκας βίον
ὅσος διήλθε θυσιῶν ἐμοὶ χρόνος (*Carm.* xi *de vita sua* 512).

It is not strange that this passage has been the subject of much controversy (*Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* ii p. 742). Though the explanation, that the Elder's meaning is that his son's lifetime has not been so long as his own priesthood, is not in itself untenable; yet a closer examination of the context inclines one rather to the view of those who render the passage thus: 'Have you not calculated my long life—how many years I have spent offering sacrifice?'; understanding that Gregory, in trying to persuade his son to become his coadjutor, lays stress only on his advanced age and on the long time he has been working as priest and bishop, without any allusion to the age of his son.

If, however, St Gregory's birth can be fixed in 325 or 326, it becomes certain that he was born at any rate before his father's consecration. It is quite clear that the elevation to the episcopate of Gregory the Elder did not follow immediately after his ordination. Gregory Nazianzen says that the Church over which his father was placed as bishop had been for a long time neglected, owing to the loss of its leader (*Or.* xviii 16), while on the other hand it is known that he succeeded the bishop who had baptized him (*ibid.* 13).

Meanwhile, apart from these inferences, there is clear evidence for the date of Gregory the Elder's consecration. It is known that he lived about a hundred years, forty-five of which he spent in the episcopate (*ibid.* 38). Consequently, as his death is placed in the spring of 374 (Migne *P. G.* xxxv c. 1000), he must have been consecrated bishop in the year 329.

Hence it is evident that a period of about three years intervened between the ordination and the consecration, and we must conclude that St Gregory may have been born either before or after his father's ordination (and in the latter case not very long after), but before his consecration.

conjugally with his wife after his consecration. In fact, when he was elected bishop of Ptolemais (409), he writes to his brother, and, among other difficulties, expresses the fear that, being a married man, his advancement to the episcopate might cause separation from his wife; but he declares that he will not consent to this, since he wishes to have a large number of virtuous children.¹ Nevertheless it is doubtful whether Synesius adhered to his intention of retaining his wife; and at least there is no proof of it.

After the dispatch of the letter referred to, the philosopher went to Alexandria, where he spent more than seven months consulting the Patriarch Theophilus on the subject. Thus it has been presumed that the Patriarch, owing to the strong tendency of the age towards celibacy, may have exhorted and persuaded Synesius to conform to the rule of the Church by giving up his wife. This view is to a certain extent confirmed by the sense of desolation expressed in some letters of Synesius, written after his elevation to the episcopate,² and by the fact that no child was born to him after his consecration; for his three sons were all born during the five years before he became bishop.³

In spite of these and similar arguments the question still remains open, nor can it be easily settled. As Mr W. S. Crawford remarks in his elaborate book, *Synesius the Hellene*, after a detailed and careful consideration of the arguments advanced on both sides: 'Each student of our author's life must form his own conclusion from the facts of the case, and not from any *a priori* notions. For our own part we are content, or rather constrained, to remain uncertain' (p. 371). Moreover, even if we allow that Synesius was permitted to hold his philosophical theories and to retain his wife, the case is an exception, for which excuse may be found in the peculiar circumstances of the case.

¹ Synesius *Ep.* cv 'Ἐμοὶ τοιγαροῦν ὁ τε Θεός, ὁ τε νόμος, ἡ τε ἱερὰ Θεοφίλου χεὶρ γυναῖκα ἐπιδέδωκε. Προσαγορεύω τοίνυν ἅπασι, καὶ μαρτύρομαι, ὡς ἐγὼ ταύτης οὐτε ἄλλοτριώσομαι καθάπαξ, οὔτε ὡς μοιχὸς αὐτῇ λάθρα συνέσομαι. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἥκιστα εὐσεβές· τὸ δὲ ἥκιστα νόμιμον. Ἀλλὰ βουλήσομαί τε καὶ εὐξομαι συχνά μοι πάνυ καὶ χρηστὰ γενέσθαι παῖδιά.

² *Ep.* viii, lxxix, lvii, xciii, lxxxix, cxxvi, lxx, x, xvi.

³ T. R. Halcomb in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* s.v. 'Synesius'; J. C. Nicol *Synesius of Cyrene: his life and writings*, Cambridge 1887, p. 133. See also Miss Alice Gardner *Synesius of Cyrene*, London 1886, p. 53.

Thus the examples of Gregory the Elder and Synesius do not give much, if any, support to the supposition that bishops were allowed to lead family life. Indeed the 105th letter of Synesius indisputably proves that by the early part of the fifth century it was required of bishops, in some provinces, to separate from their wives and lead a celibate life; at least it was so in the provinces of Egypt.

Here the question naturally arises how this change came about, since it is known that no ecclesiastical law had yet been passed in the Eastern Church to enforce strict celibacy among bishops. The rule was certainly practised as a custom, and a very binding one, and was no doubt due to the influence which Monasticism had acquired over ecclesiastical opinion by that time. Without examining the questions which beset the origins of Christian Monasticism—questions in themselves beyond the present scope—it will be sufficient to point out that the monastic movement as it appeared in the fourth century could not but exert a great influence over public opinion. The ideal of self-denial, which found in monastic life its true realization, the unflagging efforts of the monks after the achievement of Christian morality and the protection of the doctrine of the Church, won for them the gradual growth of public admiration, as the only men entirely fulfilling the evangelical principles on earth. When in the year 338 St Antony went to Alexandria to preach against the Arians, crowds of people, both Christian and heathen, followed him, anxious to see 'the man of God'.¹ Μακαρία τοίνυν ἡ Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλις ὑμᾶς ἔχουσα πρεσβευτάς, wrote Serapion, bishop of Thmuis, to the Egyptian monks.² No controversy arose in the Church in which monks did not take part with all their powers. Any attack on the dogmas of the Church met, on every side, with strong monastic opposition, and the definition of the doctrine of the Church bears the stamp of the monastic mind. They completely worsted the Arians and all the other heretics, so that Sozomen could write: Οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ ἐπισημοτάτην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐδείξαν, καὶ τὸ δόγμα ἀνέσχον ταῖς ἀρεταῖς τοῦ βίου, οἱ τότε μετιόντες τὴν μοναστικὴν πολιτείαν.³

¹ St Athan, *Vita S. Antonii* 70 (Migne P. G. xxvi c. 941). Cf. Theodoret *H. E.* iv 24.

² *Epist. ad Monachos* (Migne P. G. xl c. 929).

³ Soz. *H. E.* i 12; cf. vi 27; Soz. *H. E.* vii 14. See also D. A. Petrakakes *Οἱ μοναχικοὶ θεσμοί*, Leipzig and Athens, 1907, p. 9.

Hence, when on the one hand the monastic movement was in the heyday of its growth, and on the other hand heretical doctrines threatened the existence of orthodoxy, the Church turned her attention to the citizens of the desert and drew from their ranks her highest ecclesiastical dignitaries. First the Church of Alexandria, owing to her situation, availed herself abundantly of the vigour of the monastic movement. St Athanasius in his letter to Dracontius mentions many bishops, who were summoned from their hermitages to occupy episcopal sees. They fulfilled, as he also remarks, the expectations of the Church, converted many from heathenism, and by their teaching brought true servants to the Gospel.¹

Theophilus, archbishop of Alexandria, walked in the path thus marked out. He elected seven or eight out of the one hundred and fifty disciples of the abbot Isaac, presbyter of the Scetic desert, and consecrated them bishops. Another abbot of the Nitrian desert, also named Isaac, was the head of two hundred and ten recluses, a great number of whom Theophilus (in 400) chose and made bishops, as Palladius, the biographer of St Chrysostom, relates.²

In Syria and Mesopotamia also, where Monasticism spread and increased rapidly, the untiring struggle of monks in behalf of the Church drew the attention and the general respect of the people, so that the episcopate was conferred on them *honoris causa*, as a recompense. They were consecrated bishops not of any special city, but in their own monasteries.³ Moreover the new system established by St Basil the Great, who founded institutions, adjoining the monasteries, where boys were carefully and religiously brought up in the study of the Scriptures and of different arts, formed an additional reason for the favour in which monastic life was held. Monasteries had already associated education with worship and devotion. This system was largely adopted everywhere, and really produced excellent men who combined scientific with moral training.

¹ St Ath. *Ep. ad Dracont.* 7.

² Migne *P. G.* xlvii c. 60.

³ Soz. *H. E.* vi 34 Βάρσης τε καὶ Εὐλόγιος, οἱ καὶ ἐπισκόπων ἀμφοτέρων ἐγενέσθην, οὐ πόλεως τινας, ἀλλὰ τιμῆς ἕνεκεν, ἀνταμοιβῆς ὥσπερ τῶν αὐτοῖς πεπολιτευμένων, χειροτονηθέντες ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις μοναστηρίοις ὃν τρόπον καὶ Δάξαρτος ὁ δηλωθεῖς.

The State itself, by a law promulgated by the emperors Arcadius and Honorius in July 398, exhorted bishops to ordain their clergy, when they have need of them, preferably from among the number of monks. Monks were considered more fit, as well-proved persons and free from public and private obligations.¹ Such indications of general reverence could not but have an influence on the discipline and life of the clergy with respect to marriage. The splendour of the monastic clergy gradually overshadowed the secular clergy, and in some places the prevalent opinion inclined, if not to the celibacy, at least to the strict continence, of all grades of clergy. St Epiphanius's statement is an illustration of this practice,² and though he confesses that subdeacons, deacons, and priests in some churches begat children after ordination, the use of marriage on the part of bishops was out of the question.

Although no law whatever existed binding them to abstain from conjugal relations, yet custom had almost assumed the force of law. It seems that continence was by this time considered an essential condition for the highest order of the church, the transgression of which met with censure. Hence Eusebius, bishop of Valentinianopolis, had no scruple in bringing against Antoninus of Ephesus (400) before the Synod of Constantinople the charge, among others, that ἀποταξάμενος τῆς οἰκέλας γαμετῆς, πάλιν αὐτῇ συνῆλθε καὶ ἐπαιδοποίησεν ἐξ αὐτῆς.³

In the fifth century the historian Socrates says that celibacy, though only as a custom, was observed by the clergy with great strictness in Thessaly, Macedonia, and Hellas; remarking that in the East also continence was practised, but only of free will, for many bishops had begotten children from their lawful wives during their episcopate.⁴

This testimony with regard to bishops, and the question concerning priests and deacons which has been previously dealt with, shews that in the Eastern Church traditions of ecclesiastical antiquity are more faithfully adhered to and that ascetic tendencies

¹ *Cod. Theod.* xvi 2 § 32 'Si quos forte episcopi deesse sibi clericos arbitrantur, ex monachorum numero rectius ordinabunt, non obnoxios publicis privatisque rationibus cum invidia teneant, sed habeant iam probatos'.

² *Exposit. fidei* 21 : *adv. Haer.* lix 4.

³ *Palladius Vita Chrysost.* 13 (Migne *P. G.* xlvii c. 48).

⁴ See above, p. 359.

introduced by Monasticism could not rob all the grades of the clergy of the ancient freedom of choice between the married and unmarried life. Though, however, priests had not as a general rule, and the inferior orders never, if married before Ordination, subsequently discontinued that relation, it must be observed that the episcopate could not long resist the strong current of feeling in favour of celibacy, and finally, as we shall see, yielded to its influence.

The honour and admiration in which celibacy was held certainly increased as time went on. The great examples of the fathers and doctors of the Church—Athanasius, Basil the Great, Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom, and the rest—were a sufficient security for the preference of single men for the episcopate. With the high estimate of celibacy for its own sake, other reasons as well seem to have concurred, so that the mere custom of elevating celibates to the episcopate was soon invested with the validity of a civil law.

It is known that the management of Church finances has always been one of the bishop's duties, and in the exercise of this function it is probable that some cases occurred,¹ which indicated that a family life was a stumbling-block to bishops in watching over the spiritual and material interests of the Church. Therefore Justinian with his great care for ecclesiastical affairs promulgated laws concerning the election of bishops. The first constitution issued on the matter (528) prescribes that only those should be elected bishops who have no children or descendants, on the ground that family cares ought not to divert a bishop from the proper discharging of his ecclesiastical duties, and in order that donations made to the Church for pious purposes might not be spent on their children and relations.² Three years later it was enacted that no one should be consecrated bishop who lives with his wife or is father of children; but that, instead

¹ Pallad. *Vita Chrys.* 13 (Migne P. G. xlvii c. 48).

² Justinian *Const.* I iii 41 (42) Τινῶν γὰρ διὰ τὴν εἰς Θεὸν ἐλπίδα καὶ διὰ τὸ τὰς ἐαυτῶν περιώσαι ψυχὰς προστρέχοντων ταῖς ἀγιωτάταις ἐκκλησίαις καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς ταῖς προσφερόντων καὶ καταλιμπανόντων ἐπὶ τῷ εἰς πτωχοῦς καὶ πένιγτας καὶ ἐτέρας εὐσεβεῖς ταύτας δαπανᾶσθαι χρείας, ἀποπὼν ἐστὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους εἰς οἰκεῖον ταῦτα ἀποφέρεισθαι κέρδος ἢ περὶ τὰ ἴδια τέκνα καὶ συγγενεῖς καταναλίσκειν. Χρὴ γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον μὴ ἐμποδιζόμενον προσπαθεῖν σαρκικῶν τέκνων πάντων τῶν πιστῶν πνευματικῶν εἶναι πατέρα· διὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ἀπαγορεύομεν τὸν ἔχοντα τέκνα ἢ ἐγγόνους χειροτονεῖσθαι ἐπίσκοπον.

of a wife, he should adhere firmly to the Church, and instead of children should have all the Christian flock.¹ This is the first imperial law, which requires the separation from his wife as one of the conditions for the election of a bishop. Some bishops may have been living with their wives at that time, but the law did not interfere with them. Their example probably became an excuse for some deviations. And therefore Justinian felt it necessary to issue another law in 535 on the same subject. He stated that his first law did not refer to those who were already bishops, but only to future candidates, who, adds the Novel, should be either monks or clerics of not less than six months' standing, having no wife, children, or posterity. The observance of the law was rigidly exacted, and transgression rendered the consecrated and the consecrator alike liable to deposition.² Likewise the Novel of the year 546, prescribing the mode of the election and the qualifications of a bishop, repeated the demand that the candidate should have neither wife nor children.³

It need hardly be said that both the letter and the spirit of all the laws in question shew that Justinian's intention was rather to secure the due discharge of the episcopal duties and to protect the financial interests of the Church than to consider whether the married or the unmarried state in itself is consistent or not with the discipline of the Church. At any rate, although civil laws again and again commanded that only those should be eligible for the episcopate who did not live with their wives, yet the previous custom and mode of life could not easily be uprooted everywhere.

¹ Ib. 47 (48) Θεσπίζομεν μηδένα εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν προχειρίζεσθαι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τὰ τε ἄλλα χρηστὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς εἴη καὶ μήτε γυναικὶ συνοικοίῃ μήτε παίδων εἴη πατήρ, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ μὲν γυναῖκος προσκαρτεροίῃ τῇ ἀγιοτάτῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀντὶ δὲ παίδων ἅπαντα τὸν χριστιανικὸν καὶ ὀρθόδοξον ἔχει λαόν.

² Justinian Nov. vi 1 Θεσπίζομεν τοίνυν . . . ἥνικα τις εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐπὶ χειροτονίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος ἀγοιτο . . . πρότερον δὲ ἡ μοναχικὸν βίον ἀσκήσας ἢ ἐν κλήρῳ καταλεγόμενος οὐκ ἔλαττον μόνων ἔξ, γυναικὶ μέντοι, καθάπερ εἰπόντες ἐφθμεν, μὴ συν-οικῶν ἢ παῖδας ἢ ἐγγόνους ἔχων. Ταῦτα γὰρ πάντως ἐπὶ τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ζητούμεν, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον δύο θείαις ἡμῶν τούτο διατάξεσι νεννομοθέτηται, παθ' ἂς τοὺς μὲν ἤδη συνοικούντας γυναικὶν οὐ περιεργασάμεθα, τὸ παρῳχηκὸς ἅπαν ἀφέντες, τοῦ λοιποῦ δὲ ἐκ τῆς θέσεως τοῦ νόμου μηδενὶ συγχωροῦντες γαμετὴν ἔχοντι τοιαύτην ἐπιτι-θέναυ χειροτονίαν· ὥνπερ νόμον καὶ νῦν ἀνανεοῦμεν, μήποτε, εἰ παρὰ ταῦτα γένηται, αὐτὸς τε ἐκπέσει τῆς ἱερωσύνης, τὸν χειροτονήσαντά τε ὁμοίως ἐκβληθῆναι ταύτης παρα-κευάσειεν.

³ Justinian Nov. cxliiii 1 Θεσπίζομεν τοίνυν δόσεις ἂν χρειαί γένηται ἐπίσκοπον χειρο-τονήθη . . . οὐδὲ γαμετὴν οὐδὲ παῖδας τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχει.

So late as one hundred and fifty years after Justinian's legislation, instances of bishops leading a family life might still not infrequently be met with in some churches. Public opinion, however, no longer tolerated such a state of life; bishops living with their wives were a scandal and an offence to the people. This was the chief cause which urged the Council in Trullo to issue its 12th canon, condemning the practice of some bishops in Africa, Libya, and elsewhere, who were said to be living conjugally with their wives, and ordering their deposition, in case of future offence.¹

The fathers of the Council, however, were aware that such a demand was not entirely compatible with the scriptural freedom and the ancient discipline of the Church. They knew that examples of bishops, who either were celibates or abstained from their wives, existed in the primitive Church, but that these were cases of free-will, of optional practice, and not the result of an unconditional law. As a justifiable reason for the change the Council adduced the new demands of the time. No doubt the common judgement on this matter had changed in the course of time. While at an earlier date the separation of a bishop from his wife was an object of reproach and blame, in the seventh century on the contrary the continuation of a bishop's conjugal union had become a matter of offence in the eyes of the public, as the canon relates. Therefore, in order to prevent such anomalies in the future, it was enacted that, if a married priest was about to be consecrated, he should first be separated from his wife.

The separation of a candidate for the episcopate from his wife, be it observed, was to take place, according to the 48th canon of the same Council, by mutual consent, *κατὰ κοινήν συμφωνίαν*; and

¹ Canon 12 Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ εἰς γνώσιν ἡμετέραν ἦλθεν, ὡς ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ ἑτέροις τόποις οἱ τῶν ἐκείσε θεοφιλέστατοι πρόεδροι συνοικεῖν ταῖς ἰδίαις γαμεταῖς, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς προσελθοῦσαν χειροτονίαν, οὐ παραιτοῦνται, πρόσκομμα τοῖς λαοῖς ἐντεῦθεν τιθέντες καὶ σκάνδαλον. Πολλῆς οὖν ἡμῖν σπουδῆς οὕσης, τοῦ πάντα πρὸς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρα ποιμνίων διαπράττεσθαι, ἔδοξεν, ὥστε μηδαμῶς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν γίνεσθαι. Τοῦτο δὲ φαμέν, οὐκ ἐπ' ἀθετήσει ἢ ἀνατροπῇ τῶν ἀποστολικῶς νενομοθετημένων, ἀλλὰ τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον προκοπῆς τῶν λαῶν προμηθεύμενοι, καὶ τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι μὴμὴν τινα κατὰ τῆς ἱερατικῆς καταστάσεως. Φησὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀπόστολος 'πάντα εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ ποιεῖτε, ἀπρόσκοπτοι γίνεσθε καὶ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Ἑλλήσι καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καθὼς κἀγὼ πάντα πᾶσιν ἀρέσκω, μὴ ζητῶν τὸ ἑμαυτοῦ συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν, ἵνα σωθῶσι. Μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, καθὼς κἀγὼ Χριστοῦ.' Εἰ δέ τις φανερωθῇ τὸ τοιοῦτο πράττων, καθαιρεῖσθαι.

in order that the separation of the parties should not be a mere formality, but really effected, the same canon enjoined that the bishop's wife must enter into a distant monastery and there be provided for by the bishop. It further remarks that, should she prove worthy, she might become a deaconess.¹

Results of the practical application of the Trullan Canons.

It has already been said that the 12th canon of the Council in Trullo required, as a condition for the consecration of a bishop, separation from his wife (μὴ συνοικεῖν ταῖς ἰδίαις γαμεταῖς); while the civil law in force enjoined that a candidate for the episcopate should have neither wife nor children (οὐδὲ γαμετὴν οὐδὲ παῖδας τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχει²). Thus there existed no small diversity between the civil and the ecclesiastical law, which probably embarrassed the Church in the fulfilment of her task—a divergence which was made more obvious by the incorporation of Justinian's legislation into the Basilica.³

This inconsistency was removed by Leo VI the Philosopher, who modified the civil law in accordance with the ecclesiastical canons, and issued a Novel enacting that the existence of children should not debar a worthy person from elevation to the episcopate.⁴

¹ Canon 48 Ἡ τοῦ πρὸς ἐπισκοπῆς προεδρίαν ἀναγομένου γυνή, κατὰ κοινὴν συμφωνίαν τοῦ οἰκείου ἀνδρὸς προδιασκευθεῖσα, μετὰ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς χειροτονίαν ἐν μοναστηρίῳ εἰσὶτω, πόρρω τῆς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καταγωγῆς φιλοδομημένῳ καὶ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου προνοίας ἀπολαύτω. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀξία φανείη καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς διακονίσης ἀναβιβασθῶν ἀξίωμα.

² Justinian *Nov.* cxliii 1.

³ *Basilica* III i 8.

⁴ Leo VI *Nov.* ii in Zachar. iii p. 69 Τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ θείων κανόνων τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ὅσοι περὶ τε ἱερωσύνης καὶ χειροτονίας ἐπισκόπων ἐθέτισαν, εἰς ἀριστόν τε καὶ ἀκριβέστατον ἐκπεφωνημένον (πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἐμελλον ἀκριβῶς ἐκπεφωνεῖσθαι, θείας ἐπιπνοίας ἐν τοῖς φθεγγομένοις ἐνεργοῦσας;) θαυμάζειν ἔπεισέ μοι πῶς οὐκ εὐλαβήθησάν τινες, ὥσπερ ἐνδεῶς ἐκείνων ἐχόντων, τολμᾶν, ἐτέρων ἐκθέσει νόμων, τοὺς ἱεροὺς καὶ θεοὺς ἀθετεῖν νόμους. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν οἷς τὰ περὶ χειροτονίας ἐπισκόπων διατάττουσι, τῶν ἱερῶν θεσιζόντων κανόνων τε ὅς ἐκ νόμιμου γάμου παῖδας ἔχει, εἰ γέ ἡ ἄλλη τοῦ βίου ἀρετὴ ἐμποδὼν οὐχ ἴσταται, εἰς ἀρχιερωσύνην προάγεσθαι. Οὗτοι ἀντιθεσιζόντες φασί, μὴ εἶναι πρὸς ἐπισκόπου ἀξίωμα τοῖς ἔχουσιν παῖδας, κὰν δῶρον ὣσι γάμου νομίμου, ἀναβαίνειν ἀκάλυτον. ἴσως μὲν (τί γὰρ ἂν τις ἄλλο εἴποι;) ἐκείνο ἐπινοεῖν λαβόντες, ὡς τῇ πρὸς τέκνα διαθέσει ταῖς ἱεραῖς ὑπάρξεσι λυμαινέταις ὁ χειροτονούμενος· πλὴν οὐκ ἔχει καλῶς ἡ αἰτία· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἢ συγγενῶν ἐτέρων προσόντων, οὐχ ἔξει τις χώραν πρὸς ἐπισκόπου χειροτονίαν. Ἡ γὰρ συγγενὴς διάθεσις καὶ πρὸς τούτους ὀρᾷ. Ἀλλὰ προειδότες τοῦτο οἱ θεῖοι κανόνες, ἔδωσαν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις ἔξουσίαν, εἰ συγγενεῖς εἴεν ἀποροὶ ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὑπάρξεως τούτων παραμυθεῖσθαι τὴν ἀπορίαν. Ἡ οὖν ἐκ θεοῦ βασιλεία ἡμῶν τοῦτο ἀρμοδιώτερον κατανοοῦσα τοῖς θεοῖς ἔπασθαι ἐντάλμασι, σύμφωναν ἐκείνοις ἐκφέρει νόμον, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ τὸ πρὸς

Moreover the application of the 48th canon in *Trullo* met with other difficulties in practice. It requires that the separation of the parties shall be by common consent, and secondly that the bishop's wife shall enter a monastery. We are informed that in the twelfth century some wives of already consecrated bishops did not express such consent and continued cohabiting with their husbands in the same house. In this case human weakness attempted to find, by subtle interpretation of the canonical phraseology, reasons to excuse the transgression of the rule; and out of this arose many questions and disputes. Can the absence of consent to separate on a wife's part, it was asked, annul the election of her husband to the episcopate? Secondly, does the phrase of the canon, ἐν μοναστηρίῳ εἰσέλτω, mean that the wife of a bishop must become a nun? and if not, can she marry again like the wife of a man who becomes a monk? All these questions were differently answered, as Balsamon relates.¹

Finally, the Metropolitan of Cyzicus in an imperial council in which the Emperor Isaac Angelus, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, of Antioch, and of Jerusalem, and forty bishops took part, drew attention to these disorders and violations of the canons. The Emperor then, after consulting the ecclesiastical dignitaries, in 1187 issued a law (σημείωμα) enacting that in case the wife does not agree to separation, the husband cannot be elected bishop. When, however, consent is given and the consecration completed, the wife is compelled to become a nun, and can neither continue to live with her first husband, nor contract a second marriage. Moreover, to avoid any difficulty, it is required that both parties shall sign a written agreement to this effect before consecration takes place.²

ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀνάγεσθαι τε ἄξιον τῆς τιμῆς, κἀν ὧσι γοναὶ νόμῳ τετιμημέναι. Οὕτως ὀρίζουσά τε ἀντιφθέγγεσθαι θρασυνθέντα νόμον, δίκην τε θρασύτητος τὸν εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον διηνεκὴ ἀφωνίαν εἰσπράττεσθαι.

Nevertheless Gregory V, Patriarch of Constantinople, issued a decision (συνδικυὸς τόμος) in October 20, 1798, forbidding the consecration of those of the clergy who were widowers with children (Gedeon K. Διατάξεις i p. 410). But this decision had evidently only provincial force.

¹ On the 48th canon in *Trullo*, in *Synlogma* ii p. 420.

² Zachariae iii p. 514 Ἡ βασιλεία μου . . . διωρίσατο, προτρεψαμένων τούτου καὶ τῶν ἀγιοτάτων πατριαρχῶν, ἐν γυναικείois μοναστηρίοis ἀνυπερθέτως εἰσαγαγεῖν τὸς πρὸ τῆς χειροτονίας συναφθείσας γαμετάς τοῖς χειροτονηθείσιν ἀρχιερεῦσι, πόρρω τῆς τῶν ἀρχιερέων φκοδομημένης καταμονῆς, καὶ ἀποκείρεσθαι ταύτας, καὶ κανονικῶς κατὰ μοναχὰς διάγειν

The history of the relation of the episcopate to marriage from a canonical point of view shews that in the Eastern Church during the first five and a half centuries, no law whatever existed binding bishops to lead a celibate life or to separate from their wives; whether they led a married or an unmarried life was left to their own discretion, although there are indications that in some places by the end of the fourth century and under the influence of asceticism it was strictly exacted from bishops that they should be celibate or should separate from their consorts. This *custom* was confirmed by the *civil legislation* in the sixth century, and finally became from the seventh century a binding *ecclesiastical canon*. From this time forward cases of bishops cohabiting with their wives occur in practice only as exceptions from the general rule, and married priests are eligible for the episcopate so long as they separate from their wives, who are bound to become nuns. It should be observed, however, that separation of the parties by common consent as a preliminary to the elevation of the husband to the episcopate does not, so far as I am aware, occur in the present practice of the Eastern Church.¹

III. THE EPISCOPATE IN ITS RELATION TO MONASTICISM.

It is evident from its enactments that the Council in Trullo has not bound up the episcopate with monasticism. The Council in defining the relation of bishops to the married life enacts that candidates, if married, shall, before consecration, separate from their wives, *μη συνοικεῖν ταῖς ἰδίαις γαμεταῖς*. It is only in respect of matrimony that the canon may seem to establish a relation between the episcopate and monasticism, since both

ἐκάστην αὐτῶν ἐν ᾗ μονῇ καὶ τὴν τρίχα ἀπέθετο· ἢ, μὴ βουλομένων τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκονσίως τὴν ἀποκαρσιν διέξασθαι, τοὺς πρὸ τῆς χειροτονίας συναφθέντας αὐταῖς ἀπογεγυμνωμένους εἶναι τοῦ ἀρχιερατικοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἀξιώματος, καὶ ἐτέρους ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς λαχούσαις αὐτοὺς ψηφίζεσθαι· καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε μὴ ἄλλως χειροτονεῖσθαι τὸν πρὸ τῆς χειροτονίας γόμμον ἔχοντα γαμετὴν, εἰ μὴ διαζευχθεῖεν ἑκάτεροι κατὰ κοινὴν τῶν συνεόντων ἐγγραφον συμφωνίαν τε καὶ ἀρέσκειαν, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τὸν μονήρην βίον ἀσπάσεται· καὶ οὕτω τὰ τῆς χειροτονίας προβαλεῖν κατὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς καὶ θεῖους κανόνας ἀσκανδάλιστα καὶ ἀπρόσκοπτα καὶ μύμου παντὸς ἀπεφενωμένα τῆς ἱερατικῆς καταστάσεως.

¹ In the codex of the Acts of the Patriarchate of Constantinople is extant a decision given in August 1846 under Anthimus IV, according to which it is prohibited to a widower priest, whether having children or not, to become a bishop. This decision, as M. Gedeon remarks, bears no signatures (Κ. Διατάξ. ii p. 358).

institutions are put on the same level in so far as marriage is concerned.

Monasticism is not an indispensable part of the ecclesiastical administration, as the episcopate is; and the Church would not make her hierarchy entirely dependent on a system naturally so unstable as monasticism. When monastic life made its appearance and won universal reverence, the Church availed herself of its vigour, and since celibacy formed one of the many virtues of the monastic life, monks were naturally considered more fit than other persons for the fulfilment of episcopal duties, and so were admitted more freely to the hierarchy of the Church.

Nevertheless, although the Church drew largely on the monasteries for her bishops, yet the existence and exercise of all the duties of a monk side by side with the rights and duties of a bishop is canonically regarded as an impossibility and consequently is not permitted.

For many reasons it happened that some bishops took the monastic vows after their consecration. Since in accordance with the regulations of monasticism, which received synodical sanction, one who was to become a monk had to be under the guidance of an experienced person, or of the superior to whom he professed subordination and obedience,¹ doubts naturally arose whether bishops could submit to such rules and still exercise their episcopal functions. The question was laid before a council summoned in the Church of St Sophia at Constantinople (879) under the Patriarch Photius. According to the acts of this Council, the reason adduced by Photius and the Papal legates against this practice was that bishops, by becoming monks, surrender themselves to obedience and to penance, states of life which are taken to be incompatible with the dignity of a bishop. The representatives of the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem also declared that in their churches, while monks were advanced to the episcopate, bishops were not allowed to become monks. The Council therefore issued its 2nd canon whereby it enacted that no bishop should accept the monastic tonsure with its vows, while retaining his bishopric; and this because some of the monastic obligations involve subordination and discipleship and not leadership or teaching authority; nor do monks profess to give guidance,

¹ Basil the Great *Ὁροι κατὰ πλάτος* 26 and 46.

but to be under guidance. Thus the bishop who desires to become a monk, i.e. to descend to the rank of those who are subjected to guidance and penance, since he deprives himself willingly of his rank, cannot return to the episcopal dignity.¹

Such a solution gives rise to another question, viz. how can the custom of electing bishops from among monks, which existed in the practice of the Church before that Council and continues even till the present time, be reconciled with the terms of the canon? In other words, since episcopal duties are not compatible with monastic duties, and for this reason it is not allowed to a bishop after his consecration to take on himself monastic vows, how can a monk undertake episcopal duties? The canon itself gives no help in solving this question. The seeming contradiction, however, may be removed as follows.

Monastic life was regarded as an excellent training for the episcopate; for the strict discipline of such a life produces moral

¹ Dositheus of Jerusalem Τόμος Χαράς, Jassy 1705, pp. 91 sq. Πρᾶξις πέμπτῃ μηνὶ Ἰανουαρίου . . . Φώτιος ὁ ἀγιώτατος πατριάρχης εἶπε, Πῶς ὑμῖν δοκεῖ περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ ἀρχιερατικοῦ τάγματος ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὴν τῶν μοναχῶν καταγόντων χώραν; ἀρα εἰς ὑποταγὴν ἑαυτοὺς παραδόντες, δύναται ἔτι οἱ αὐτοὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ποιμνιαρχίας ἐχέσθαι;

Οἱ ἀγιώτατοι τοποτηρηταὶ εἶπον, Τοῦτο παρ' ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ σώζεται. Ὅταν γάρ τις ἀπὸ ἀρχιερατικοῦ τάγματος εἰς τὴν τῶν μοναχῶν, τοῦτέστι, τῶν μετανοούντων καταριθμηθῇ χώραν, οὐ δύναται ἔτι τῷ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἑαυτῷ διεκδικεῖν ἀξίωματι.

Βασίλειος καὶ Ἡλίας οἱ τοποτηρηταὶ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν θρόνων εἶπον, Οὐδὲ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐφωράθη τοῦτό ποτε γενόμενον. Τουναντίον μὲν οὖν μονάζοντες πρόρισιν εἰς ἀρχιερέας ἀπὸ δὲ ἀρχιερέων εἰς μοναχοὺς κατερχόμενοι, ἀρχιερεῖς μένειν οὐ δύναται.

Ὅρισθῆται καὶ περὶ τούτου κανὼν. Πολλάκις γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ἀμφιβολία γίνονται περὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ταύτης, τῶν μὲν λεγόντων μὴ καλύεσθαι τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς μοναχοὺς γεγεννημένους, τὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων τελεῖν, τῶν δὲ συνευδοκούντων ἐπὶ τούτῳ.

Οἱ ἀγιώτατοι τοποτηρηταὶ εἶπον, Ἐκτεθῆτω κανὼν . . . Κανὼν β'. Εἰ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν εἶναι τῶν ἀρχιερέων, εἰς τὸ τῶν μοναχῶν κατιόντες σχῆμα ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐβιάζοντο διαμένειν ὕψει, καὶ τοῦτο πράττοντες παρεωρῶντο· ἀλλ' οὖν ἡ ἀγία καὶ οἰκουμένη αὕτη Σύνodus, καὶ τοῦτο βυθμίζουσα τὸ παρόραμα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θεσμοὺς τὴν ἀτακτον ταύτην ἐπανάγουσα πρᾶξιν, ὥρισεν, ἵνα, εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ ἄλλος τις τοῦ ἀρχιερατικοῦ ἀξιώματος, πρὸς τὸν μοναδικὸν θελήσῃσι κατελθεῖν βίον καὶ τὸν τῆς μετανοίας τύπον ἀναπληρῶσαι, μηκέτι τούτων τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι ἀξίας. Αἱ γὰρ τῶν μοναχῶν συνθήκαι ὑποταγῆς λόγον ἐπέχουσι καὶ μαθητείας, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ διδασκαλίας ἢ προεδρίας. Οὐδὲ ποιμαίνειν ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ ποιμαίνεσθαι ἐπαγγέλλονται. Διό, καθ' ἃ προεῖρηται, θεσπίζομεν, μηκέτι τινα τῶν ἐν ἀρχιερατικῷ καταλόγῳ καὶ ποιμένων ἐξεταζομένων, εἰς τὴν τῶν ποιμαινομένων καὶ μετανοούντων χώραν ἑαυτὸν καταβιβάζειν. Εἰ δέ τις τοῦτο τολμήσειε πᾶσαι, μετὰ τὴν ἐκφώνησιν καὶ διάγνωσιν τῆς νῦν ἐκφανομένης ψήφου, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τοῦ ἀρχιερατικοῦ ἀποστερήσας βαθμοῦ, οὐκ ἔτι πρὸς τὸ πρότερον, ὕπερ δ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἡθέτησεν, ἀξίωμα ἐπαστρέψει. The scholiasts of the Πηδάλιον say on this canon: Ὁ θεληματικῶς παραιτήσας τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ εἰς τὸ σχῆμα τῶν μοναχῶν καταβιβασθείς, οὔτε τὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου δύναται ἐνεργεῖν (p. 210 footnote).

qualities which are most necessary for those destined to fill the highest ecclesiastical offices. Such qualities, in addition to chastity, are self-denial, uncovetousness, strong will, humility, and the rest. Hence it is supposed that one who undergoes such training acquires those moral qualities and is able to become a teacher and leader of others. Such a man on his elevation to the episcopate lays aside that part of the monastic discipline, which is inconsistent with the dignity of an ecclesiastical ruler. This part is neither chastity, nor self-denial, nor frugality, but the promise of subordination and obedience, which, as a pedagogic means used for strengthening the human will, can evidently be suspended when its purpose has been fulfilled.

Thus one who through monastic life has developed such virtues, may put off obedience and rise from a pupil to a teacher, from subjection to leadership. On the other hand a non-monastic bishop is regarded as having already obtained all those moral qualifications required for a bishop, so that he need not afterwards undertake monastic vows, some of which—e. g. continual penance and obedience—are laid aside even by a monk, when he becomes a bishop. It is presumed that both monastic and non-monastic candidates for the episcopate are so well trained that it is not necessary for the former to continue, nor for the latter to undergo, the whole *régime* of monastic discipline.¹ This view is partly expressed by the scholiasts Zonaras and Balsamon in expounding the canon in question.²

Though monasticism till the ninth century consisted of only one habit (σχῆμα), apart from the novitiate, in the course of time it was divided into two grades, the little and the great monastic habits (μικρὸν σχῆμα, μέγα ἢ ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα). This division was established by the twelfth century, as we are informed by Balsamon. Henceforth some bishops who had accepted the little monastic habit before consecration, after this event also took on themselves the great habit; so that doubts arose whether the 2nd canon of St Sophia was applicable to such cases. Balsamon in dealing with this question answered it positively on the ground that, εἰ τὸ μικρὸν σχῆμα τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην παύει, πολλῶ πλέον σχολάσει αὐτὴν ἢ τελεία ἀπόκαρσις.³

¹ See A. Christodoulou *Δοκίμιον Ἐκκλ. Δικαίου*, Constantinople 1896, p. 279.

² Scholion on the 2nd canon of St Sophia.

³ Scholion on the 2nd canon of St Sophia. Balsamon mentions another question,

This view, however, was not entirely carried out in practice. There is extant a synodical decision of the Church of Constantinople issued on February 15, 1389, in the case of Anthimus, bishop of Mavroblachia, who being already a monk,¹ after his consecration took on himself the great monastic habit on account of illness. This document states that, in spite of the opinion of the scholiasts, since the canon refers to non-monastic bishops, and since at that time there was only one monastic habit, not two as later, it was therefore decided that, in case a non-monastic bishop became a monk, he should in accordance with the canon desist from episcopal duties; but that if a monastic bishop took on himself the great habit, the case should rest with the synod, which could recall him to the exercise of his episcopal functions, if it thought fit. The document, moreover, in support of this decision, makes an appeal to the practice of the Church in which Balsamon's view was not always followed.² Thus the bishop of Mavroblachia was allowed to retain, as formerly, his episcopal rank, and on this synodical decision the subsequent practice of the Church has been generally based.

It is not out of place to mention here, from a historical point of view, a dispute connected with this question. Mark of Ephesus, arguing in his profession of faith for the validity of the Council of

viz. why do priests after becoming monks continue their priestly functions, and are not deprived of them? The explanation given for this is that priests, not being teachers, the force of the canon is not extended to them. See also a special answer to this question by the same scholiast addressed to Mark patriarch of Alexandria, Question 8. (Migne P. G. cxxxviii c. 960.)

¹ See decision of the patriarch of Constantinople, Philotheus, issued in Nov. 1370 (*Acta Patriarch.* i p. 535).

² Gedeon K. Διατάξ. i pp. 21, 23 Πατριαρχεύοντος κυρίου Ἀντωνίου ἐν ἔτει σωρζ', Ἰνδικτιῶνος ιβ', Φεβρουαρίου ιε' ὁ Οὐγγροβλαχίας κύρ. Ἀνθίμος, φορέσας τὸ μέγα σχῆμα ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ ὑγιαίνων τὸν νοῦν, συνεχωρήθη ὥστε ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχιερασύνην ὡς πρότερον. διεκρίθη γὰρ παρὰ τῆς συνόδου ὅτι ὁ κανὼν περὶ κοσμικῶν ἀρχιερέων δοκεῖ λέγειν παύεσθαι μεταχωρούντων εἰς τὸ μοναχικὸν σχῆμα· καὶ προσήκει τοῦτο τηρεῖσθαι ἀδιαλείπτως· εἰ γὰρ τοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου σχήματος τοῦτο δοκεῖ, ἀλλ' ἡ σύνοδος εἶπεν, ὡς ἔως ἂν μὴ παρὰ τοῦ κανόνος τοιαύτη συνάγῃται ἐννοια, ἐν γὰρ ἡν πρότερον τὸ μοναχικὸν σχῆμα καὶ οὐ δύο, οὐκ ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς ἀκολουθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ κανόνι· ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀνάγκη δῆλον, ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ διαφόρους καιροὺς ἀπρακτῆσαι τὴν ἐξήγησιν ταύτην. Ὅθεν διεγνώσθη, ἵνα ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν κοσμικῶν ἀρχιερέων, ἐὰν μοναχοὶ γένωνται, παύσωνται ἱερουργεῖν κατὰ τὸν κανόνα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν μοναχῶν ἀρχιερέων, ὅταν τὸ μέγα ἐνδύσωνται σχῆμα μένῃ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῇ ψήφῳ τῆς συνόδου· ὡς ἂν, ἐὰν διακριθῇ ὁ μεγαλοσχημήσας ἀναγκαῖος διὰ τινὰ πλεονεκτήματα λυσιτελεῖ, κληθῇ πάλιν πρὸς τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν ἐργασίαν, πληρὴ ἀβιάσως· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ κληθῇ, ἵνα μὲν πεπαυμένος, . .

St Sophia, mentioned besides the other decisions of that Council, its promulgation of canons, which, he said, could be found in all canonical books. Gregory, then the confessor of the emperor, one of the partisans of the union in the pseudo-Council of Florence, refuting the arguments of Mark, stated, either through ignorance or through wilful perversion, that, although the three canons of Photius were included in the canonical books, yet this fact did not prevent the transgression of the one in question, and produced in proof the examples of Anthimus, already mentioned, and of Holovulus of Gotthice (at the end of fourteenth century).¹

No doubt if Gregory had only read the decision to which he referred, he would have seen that it does not at all violate the canon of the Council of St Sophia, but on the contrary carefully guards the observance of it.

How far the Episcopate is bound up with Monasticism.

The canonical legislation of the Eastern Church concerning the episcopate has now been examined, with the result that, canonically speaking, the episcopal order is not converted into an exclusive privilege of monks, so as to deprive the rest of the clergy of any claim on it. Nevertheless, in the practice of the Greek Church, a custom arose, though not without exceptions, in accordance with which non-monastic candidates chosen for the episcopate were required to become monks before their consecration.

On this account many writers have been led into thinking that the episcopate throughout the Eastern Orthodox Church is inseparably bound up with monasticism; for her bishops either are always chosen from monasteries or else undertake monastic vows before being consecrated. We must therefore examine the

¹ *Respons. in prof. fidei Marci* (Migne P. G. clx c. 100) 'Ἐφέσου. Αὕτη ἡ σύνοδος καὶ κανόνας ἐξέθετο τοὺς ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κανονικοῖς βιβλίοις εὐρισκομένους. . . .

[Γρηγόριος] . . . Οὐ θαυμαστὸν οὖν εἰ καὶ οἱ τρεῖς τοῦ Φωτίου κανόνες ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις εὐρίσκονται, μᾶλλον δέ, καὶ τὸν ἕνα παρήλυσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ Μαυροβλαχίας 'Ανθίμου ἐκείνου' πρότερον γὰρ εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὸ ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα ἀναπληρώσας πάλιν ὑπὸ Συνόδου προτραπείς τὰ ἀρχιερατικὰ ἐνῆργει· καὶ Γοτθίας δὲ ὁ 'Ολόβωλος τὰ ὅμοια ποιήσας ἐν τῷ τέλει αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἀρχιερεὺς ἐκρίθη καὶ ὡς ἀρχιερεὺς ἐκηδεύθη ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου Χριστοῦ παρόντος καὶ τοῦ δοιδίου Πατριάρχου κυροῦ Ματθαίου καὶ τοῦ Σεργῶν καὶ τοῦ Βερροίας, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ μέχρι παντὸς ὁ κακῶν. οὗτος οὐκ ἐστέρητο . . .

origin of this custom and consider how far it prevails at present in the Eastern Church.

In the Council of St Sophia (879) Zacharias of Chalcedon, refuting the objections of the Roman Church to the election of Photius, proved by examples that elections from among laymen were not unusual in the Eastern Church, and, if they were regarded only as matter of custom, this was enough to overcome even canonical regulations. As an illustration of this, i.e. of the force of custom, he mentioned that in Antioch and Jerusalem no one, without taking monastic tonsure, could become a bishop, and that the Western Church accepts monks for the clergy generally, whereas both these customs were unknown in the Church of Constantinople as binding.¹

It appears according to this statement that the origin and foundation of the custom of regarding the monastic tonsure as a necessary condition for the reception of the episcopate is due to the Churches mentioned, as being centres of monastic life. As to the Church of Constantinople, in order to ascertain the extent of the custom there, which apparently was not wide, it is necessary to examine the practice of this Church in the election of her bishops. For this purpose it will be advantageous to trace the status of the patriarchs of this See before their election, without neglecting any other evidence that may bear on the question.

Let us therefore consider a series of Patriarchs, starting from the beginning of the seventh century.² From this time till the end of the eighth century there were twenty Patriarchs on the throne of Constantinople, four of whom were elected from the monks,³ while most of the rest of them belonged to the clergy of the Great Church of Constantinople, i.e. were presbyters or deacons serving in the manifold offices of the Patriarchate.

¹ Dositheus Τόμος Χαράς, Jassy 1705, pp. 67, 71 Ζαχαρίας ὁ θεοφιλέστατος μητροπολίτης Χαλκηδόνος εἶπε . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἔθος αὐτὸ ἱκανὸν ἐστὶ νικᾶν νόμον. Τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ὀρώμεν σήμερον. Ὑμεῖς οἱ φωστῆρες τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οἱ τὰς οἰκείας αὐγὰς ἀπὸ πάσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην πέμποντες, εὐρεῖν ἔχετε αὐτοὺς ψηλαφῶντες καὶ ἐρευνῶντες πολλὰ ποιῶντες παρὰ τὸν κανόνα, τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἐκόμενοι. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἔθος αὐτὸ πολλὰ νικᾷ τὸ ἔθος. Εἰς τὴν Ἀνατολὴν εἰ μὴ ἐστὶ τις κεκαρμένος ἐν Χριστῷ ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πατριάρχης οὐ γίνεταί. Ἡ δὲ Δύσις καὶ τοὺς ὄντας μοναχοὺς κληρικοὺς ποιεῖ. Τοῦτο δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐ γνωρίζομεν.

² See appendix below.

³ Pyrrhus (638-641); Cyrus (705-711); Constantine II (754-766); Nicolas I (766-780).

The election as a rule, it is true, fell on the unmarried, but whether they became monks before consecration as Patriarchs is not recorded. On the other hand it is known that at the end of the eighth century Paul IV (780-784) became a monk after his resignation of the throne.¹

The first mention of the reception of the monastic tonsure as a step to ordination is found in the case of Nicephorus (806), who himself, as his biographer informs us, expressed a wish for it.² Theodotos Kassiteras (815), a soldier (σπαθαροκανδιδάτος), became a monk before his ordination.³ In the same manner Photius (861), a layman, who within five days passed through all clerical orders, became a monk before being accepted for the lowest order, i.e. the readership.⁴ Nevertheless, that this custom was not generally observed by the bishops of the dioceses belonging to the Church of Constantinople, may be seen from the preamble to the 2nd canon of the Council of St Sophia spoken by Photius himself, and from the statement mentioned above of Zacharias of Chalcedon at the same Council.

Turning back to the list of Patriarchs, it is noticeable that after the iconoclastic controversy (717-843), when monasticism through its heroic sufferings endured in the cause of orthodoxy reaped fresh glory, the throne of Constantinople was occupied chiefly by monks; although a few examples of elections from the clergy of the Great Church, from chaplains of the palace, and from laymen, are to be found. Of the latter persons it is well known that some did, while others did not, become monks before their ordination. Thus of the Patriarch George Xiphilinus (1192-1199), who was elected from among the deacons of the

¹ Theophanes *Chronol.* (Migne P. G. cviii c. 921) Τῇ δὲ λα' τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνὸς τῆς αὐτῆς (Ἰνδικτιῶνος Παῦλος ὁ ὅσιος καὶ ἀγίατατος πατριάρχης ἀσθενήσας κατέλιπε τὸν θρόνον καὶ κατελθὼν ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Φλώρου ἔλαβε τὸ μοναχικὸν σχῆμα.

² Migne P. G. c. c. 68 Τῆς οὖν θείας ἐκ' αὐτῶν τελετῆς τοῦ μοναχοῦ προβάσσης . . . καὶ τῆς ἱερατικῆς κατὰ βαθμὸν καὶ τάξιν προελθούσης κατὰ τὸν ἱερὸν θεσμὸν τελειώσεως, τοῦτοίς ἦδη καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς ἀγιαστέας ἐπηκολούθησε διακόσμησης.

³ *Vita Leonis Armeni* (Migne P. G. cviii c. 1036) Θεόδοτον σπαθαροκανδιδάτον ὄντα συνθέντον τῷ δόγματι αὐτοῦ ἐκούρευσεν στεφανίτην, καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν πατριάρχην, χειροτονήσαντες αὐτὸν τὸ πάσχα.

⁴ Nicet. Paphl. *Vita Ignatii* (Migne P. G. cv c. 512) Πρώτη γὰρ ἡμέρα μοναχὸς ἀντ' λαϊκοῦ, τῇ δευτέρᾳ δὲ ἀναγνώστης, καὶ ὑποδιάκονος τῇ τρίτῃ, εἶτα διάκονος, εἶτα πρεσβύτερος ἔπειτα τῇ ἑκτῇ, Χριστοῦ δὲ ἦν τὰ γενέθλια, καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ ἱερατικῷ προβάς θρόνον τὴν εἰρήνην τῷ λαῷ προσεφώνει.

Great Church, it is recorded that he became a monk after he retired from the throne.¹ Gregory II (1283–1289), who being a layman was elected to be Patriarch, received the monastic tonsure before ordination, as was the custom.² In accordance with the same custom John Glycys (1315), also a layman, who had a wife and children, was about to take the vows; but since as a monk he would have to abstain from meat, the use of which was prescribed for him by the doctors on account of ill-health, the Emperor prevented him from becoming a monk, while his wife became a nun, according to ecclesiastical canons.³ John XIV (1334), who had a wife and children, was elected, while serving as palace chaplain, and consecrated without becoming a monk. This is known from Cantacuzene, who states that on the occasion of a festival, the white linen which was worn around the head-dress by the Patriarchs who were not of the monastic rank, was used by the Patriarch John, adorned for the first time with gold and images of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and John the Baptist.⁴ Moreover, the decision of the Patriarch Antonius IV (1389) previously quoted, shews that up to the end of the fourteenth century there were some bishops who had no connexion with monasticism.

It has already been remarked that the custom of taking the monastic vow before consecration is found in the practice of the Church of Constantinople early in the ninth century. This without doubt is due to the great influence exercised over the Church by monasticism from the epoch of Iconoclasm. It seems, however, that this custom was not at first generally observed, but only enforced in certain cases. This is indicated by the

¹ Nic. Callistus *Enarr.* (Migne P. G. cxlvii c. 464) *Καὶ ἀπεκάρη ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῶν Φρυγανῶν, ἣν φικοδόμησεν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Ἀγγέλου Ἀλεξίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἰσαακίου.*

² Ephraem. v. 10346 *Τὰ τῶν μοναχῶν πρὶν τελεσθεὶς ὡς ἔθος.*

³ Nic. Gregoras in Migne P. G. cxlviii c. 444 *Τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ τὸ μοναχικὸν εὐθὺς ὑπελθοῦσης σχῆμα. Καὶ αὐτὸν μέντοι τὸ μοναχικὸν ὑπελθεῖν ὀρμήσαντα σχῆμα, αἰδοῖ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς ὀρμῆς ἐπέσχεν ὁ βασιλεὺς. Χυμοῦ γάρ τινος διεφθορότος οὐ πάνυ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὰ τούτου διαδραμόντος ἄρθρα, τακταῖς περιόδοις τοῦ ἔτους ἐπασχε τὰ δεινότερα, καὶ ἦν ἀνάγκη κατὰ τὰς τῶν λατρῶν κρίσεις κρέατι τοῦτον χρῆσθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ μοναχικὸν ὑπελθεῖν οὐ συγκεχώρηται σχῆμα.*

⁴ Migne P. G. cliii c. 999 *Καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καλύπτραν, ἣν τοὺς πατριάρχας ἔθος φέρειν ἂν μὴ τοῦ τάγματος ὡσι τῶν μοναζόντων, ὁθόνη λευκὴ περιειλημμένην πρότερον, αὐτὸς κατεκόσμησε χρυσῷ, εἰκόνας αὐτῇ τοῦ τε Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἱγγραμῶς Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῆς τεκούσης αὐτὸν ἄχραντον θεοτόκου, καὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ.*

irregularity of its application, which is apparent from the examples and evidences mentioned above.

The examples of Nicephorus, Theodotus, Photius, and especially the statement about the election of Gregory II and John XIII, would seem to indicate that monastic tonsure, though a mere custom, was considered a *sine qua non* for candidates for the episcopate. But, on the other hand, when we bear in mind that all these were chosen for their high office from among the laity; and if at the same time we take into consideration the 2nd canon of St Sophia and the decision of the Patriarch Antonius IV, both of which speak of non-monastic bishops, and more especially the fact that George Xiphilinus, deacon, and John XIV, a married priest, did not become monks after their election, we are naturally led to conclude that the custom in question was strictly enforced only for those who were elected to the episcopate from among the laity, but not in the case of those who, being already ordained, whether married or unmarried, were called to the Patriarchate.

It appears, however, that in course of time the force of this custom was gradually extended so that in the first half of the fifteenth century, according to the testimony of Symeon archbishop of Salonica, the majority of bishops received the monastic habit before their consecration.¹ In another passage the same writer, speaking about the preference of monks for the episcopal order, says that it is very seldom possible to see any of the secular clergy elevated to the episcopate, and that even in such case the Church requires them, before consecration, to take on themselves the monastic habit.²

Similar assertions about the relation existing in practice between episcopacy and monasticism may be found even in

¹ Symeon Thessal. Περὶ μετανοίας 266 (Migne P. G. clv 489) Διὸ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία τοὺς πλείους τῶν εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἀγομένων ἄρτι τῷ θείῳ σχήματι τούτῳ κατακοσμοῦσα πρότερον, οὕτως ἐπισκόπους καθιστᾷ, τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ἅγια τῶν ἀγίων τῷ παραγίῳ ἐξασφαλιζομένη καὶ ἱερῷ σχήματι.

² Id. de Sacerdotio (ib. 954) Καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη τῶν πολλῶν ὁδὸς καλλίστη, καὶ τῶν καθόλου μᾶλλον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ κατὰ τοσοῦτον βεβαιωθείσά ἐστιν, ὥς καὶ τὴν προετασίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης σχεδὸν τοῖς μοναχοῖς ἐγχειρίζεσθαι. Καὶ ἐξετάζων ἤδη σπανίαις εὑροῖς τινά ποτε τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἱεραρχίας ἠξιωμένων, τοῖς μοναχοῖς δὲ τοῦτο ὥστερ ἀποκηλῆραιται. Καὶ ἴδοις ἂν τινες ἐκ τοῦ κοσμικοῦ βίου πρὸς ἱεραρχίαν ἀγομένους. Καὶ τοῦτο δὴ παρὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀπαιτουμένους τὸ τῶν μοναχῶν πρότερον ἐνδυμα ἐπεινύσασθαι.

later authors. In spite of the extension of this custom the consciousness of the possibility of reaching the highest order of the Church without becoming a monk had not vanished. Thus the priest John Nathanael, who flourished about the end of the sixteenth century, states that the monastic habit is closely related to penance. It cleanses the sins of the offender and elevates him with virtue; but it does not consecrate a monk to the priesthood. For this reason one may be a bishop without becoming a monk, but a monk of bad life cannot proceed to ordination.¹ Evidently his remark about the possibility of a secular clerk becoming a bishop without taking monastic vows shews that the opposite was the predominant practice.

Thus when Metrophanes Critopulos, of Balliol College, afterwards Patriarch of Alexandria, composed his *Professio*, and forwarded it, in May 1625, to the professors of the University of Helmstadt, he could write that the Greek Church chooses her bishops always from monks.²

In the same century Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem (1669-1707), speaking of the use of meat, says that bishops, being at first elected without being monks, had the right of using or of abstaining from meat, as they chose; but that after it became customary not to be consecrated before taking monastic vows, they were not allowed to eat meat.³

The compilers of the *Πηδάλιον* (1790), the hieromonachus Agapius and the monk Nicodemus, in glossing the 51st Apostolical canon, make the same remark about the established custom of a bishop becoming a monk before consecration; and this leads to the conclusion that the episcopate of the Eastern Church at that time consisted chiefly of monks.⁴

¹ Joh. Nathanael Ἡ θεία λειτουργία μετὰ ἐξηγήσεων διαφόρων διδασκάλων . . . 29. Περὶ τοῦ μοναχικοῦ σχήματος p. 15 (Venice 1574) Τὸ σχῆμα δὲ τοῦ μοναχοῦ εἶναι ἴδιον τῆς μετανοίας, διότι καθαρίζει τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τοῦ ἐπταισμένου πιστοῦ, καὶ ὑψώνει τὸν μὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀλλ' οὐτε τελειώνει τὸν μοναχὸν εἰς ἱερέα, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ μοναχικοῦ σχήματος δύνανται νὰ γίνωνται ἐπίσκοποι, ἀλλ' ὅμως οἱ μοναχοὶ ποῦ εἶναι κακοῦ βίου δὲν δύνανται νὰ ἔλθωσιν εἰς ἱερωσύνην.

² See Kimmel *Mon. fid. eccl. orient.*, Jena 1850, ii p. 143 Τοὺς δὲ ἐπισκόπους ἐκλέγει ἡ Ἐκκλησία πάντοτε ἐκ τῆς τάξεως τῶν μοναχῶν.

³ Dositheus *Hist. patr. Hierosol.* viii 4. Bucharest 1715, p. 779 Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς τὸ πρῶτον, ὅτε ἐγίνοντο, πολλοὶ αὐτῶν μὴ ὄντες μοναχοί, ἔχον θέλημα ἐσθίειν, ἢ ἐγκρατεῦσθαι, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ συνειθισθῇ μὴ γίνεσθαι ἐπισκόπους, πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι μοναχοὺς, μήτε αὐτοὺς κρεωφαγεῖν δεῖ, καὶ δοσι καταλύνουσι, παρὰ τὸ πρέπον ποιοῦσι.

⁴ *Πηδάλιον*, ed. 1841, p. 37 footnote.

Now before entering into an examination of the present practice of the Church with regard to this matter, it should be noted that, although the custom owes its existence to the influence of monasticism, yet, when the Church summoned the monks from their solitude and offered them the episcopal order, she did so, not because she believed that the formal acceptance of monastic obligations was necessary for the reception of the episcopate, but in view of the virtues and abilities which monks had developed in monastic life. Can it, however, be accepted that candidates for the episcopate may within a few days reap the benefits of the monastic training, so as to acquire those habits of virtue which especially gained for monks the right of holding the highest offices of the Church? ¹ Evidently the custom, although an ancient one, does not realize the idea upon which the election of monks for the episcopate was originally based.

The present practice.

The receiving of monastic tonsure before approaching the episcopate, being a mere custom, which was never confirmed by any law, could not be expected to prevail unchangeably throughout the Eastern Orthodox Church.

Thus in the Russian Church to-day the rule is strictly observed that no one can be consecrated bishop without having taken the little monastic habit.² In the Church of the Kingdom of Greece, as has been stated, the unmarried clergy have to belong to one of the monasteries of the country. They are considered members of the monastery after becoming *ῥασοφόροι*,³ according to the special rite of the Church.⁴ From this class of clergy of course bishops are elected, but they are not required to take the little monastic habit before consecration.

¹ See G. Pachymer *De Andron. Paleol.* i § 34.

² *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα*, Venice 1891, p. 190. It is for this reason that neither a bishop in the Russian Church nor a hieromonach is allowed to celebrate the matrimonial service, to confer baptism, or to partake of meat, as the representative of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in Moscow, the very Rev. Archimandrite Jacobus, kindly informs me. On this subject see also Canon 4 of the Council of Chalcedon; an answer given by Peter Chartophylax of the Great Church (*Synlogma* v p. 369); and a decision of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Michael III (1169-1177), in *Synlogma* i p. 41.

³ See M. Sakellaropoulou *Ἑκκλησιαστικὸν δίκαιον*, Athens 1898, p. 325.

⁴ *Εὐχολόγιον* p. 188.

In the Church of Constantinople of to-day such a custom no longer exists. It should be remarked, however, that in the theological college of Halki, from which almost all the bishops of that Church graduate, it was usual, until some few years ago, for the candidates for the diaconate to become *ῥασοφόροι*; but as such they were not considered monks, because the impediment to marriage only begins on receiving the little habit with the vows which it involves. Even this, however, as P. Comnenos, professor of theology in the same college, kindly informs me, is no longer observed either in this college or by all the bishops in the various dioceses at the ordination of unmarried persons. Candidates for the episcopate, even if already *ῥασοφόροι*, need not undertake monastic vows; while those who are not *ῥασοφόροι* are not required to submit even to this preliminary ceremony, much less to become monks by receiving the little habit.

The clergy of the Church of Jerusalem, except the married secular clergy, form a monastic brotherhood, so that all bishops, as well as the other clergy, being members of the community, must be monks.

As to the Churches of Antioch and Alexandria I can make no definite statement. In view, however, of the smallness of these communities, it is probable that their practice in this matter changes from time to time to suit the views of their leaders.

With this review before us of the practice prevailing to-day in the various branches of the Eastern Orthodox Church it is difficult to see how modern writers on this subject are justified in asserting that this Church in practice has made the taking of monastic vows a necessary step to the episcopate.

Conclusion.

In conclusion, a short account of the basis upon which the whole relation of marriage to ministry in the Eastern Orthodox Church rests will not be superfluous, although indications of it have already been given above.

For this purpose the canons of the Trullan Council, which deal with the matrimony and celibacy of clergy and constitute the standard of the discipline of the Greek Church up to the present day, should evidently be taken into consideration. A mere com-

parison of these enactments one with another¹ shews clearly that the Council in making its canons was not influenced by the dogmatic grounds upon which the sacrament of marriage rests. And the application of such a criterion in examining the canons in question would reveal inconsistencies in that part of the legislative work of the Council.

It would certainly be difficult to understand how the scriptural texts about marriage quoted in the 13th canon regarding priests and the inferior orders are inapplicable to bishops, to whom the conjugal union is forbidden by the 12th canon. Moreover, if marriage contracted before ordination is allowed to continue in all orders except the episcopate (can. 13), why should unmarried members of those orders be forbidden to marry after their ordination (can. 6)?

This legislation would not be intelligible if considered from a dogmatic point of view, while its seeming contradictions disappear when we reflect that the intention of the Church was, not to rest her disciplinary enactments on such principles, but rather to codify existing rules of custom, which either ecclesiastical tradition or long usage had stamped as right and expedient. The ratification of those customs by the Church was felt to be the more necessary inasmuch as venturesome innovations appeared in ecclesiastical discipline.²

Meanwhile, whatever reasons may have urged the Council in Trullo to enact the canons in question, in any case the historical side of the relation of marriage to ministry, which has been traced above, indisputably proves that the Eastern Orthodox Church followed faithfully the gradual developement of the question, and the last official enactment has fixed her discipline. Therefore the system of this Church with regard to the matrimony or celibacy of her clergy is not the outcome of a provincial synod or of the legislation of a particular Church, but is the requirement of the whole Church, the legislation of an Oecumenical Council.³

¹ Cf. canon 13 with can. 12 and 6.

² See can. 3 and 13.

³ The oecumenical character of the Trullan Council was questioned later on by the Roman Church. It is unnecessary, however, to enter into interminable and subtle discussions as to how far the Western Church was or was not right in doing this. The important historical fact is that the oecumenical character of that council has always been acknowledged throughout the Eastern Orthodox Church and

This is the sole and firm basis on which the present practice rests and, according to the teaching of the Eastern Church, it cannot be affected by the action of any one branch of the Church, but can only be changed or superseded, in case of necessity, by an authority similar to that to which it owes its establishment.

APPENDIX.

A chronological list shewing the status of the Patriarchs of Constantinople before their election, from the seventh century to the fall of Constantinople (1453).¹

NAME.	DATE A.D.	STATUS BEFORE ELECTION.
Thomas	607	Deacon of the Great Church and Sacellarius of the Patriarch (Theoph. <i>Chronog.</i> , Migne <i>P. G.</i> cviii 620).
Sergius	610	Deacon of the Great Church and Supporter of the poor (πρωχοτρόφος) (<i>Chron. Paschal.</i> , Migne <i>P. G.</i> xcii 980).
Pyrrhus	638	Abbot at Chrysopolis (Niceph. <i>Chronog. brevis</i> , Migne <i>P. G.</i> c 1048).
Paul	641	Presbyter and Steward (οικονόμος) of the Great Church (Niceph. <i>ibid.</i>).
Pyrrhus (a second time)	652	
Peter	652	Presbyter of the Great Church (Niceph. <i>ibid.</i>).
Thomas II	665	Deacon of the Great Church and Archivist (χατροφύλαξ) (Niceph. <i>ibid.</i>).
John V	668	Presbyter and Sacristan of the Great Church (Niceph. <i>ibid.</i>).
Constantine I	674	Deacon of the Great Church, Sacristan, and Steward (Niceph. <i>ibid.</i>).
Theodore I	676	Presbyter of the Great Church, Syncellus, and Sacristan (Niceph. <i>ibid.</i>).
George	678	Presbyter of the Great Church, Syncellus, and Sacristan (Niceph. <i>ibid.</i>).
Theodore I (a second time)	683	
Paul III	686	Layman, Secretary (δοκηφύτης) (Niceph. <i>ibid.</i>).
Callinicus	693	Presbyter and Sacristan of the Church of Blachernae (Niceph. <i>ibid.</i>).

scholars support this view (Beveridge *On the Articles* pp. 394 sq.; *Pandect. Can.* vol. ii p. 126; Van Espen *Comment. in Canones*, Louvain 1753, p. 359).

¹ The list has been taken from M. Gedeon *Πατριαρχικοί Πίνακες*, Constantinople 1890, but my task has been to search out what mention is made in the authorities of the status of the patriarchs before their election. * indicates that the patriarch in question was a monk before election to the patriarchate; † that he became a monk on his election; ‡ that he became a monk after his consecration.

NAME.	DATE A.D.	STATUS BEFORE ELECTION.
*Cyrus	705	Presbyter and monk (Niceph. <i>ibid.</i> 1049).
John VI	711	Deacon and Archivist of the Great Church (Niceph. <i>ibid.</i>).
Germanus	715	Bishop of Cyzicus (Niceph. <i>ibid.</i>).
Anastasius	730	Presbyter and Syncellus (Niceph. <i>ibid.</i>).
*Constantine II	754	Monk and bishop of Syllaëum (Niceph. <i>ibid.</i>).
*Nicetas I	766	Presbyter of the Church of the Apostles; Curator of the monasteries (Theoph. <i>Chron.</i> , Migne cviii 369).
†Paul IV	780	Deacon from Cyprus. After his resignation of the throne, retired to the monastery of Florus and became a monk (Theoph. <i>ibid.</i> 913 and 921).
Tarasius	784	Chief secretary to the emperor (Niceph. <i>ibid.</i>).
†Nicephorus	806	Layman (<i>Vita Niceph.</i> , Migne c 68).
†Theodotus	815	Layman, a high officer of the emperor's body-guard (<i>σπασαποκαυδῆδαρος</i>) (<i>Vita Leonis incerti auctoris</i> , Migne cviii 1036).
*Antony	821	Monk, bishop of Syllaëum (<i>Vita Leonis, ibid.</i> c. 1025).
*John VII	832	Abbot of the monastery of SS. Sergius and Bacchus and Syncellus of the Great Church (Theoph. <i>Continuat.</i> liv 4 § 7, Migne cix 169).
*Methodius	842	Monk (<i>Method. Patriarch. Vita</i> , Migne c 1245).
*Ignatius	846	Monk (Nicet. Paphlag. <i>Vita Ignat.</i> , Migne cv 492).
†Photius	857	Layman (Nicet. Paphlag. <i>ibid.</i> §12).
Ignatius (a second time)	867	
Photius (a second time)	878	
Stephen	886-893	Deacon and Syncellus (Leo Grammat. <i>Chronog.</i> Migne cviii 1096).
*Antony II	893	Monk (Ephraem <i>Chronog.</i> v. 10026; Migne cxliii).
*Nicolaus Mysticus	895	Monk (Ephraem <i>ibid.</i> v. 10033).
*Euthymius	906	Syncellus and monk (Leo Grammat. <i>ibid.</i> 1113).
Nicolaus Mysticus (a second time)	911	
Stephen II	925	Bishop of Amasia (Leo Grammat. <i>ibid.</i> 1148).
*Trypho	928-931	Monk (Ephraem. v. 10047).
Theophylact	933	Syncellus (Leo Grammat. <i>ibid.</i> 1148).
*Polyeuctus	956	Monk (Ephraem v. 10058).
*Basil	970	Monk (Ephraem v. 10061).
*Antony III	974-980	A monk of the Studium (Ephraem v. 10054).
Nicolaus Chrysobergius	984	Unknown.
Sisinius	995-998	Layman (Cedrenus, Migne cxxii 181).
*Sergius II	999	Abbot of the monastery of Manuel (Cedren. <i>ibid.</i>).
Eustathius	1019	First of the palace chaplains (Cedren. <i>ibid.</i> 208).
*Alexius	1025	Abbot of the Studium (Cedren. <i>ibid.</i> 212).

NAME.	DATE A.D.	STATUS BEFORE ELECTION.
*Michael Cerularius	1043-1058	Monk (Cedren. <i>ibid.</i> 284).
Constantine III	1059-1063	Protovestiarius (Scylitza <i>Historia</i> , Migne cxxii 373).
*John Xiphilinus	1064	Monk on Mount Olympus (Georg. Hamart., Migne cx 1237).
*Cosmas	1075	Monk (Scylitza <i>ibid.</i> 461).
*Eustratius Garidas	1081	Monk (Zonaras <i>Annal.</i> xviii 21, Migne cxxxv 297).
*Nicholas III.	1084	Monk (Zonaras <i>ibid.</i> 299).
John IX	1111	Hieromnemon, from the clergy of the Great Church (Ephraem v. 10125).
Leo Styppis	1134	Steward of the Great Church (Ephraem v. 10132).
*Michael II	1143	Abbot of the monastery of Oxeias (Choniat. <i>De Man. Comnen.</i> i 2, Migne cxxxix 381).
Cosmas II	1146	Deacon of the Great Church (Choniat. ii 3).
Nicolas IV Mouzalon	1147	Archbishop of Cyprus (Cinnamus <i>Hist.</i> ii 18, Migne cxxxiii 408).
*Theodotus II	1151	Abbot of the monastery of Resurrection (Cinnamus <i>ibid.</i>).
*Neophytus I	1153	Monk from the monastery of the Virgin Mary (Lequien <i>Oriens Christianus</i> i 269).
Constantine IV	1154	Deacon of the Great Church and Sacellarius of the Patriarch (Ephraem v. 10176).
*Lucas Chrysobergis	1156	Monk (Ephraem v. 10180).
Michael III Anchialon	1169	Deacon and Sacellarius of the Great Church (Ephraem v. 10183).
*Chariton	1177	Abbot of the monastery of Mangana (Ephraem v. 10188).
*Theodosius	1178	Monk (Ephraem v. 10191).
Basil II	1183	Deacon and Archivist of the Great Church (Ephraem v. 10197).
Nicetas Mountanis	1187	Sacellarius of the Great Church (Choniat. <i>De Isaac. Ang.</i> ii 4).
*Leontius Theotokitis	1190	Abbot of the monastery of the Apostles (Choniat. <i>ibid.</i>).
*Dositheus	1191	Patriarch of Jerusalem and formerly monk of Studium (Choniat. <i>ibid.</i> 769, 772, 773).
‡George II Xiphilinus	1192	Deacon and Great Sacristan of the Great Church. He became monk after his resignation (Choniat. <i>ibid.</i> c. 773; Nic. Callisti <i>Enarrat.</i> , Migne cxlvii 464).
John X Xamaterus	1199	Deacon and Archivist of the Great Church (Ephraem v. 10232).
Michael IV Autourianus	1206-1212	Deacon and Sacellarius (Ephraem v. 10241).
Theodore II	1213	Deacon and Archivist of the Great Church (Ephraem v. 10245).
*Maximus II	1215	Abbot of the monastery of Acoemetoi (<i>ibid.</i> v. 10250).
Manuel	1215-1222	Deacon of the Patriarchate (Nic. Callist. <i>Enarrat.</i> c. 465).

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NAME.	DATE A.D.	STATUS BEFORE ELECTION.
*Germanus II	1222	Monk, and formerly deacon of the Great Church (Niceph. <i>ibid.</i>).
*Methodius II	1240	Abbot of the monastery of Hyacinthus at Nicaea (G. Acropol. <i>Annales</i> 42; Migne cxi 108).
Manuel II	1244	Protopresbyter of the Palace (Nic. Callisti <i>ibid.</i>).
*Arsenius Autorianus	1255	Monk (Ephraem v. 10276).
Nicephorus II	1260	Metropolitan of Ephesus, and formerly Archdeacon of the Palace (Ephraem v. 10286-88).
Arsenius (a second time)	1261	
*Germanus III	1267	Metropolitan of Adrianople and formerly a monk (Pachymeres <i>Pal.</i> iv 12, Migne cxliii 725, 727).
*Joseph	1268	Abbot of the monastery of Galesium, formerly married chaplain of the Palace (Gregoras iv 8; Ephraem v. 10302).
John XI Beccus.	1275	Deacon and Archivist of the Great Church (Pachymeres <i>de Michael, Paleol.</i> v 24; Nic. Callistus <i>ibid.</i> 468).
Joseph (a second time)	1282	
†Gregorius II	1283	Layman (Pachym. <i>de Andron. Paleol.</i> i 14; Migne cxliv 51).
*Athanasius	1289-1293	Monk (Pachym. <i>ibid.</i> ii 13, c. 155; Ephraem v. 10349).
*John XII	1294	Monk and priest (Ephraem v. 10353-65).
Athanasius (a second time)	1303	
*Niphon	1311-1314	Metropolitan of Cyzicus and formerly abbot (Ephraem v. 10370).
John XIII Glycys	1315	Layman with wife and children. He did not become a monk, on account of ill-health (Niceph. Gregoras <i>Histor.</i> vii 11 § 1, Migne cxlviii 444).
*Gerasimus	1320-1321	Abbot of the monastery of Sosandrum (Ephraem v. 10385).
*Isaiah	1323	Monk (Gregoras viii 12 § 1; Ephraem v. 10388).
John XIV	1334	Priest with wife and children. Chaplain of the Palace. He did not become a monk (Gregoras x 7 § 3; Cantacuzen. <i>Hist.</i> iii 36).
*Isidore	1347	Metropolitan of Salonika, and formerly monk at Athos (Isidore <i>P. C. testament.</i> , Migne clii 1298).
*Callistus I	1350	Monk-priest (Gregoras xviii 1 § 3).
*Philotheus	1354	Metropolitan of Heraclea and formerly abbot (Cantacuzen. <i>Hist.</i> iv 16, Migne cliv 124, 125).
Callistus I (a second time)	1355-1363	
Philotheus (a second time)	1364	
*Macarius	1376-1379	Metropolitan of Sebastia and formerly monk. (Miclosich-Müller <i>Acta et diplomata</i> ii p. 65).
*Nilus	1380-1388	Monk (Miclosich <i>ibid.</i> p. 108).

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NAME.	DATE A. D.	STATUS BEFORE ELECTION.
*Antony IV	1389	Monk (Miclosich <i>ibid.</i> p. 112).
Macarius (a second time)	1390	
Antony IV (a second time)	1391	
*Callistus II	1397	Monk (Miclosich <i>ibid.</i> p. 292).
*Matthew	1397	Metropolitan of Cyzicus, formerly monk (Miclosich <i>ibid.</i> p. 312).
Euthemius II	1410	Unknown (G. Phrantzae <i>Chronicon.</i> i 35, Migne clvi 726).
Joseph II	1416-1439	Metropolitan of Ephesus (<i>ibid.</i>).
Metrophanes II	1440	Metropolitan of Cyzicus (Phrantzae ii 17 Migne clvi 796).
Gregory III	1443	Great Protosyncellus and confessor of the Emperor (Phrantzae <i>ibid.</i> ii 15 c. 792).
*Athanasius II	1450	Abbot of the monastery of Peribleptus (Dositheus <i>De Patr. Hierosol.</i> x 9 § 2 p. 915).

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DOCUMENTS

TWO FAYOUMIC FRAGMENTS OF THE ACTS.

PART of the British Museum MS Or. 6948 consists of two vellum leaves which were bought from Mr Chester in 1879, but were not included in Mr Crum's Catalogue. They contain Acts 7¹⁴⁻²⁸ and 9²⁸⁻³⁹ in the Fayoumic dialect: and any portions of the Bible in this dialect of Coptic are so rare that it seems worth while to publish them. This is particularly the case, as the MS has every indication of being very early: from the character of the writing it can hardly be later than the sixth century, and it might even be earlier. The Ψ and the Σ have the peculiar Middle Egyptian forms mentioned by Mr Crum in No. 498 of his B. M. Catalogue: in the present instance the Σ particularly is curious, the loop being very small and high up in the line, and the stroke quite horizontal.

The dialect is a broad Fayoumic; $\lambda\alpha\alpha\pi\iota$ appears for $\rho\alpha\alpha\pi\epsilon$, $\lambda\epsilon\tau$ for $\rho\alpha\tau$, $\bar{\alpha}\alpha\alpha\epsilon\tau$ for $\bar{\alpha}\alpha\alpha\alpha\tau$: but it is not quite consistent; the preformative of the future is twice $\pi\epsilon$ and once $\pi\alpha$, $\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ (a place) appears alongside of $\alpha\alpha\dot{\iota}\pi\kappa\alpha\tau$, and $\beta\epsilon\alpha\alpha$ and $\chi\epsilon\alpha\alpha$ both appear. Attention may be called to 9³⁸ $\tau\psi\epsilon$ = Sah. $\chi\epsilon$, Boh. $\beta\epsilon$, *emittere*, shewing the etymological formation of the word from the causative τ and $\psi\epsilon$, *ire*: to 9³⁹ $\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\epsilon\tau$ (unless a mere copyist's mistake) for $\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\epsilon\tau$ or $\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\epsilon\tau$: to the omission of ρ in 7²⁴ $\alpha\pi\pi\eta\epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\alpha\alpha\kappa\alpha$ (but cf. 7¹⁹ $\alpha\epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\alpha\alpha\kappa\epsilon$): and to 9³¹ $\alpha\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\eta\tau$ (= Boh. $\theta\omega\tau$ $\pi\epsilon\eta\tau$).

The text is as follows:—

ACTS VII

14. $\bar{\alpha}\pi\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\pi\tau\epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\sigma$ $\alpha\tau\omega$ [$\rho\lambda\eta\eta$
 $\bar{\rho}\pi$] $\bar{o}\epsilon$ $\alpha\psi\tau\chi\eta$

15. $\alpha\epsilon\tau\iota$ $\pi\chi\epsilon$ $\dot{\iota}\alpha\kappa\omega\beta$ $\rho[\lambda]\eta\dot{\iota}$ $\epsilon\kappa\eta\epsilon\iota$ [ι] $\alpha\tau\omega$ $\alpha\epsilon\alpha\epsilon\tau$
 $\pi\tau\alpha\epsilon\tau$ $\bar{\alpha}\pi$ $\pi\epsilon\pi\dot{\iota}\alpha\tau$

16. $\alpha\tau\omega$ $\alpha\tau\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\theta\tau$ $\epsilon\sigma\tau\chi\epsilon\alpha\alpha$ $\alpha\tau\kappa\epsilon\tau$ $\bar{\rho}\alpha$ $\pi\alpha\alpha$
 $\rho\epsilon\tau$ $\epsilon\tau\alpha\epsilon\psi\alpha\pi\epsilon\tau$ $\pi\chi\epsilon$ $\alpha\beta\tau\alpha\alpha\alpha$ $\rho\alpha$ $\sigma\tau\tau\iota\epsilon\eta$ $\pi\tau\epsilon\tau$
 $\pi\tau\alpha\tau\tau$ $\pi\eta\psi\eta\lambda\iota$ $\pi\epsilon\alpha\omega\tau$ $\bar{\rho}\pi$ $\sigma\tau\chi\epsilon\alpha\alpha$

17. $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\tau\epsilon\eta$ $\alpha\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\alpha\epsilon\tau\omega\eta\tau$ $\pi\chi\epsilon$ $\pi\tau\alpha\dot{\iota}\psi$ $\pi\tau\epsilon$
 $\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\tau$ $\pi\eta\epsilon\tau\alpha$ $\phi\tau$ $\omega\lambda\kappa$ $\epsilon\tau\beta\eta\tau\epsilon\tau$ $\pi\alpha\beta\tau\alpha\alpha\alpha$: $\alpha\epsilon$
 $\alpha\dot{\iota}\epsilon\dot{\iota}$ $\pi\chi\epsilon$ $\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma$ $\alpha\epsilon\tau\psi\epsilon\dot{\iota}$ $\rho\lambda\eta\dot{\iota}$ $\bar{\rho}\pi$ $\kappa\eta\epsilon\iota$

18. ԿԱՍՏԵՂԴԱՍԿ ի՞նչ կերբա ըղնի¹ էլեւ կնաւ
 ԵՊԿՏՈՒՆ ԵՒ ի՞նչՏԻՓ

19. թԷ ԳՐԵԱ ՕՂԵԵԾՆԻԸ ԵՐՕՒՆ ԵՆԵՄԵՆՈՍ ԳՂ-
 ԶԵԱԿԵ ՆԵՐԻՆԻՒ ԵՏՐՈՒԶԻՕՒԻ ի՛նքոյն ի՛նքոյն ԵԸԼ
 ԵՄԵԼԵԴԱՆԶԱԴ

20. ԶԼՈՒ ԶԱ ՍՈՒԴԱԿ ԵՏԵԼԵՄ ԴՏԵԼԻՍ ԶԵԼՈՒ-
 [ՏԻՑ] ԴՄ ՍԵ ՕՂԱՏԻՍ ՍԵ ԶԷՓԻ թԷ ԴՄԿԱՍՈՒՄ
 ի՛նք ի՛նք ԶԱ ՍԻ ԶԵՊԵՐԻՄ[Դ]

21. ԵՏԴՐԻԴ ԴԵ ԵԸԼ ԴՏԻԴ ի՛նչ ԴՄ[ԼԻ] Զ-
 [Փ]ԴԴ ԴՄԿԱՍՈՒՄ ՍԵ ԵՐՄ[ԼԻ]

22. ԴՄ ԴՏԴԵ ԶԵԾՏԻՑ ԶՍ ԸԼ ՍԻ ՍԻ ի՛նչ
 ՍԻԼԵԼԻՔԻ ՍԴԿԻՐ ԴԵ ԶՍ ՍԵՊԵՐԻ [Զ]Ս ՍԵ-
 ԶԻՆՈՒ

23. ԵՏԴԽԿ ԴԵ [ԵԸ]Դ ՍԵ ի՛նչ Զ ՍԼԵԼԻ
 ՍՈՒԴԱԿ ԴՏԻ ԵՐԵՆ ԵՊԵՐԶՈՒ ԵԸԵ ՍՄԻ ի՛նք[Տ]Ս[ՈՒ]
 ի՛նչ Զ ԶԻՐԸ

24. ԵՏԳՍԵ ԴԵ [ԵՐ]ԵԻ ԵՒ ԶԵԼԴ ի՛նք ԴՏԻՑ ԴՄԵ-
 ՍԻՆԴ [ԴՍԼԻ] ի՛նչ ԶԵԼԴ ԶՍՆԵՍԴԵԼԵԿ ԶԵԼԴ
 ԴՐՈՒԵԸ ԶՍԼԵԼԻՔԻ ԴՍԿԱՍ ԶԱ ՍՄ

25. ՍԴԵԼՈՒ ԴԵ Ս Խ ԿՍԵ[Դ] ի՛նք ԴՏԻՑ ի՛նք
 ՏԻՆ Խ ԴՒ ՍԼ ի՛նչ ԴՐՈՒՅԻ ՍԵ ԵԸԼ ԶԻԴԱԴ
 ի՛նչ ԴԵ [ԶՍԻԼԻ]

26. ՍԵԼԵՏԻ ԴԵ ԴՐՈՒՅԻ [ԵՐԵՔ]ԵԿԱԻ ԵՏԵԼԵ
 ԴՄ ՍԴՐՈՒՍ [ԶԵԼ]Դ[Ս Ս] ԵՐԶԻՐՈՒՅԻ ԴՄ ԶԵԼԴ
 Խ [ԻՒԴ]ԵՆ ԶԵԼԼԻ ի՛նք ԵՒ ԵՒ ԵՒ ԵՒ
 ԶՍԵՆԵԼՈՒ ի՛նք

27. ՍԵԽ ԵՒ ԶՍԵԼՈՒ ՍԼԻՑ ԴՒԴԵ
 ԵԸԼ ԵՒ ԶԵԼԴ Խ ՍԻ ՍԵԴԿԵԿ ի՛նք ԵՒ
 ԼԵԴԶԵՆ ԵՐ[Լ]Ս ԵՒ

28. ԴՐՈՒՅԻ ԵՐԴԵՒ [ԿԱԴ ԴՐ] ԵՒԿՐՈՒԵԸ
 ԶՍԼԵԼԻՔԻ

ACTS IX

29. ԶԱ ՍԼԵՆ ԶՍՏ ՍԴՄԵԽ ԴԵ [Ս]
 ԴՄ ՍԴՄԻ ԶՍ ՍԻՏԵԻՆ[ԻՍ] ի՛նչ ԴԵ ՍԴՐ[Ս]
 ԵԻ ի՛նք[Խ] ԵՐԼՈՒ ԵՒ [ԵՐ]Դ[ԵՐ]

30. ԵՏԻԼ ԴԵ ի՛նչ ՍԻՆՈՒ [Դ]ԵՆԴ ԵՐԼՈՒ ԵԿ-
 ՏԻՐԴ ԴՄ [ԴՒԴԱԴ ԵՐ]Ս ԵՒԴՐՈՍ

¹ The e is added above the line.

31. ΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΕΠ ΟΥΝ ΗΤΕ ΤΟΥΤΕ[Δ] ΤΗΛΣ ΕΠ
ΤΤΑΛΙΛΕΑ ΕΠ ΤΣΑΛΑΡΙΔ ΠΕ ΟΥΑΠΤΕΥ ΠΟΥΡΙΡΗΚΗ
ΕΥΚΗΤ ΕΥΑΛΩΠΙ ΕΠ ΤΡΑΤ ΕΠΟΤ ΑΥΩ ΠΑΥ[ΠΗΟΥ]
ΠΑΥΕΙ ΕΠ ΤΑΕΤΤΑΤΟΥΗΤ ΗΤΕ ΠΕΠΠΑ ΕΤΟΥ[ΕΒ]

32. ΔΕΥΩΠΙ ΔΕ ΕΛΕ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΠΕΥΩΠΙ [ΕΒΔΑΛ ΔΙ]ΧΩΟΥ
ΤΗΛΟΥ ΔΕΙ [ΥΔ] ΠΙΖΑΥΙΟΣ ΕΥΩΑΠ ΕΠ ΛΥΑΔΑ

33. ΔΕΥΕΛ ΟΥΛΩΛΙ ΕΛΕΕΥ ΕΠΕΥΛΕΠ ΠΕ ΕΠΕΑ
ΕΔΕΥΕΛ ΛΗ ΠΛΑΛΠΙ ΕΥΧΤΗΟΥΤ ΕΧΕΠ ΟΥΑΛΑΠΚΑΤ
ΠΕΙ ΔΕ ΠΑΕΥΗΘ ΠΕ

34. ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΕΥ ΠΕΥ ΧΕ ΕΠΕΑ ΕΥΤΕΛΒΑ Ε-
ΛΑΚ ΗΧΕ ΙΗΘ ΠΧΡΘ Τ[ΩΠΚ] ΠΩΡΩ [ΔΑΡ]ΔΚ ΑΥΩ
ΠΤΕΥΠΟΥ ΔΕΥ[ΩΠΕΥ]

35. ΑΥΠΕΥ ΕΛΑΕΥ ΤΗΛΟΥ ΗΧΕ ΠΕΥΩΑΠ ΕΠ [ΛΥΑ]ΔΑ
ΕΠ ΣΑΡΩΠ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΚΑΤΟΥ ΕΠΘ

36. [ΔΛΗ] ΔΕ ΕΠ ΙΟΠΗ ΠΕ ΟΥΑΠ ΟΥΑΛΑΘΗΤΗΣ
ΠΣΥΛΕΙ ΕΛΕΕΥ ΕΠΕΥΛΕΠ ΠΕ ΤΑΒΙΘΑ ΤΗ ΕΥΕΥΑΥ-
ΟΥΕΥΕΛΕΣ ΠΣΕΛΟΥΤ ΕΛΑΕ ΧΕ ΤΒΩΣ ΤΕΙ ΠΑΣΕΛΕΥ
ΠΩΛ ΠΑΓΑΘΟΠ ΕΠ ΠΑΕΥΠΑΝΤ ΕΠΑΣΙΛΙ ΕΛΕΑΥ

37. ΔΕΥΩΠΙ ΔΕ ΕΠ ΠΕΥΑΟΥ ΕΥΕΛΕΕΥ ΔΕΥΩΠΙ
ΔΣΕΛΟΥ ΑΥΧΑΚΕΕΣ ΔΕ ΑΥΚΕΣ ΕΛ ΠΑΕ ΕΥΣΑΠΩΠΙ

38. ΠΑΛΕΛΥΑΔΑ ΔΕ ΠΑΕΥΗΠΤ ΕΙΟΠΗ ΠΑΕΛΑΘΗΤΗΣ
ΟΥΠ ΕΥΑΥΩΤΕΛ ΧΕ ΕΛΕΕΥ ΗΧΕ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΕΥ
ΛΩΛΙ ΕΥΔΑΕΥ ΕΥΤΩΒΩ ΕΛΕΑΕΥ ΧΕ ΕΠΕΛΤΣΑ
ΕΙ ΕΥΔΑΠ

39. ΔΕΥΤΩΠΕΥ ΔΕ ΗΧΕ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΔΕΥ ΠΑΕΕΥ ΕΥΔΕΥ
ΔΕ ΑΥΧΙΤΕΥ ΕΥΛΗ ΠΑΕΕΥ ΕΥΣΑΠΩΠΙ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΟΥ
ΕΛΕΤΟΥ ΠΑΕΥΕΥ ΗΧΕ ΠΙΧΗΡΑ ΤΗΛΟΥ ΕΥΛΕΙ ΕΥ-
ΤΑΕΛΕΑΕΥ [Ε]ΠΙΥΤΗΠ ΕΠ ΠΙΖΩΣ ΤΗΛΟΥ.....

The text on the whole resembles that of the other Egyptian versions, and cannot be said to incline to either the Bohairic or the Sahidic more than to the other. The following points seem worthy of notice:—

715. *δέ* is omitted: as Tischendorf says, ‘*deleta est coniunctio ut verba εν ψυχᾷς ἐβδωμήκοντα cum κατέβη coniungerentur—id quod ex LXX fluxit*’. So D and the Syr. post: the present version goes still further in the same direction by the insertion of *ΑΥΩ* (= *καί*) before the words *εν ψυχᾷς*.

724. The present version, like D and the Ethiopic, gives the addition from the LXX, *καὶ ἔκρυσεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἄμμῳ*. The variant ‘38 years’ is of course only the result of a dittography, as the word before ends with *λ*.

9₃₈. Apparently in the second clause of the verse the copula must have been *οἶν*. This reading does not seem to be represented in any Greek MS or version.

9₃₉. The Coptic represents *ἱμάτια πάντα*. Of this reading too there does not seem to be any other trace.

STEPHEN GASELEE.

NOTES AND STUDIES

NEW LIGHT ON THE BOOK OF JASHAR

(A STUDY OF 3 REGN. VIII 53^b LXX).

My interest in this passage was aroused by Prof. Burkitt at a time when his important paper on it in this JOURNAL¹ was written but not published. I was aware of his opinion that the accepted reconstruction of the Hebrew was untenable, but not of his own restoration of it. An independent investigation led me to some of the conclusions at which, as his paper subsequently shewed me, he had arrived. In one emendation, however, which I communicated to him, I differed from him; his emendation of the last line of the fragment also appeared open to question. I have since reverted on more than one occasion to this fascinating passage, and have recently discovered, as I believe, the solution of the problem offered by the line in question. The solution, while it curtails by one line the all too scanty relics of the lost book of Jashar, fully compensates, I venture to think, for this loss by the new and interesting light which it sheds on its history. Prof. Burkitt's explanation of the concluding words was put forward with hesitation, and left room, as he will doubtless agree, for further research. The opening lines are baffling and I cannot claim to have said the last word upon them.

The passage, it will be remembered, occurs in the account of Solomon's dedication of the Temple, and is in its position and its greater fullness peculiar to the Septuagint. The LXX alone tells us that Solomon at the end of his long prayer of dedication recited a stanza of poetry and adds that the stanza is written in a (or the) book of song. The passage occurs, however, in a mutilated and altered form in the canonical text at a rather earlier point in the narrative. It is there placed (1 Kings viii 12 f) before the blessing of the congregation and the dedicatory prayer, being brought into immediate connexion with an incident which it clearly serves to illustrate, namely, the descent of the cloud upon the house of the Lord which was filled with His glory. The first line of the stanza together with some of the introductory words and the reference to the Song-book have disappeared. It is beyond question that the LXX, as compared with the Massoretic Text, presents us with a version of an older, if not the oldest, form of the passage, and that it places it in its original context. Its transposition and abbreviation in the MT is the outcome of editorial 'improvement' and religious scruples. Yet the whole passage as it appears in its longer form in the LXX is in all

¹ Vol. x (1909) 439 ff.

probability a gloss, though a very ancient one. In the attempt to restore the original Hebrew the fundamental question arises: had the poem originally any reference to the dedication of the Temple? If not, how and when did the ascription to Solomon arise?

Now, it will be shewn in the sequel that at a date not later than about the third century B.C. the stanza in its longer LXX form, or the poem of which it formed part, was set to music for liturgical use. At that date, therefore, it had received official sanction as a religious poem and was probably ascribed to Solomon. I have therefore in the first part of my paper attempted to restore the Hebrew, with assistance from Prof. Burkitt's article, on the assumption of Solomonic authorship. Since, however, there are not a few indications of the possibility of a non-Solomonic origin, I have in the final portion been bold enough to hazard a theory with regard to a yet older and secular form of the poem. The middle portion brings some 'new light' to bear on the Song-book as a whole.

I.

The passage runs as follows in Dr Swete's text, with the exception that *Kýrios* is here shifted from the first to the second line of the quatrain and the punctuation altered accordingly. The portions which have no equivalent in the MT are enclosed in square brackets.

Τότε ἐλάλησεν Σαλωμών [ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἴκου ὡς
 συνετέλεσεν τοῦ οἰκοδομήσαι αὐτόν
 Ἕλιον ἐγνώρισεν ἐν οὐρανῷ]
 Κύριος εἶπεν τοῦ κατοικεῖν ἐκ γνόφου.
 Οἰκοδόμησον οἶκόν μου, οἶκον ἐκπρεπῆ σαντῶ,
 τοῦ κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ καίνότητος.
 [οὐκ ἰδοὺ αὕτη γέγραπται ἐν βιβλίῳ τῆς ψδῆς;]

The variant readings are practically negligible, Prof. Burkitt having conclusively shewn that *ἔστησεν* of the Lucianic text is a mere emendation of the harder *ἐγνώρισεν*, not a direct translation from the Hebrew. *Εὐπρεπῆ* is read by A and most MSS for *ἐκπρεπῆ*: *κενότητος* of A is a mere itacism. The only substantial variant deserving consideration is *ἐν γνόφῳ* of A and the majority of MSS, as against *ἐκ γνόφου* (*ἐκν.*) B and 245 (a cursive described by Field as Lucianic), *ἐκ γνόφου* 119. 121, *ἐκ νότου* Ethiopic (as cited by Burkitt).

The earlier passage in the MT runs in the R.V. :—

‘Then spake Solomon, The Lord hath said that he would dwell in the thick darkness. I have surely built thee an house of habitation, a place for thee to dwell in for ever.’

The *crux* in the *first* line of the stanza is *ἐγνώρισεν*. I had seen, as

Prof. Burkitt saw, that this word could only represent, as it consistently represents throughout the LXX, a Hebrew הוֹרִיעַ, the hiphil or causative of יָדַע 'know', and that Wellhausen's הִכִּן (which seemed to account for the other Greek variant ἡσυχάζει = הִכִּן) must be abandoned. But הוֹרִיעַ 'made known' is unmeaning in the context and must be due to a misreading of the original by the Greek translator. Prof. Burkitt, by altering the middle radical and assuming that י was not written, emended the word to הוֹפִיעַ (הוֹפִיעַ) 'Shine': 'Sun, shine forth in the heaven!' It had occurred to me that without the alteration of a letter, by a mere re-division of the words, which in the original would be written without break, a sequence of ideas was presented consistent with each other and with the following line. I assume with Prof. Burkitt that י was not written. By merely breaking up הוֹרִיעַ into two parts and appending to the second part the first letter of the next word we obtain instead of

(a) שֶׁמֶשׁ הוֹרִיעַ בַּשָּׁמַיִם

(b) שֶׁמֶשׁ הוֹר יַעֲב שָׁמַיִם

i. e. 'Sun-glory-beclouds¹-heavens.'

The syntax, it is true, presents difficulties, the words being capable of at least two interpretations, either 'The sun of glory beclouds the heavens' or 'O sun, (the) Glory beclouds the heavens'. The latter is more suitable to a description of a Theophany, and I assume that it is intended. Both the new words have special associations with Jahwe's revelation of Himself and are quite in keeping with the context.

הוֹר is a poetical word denoting 'splendour', especially divine splendour, the 'light and glory which God wears as King'. God's glory (הוֹר) covers the heavens (Hab. iii 3), is 'above the heavens' (ψ viii 2 [1]), 'above earth and heaven' (ψ cxlviii 13): He clothes Himself with it, putting on light as a garment (ψ civ 1).

עֵב is a dark cloud or cloud-mass, also associated with Jahwe: He rides upon them as in a chariot (Isa. xix 1, ψ civ 3) or envelopes Himself in them (ψ xviii 12 [11] f = 2 Sam. xxii 12). The corresponding Hiphil verb 'becloud' occurs once in the O.T., in Lam. ii 1: 'How hath the Lord covered the daughter of Zion with a cloud (עֵב, LXX ἐνέφρωσεν) in his anger!'

The conjunction of the opposite ideas of glory and darkness, and the thought of darkness occasioned by God's glory is thoroughly Hebraic: witness, e.g., in this very context the interchange of 'the cloud filled the house' and 'the glory (כְּבוֹד) of the Lord filled the house' (1 Kings viii 10 f), and compare Milton's 'Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear, Yet dazzle Heaven'.²

¹ יַעֲב being the defective way of writing יַעֲבִי. Cf. note 2 on p. 525.

² *Paradise Lost* iii 380 f with the context.

In the *second* line of the stanza the only debatable point of real importance is the variant $\epsilon\kappa$ γνόφου, as against $\epsilon\nu$ γνόφω of the majority of MSS which are supported by the MT (ב) in the parallel passage. I am not prepared to dismiss $\epsilon\kappa$ γνόφου so lightly as does Prof. Burkitt, who considers that it 'must ultimately be a mere mistake'. A reading attested by B, the Ethiopic version and a cursive described as Lucianic, i.e. with early authority in Egypt, Ethiopia, and possibly Syria, must be one of great antiquity. If $\epsilon\nu$ is original, $\epsilon\kappa$ no doubt originated, not in a 'mistaken' misreading of N as K, but in the normal assimilation of consonants. The papyri shew that final ν, especially in monosyllabic words, was from 300 to 150 B. C. commonly assimilated to γ before gutturals ($\epsilon\gamma$ γαστρί, &c.): after 150 B. C. such assimilation is rare.¹ $\epsilon\nu$ γνόφω would therefore in the early Ptolemaic period become $\epsilon\gamma$ γνόφω, and in Egypt γ (which Egyptians seem to have had a difficulty in pronouncing²) might be further altered to κ, producing $\epsilon\kappa$ (γ)νόφω (cf. $\epsilon\kappa$ γαστρί Job xv 35 A). But $\epsilon\kappa$ γνόφου is far more likely to have been altered to the easier $\epsilon\nu$ γνόφω. Moreover a closer investigation seems to shew that the harder reading is in reality not merely 'transcriptionally' but also 'intrinsically' the more probable. That God dwelt in the thick darkness was a commonplace of Hebrew thought (Ex. xx 21, &c.). But here we have reference to a *promise*,³ which leads us to expect a gracious departure from the recognized ways of the Deity as hitherto revealed. Jahwe has promised to come out from His isolation in the darkness of the thunder-cloud, and to dwell in an earthly abode! For the phrase 'to dwell outside the darkness' we may compare Gen. xxvii 39 (Isaac's blessing of Esau)

משמני הארץ יהיה מושבך ומטל השמים מעל

which R.V.^{ms} with many commentators renders 'Away from the fatness of the earth shall be thy dwelling and away from the dew or heaven from above.'⁴ The Genesis passage (מושבך) brings us to the only other point to be mentioned in this line of the Jashar stanza, viz. that τοῦ κατοικεῖν here, as in line 4, probably represents לשכן; לשכן 'to tabernacle' of the MT seems to be an editorial 'improvement'.

In the *third* line again it is not, I venture to think, so obvious that οἰκαδόμησον οἶκόν μου (= בנה ביתי) is 'a mistake for the MT בניתי'. בניתי is certainly more likely to have been *corrupted* into ביתי than *vice versa*; but the former may quite well be an ingenious emendation of the Massorettes who found the other reading obscure. The Greek

¹ Mayser *Gramm. der griech. Pap. aus der Ptolemäerzeit* 230 ff; cf. the writer's *Grammar of the O. T. in Greek* 130 f. ² *Gramm. of O. T.* 100 note.

³ אָמַר commonly of a promise (2 Kings viii 19 &c.), sometimes of a threat.

⁴ Cf. also Prov. xx 3 שבת מריב 'to sit away from strife' and other uses of מן = 'away from' or 'without' cited in BDB *Heb. Lex.* 578^b.

translator possibly saw a reference in the first half of the line to the palace which Solomon built for himself, but the words, if correctly rendered by him, are doubtless to be explained by Ψ cxxvii 1 (a Psalm which, be it noted, the title incorrectly ascribes to Solomon) 'Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it'. Solomon asks Jahwe to assist in the building or the establishment of the house of splendour which he has designed for Him. We may equate ἐκπεπῆγ with MT וּבֵל, a rare word which, as Prof. Burkitt has shewn, must from its associations connote something like 'a heavenly palace' on earth.

The *fourth* line of the quatrain, which in the Greek runs 'To dwell upon newness', in the Hebrew 'A place for thee to dwell in for ever', appeared to Prof. Burkitt the *crux* of the whole passage and the reconstruction of the Hebrew underlying the Greek to be beset by insuperable difficulties. His alternative renderings of the restored Hebrew were

'For thy dwelling at the New Moon Feasts',
or, 'For Sabbaths and for New Moon Feasts'.

These renderings represent an original which fairly¹ accounts for the Greek text, but they entirely fail to explain the MT reading 'for ever'.

I venture to think that I have found the clue to the puzzling divergence between the LXX and the MT at this point. What appears to be the last line of the quatrain proves, if I am not mistaken, to be no part of the poem at all, but to belong to the comment which follows, referring the reader to the source from which the poem is taken. The hint was given me by a suggested explanation² of a rather similar puzzle in connexion with another extract from the Book of Jasher. Readers of the magnificent Dirge of David over Saul and Jonathan must often have pondered over the meaning of the intrusive and irrelevant words which are interposed between the introductory clause and the Dirge itself. 'And David lamented with this lamentation over Saul and over Jonathan his son: (Also he bade them teach the children of Judah *the use of* the bow: behold, *it is* written in the book of Jasher.) The beauty of Israel is slain,' &c.³ We recognize that the bracketed clause is a gloss, and the R.V. rendering '*the song of* the bow' goes some way to explaining it. But how much more intelligible the gloss becomes if we recognize that not merely is 'the bow' a title, but that the immediately preceding words also form part of the title. The Hebrew of the words

¹ Ἐνὶ καινότητος should represent עַל חֲדָשִׁים—not עַל חֲדָשִׁים which Prof. Burkitt's rendering requires.

² Art. JASHER in *Encycl. Bibl.* I take the idea from the article, without adopting Dr Cheyne's emendations, which, as the sequel will shew, are unnecessary. The suggestion, I since find, had already been made by Lord A. Hervey in the *Speaker's Commentary*.

³ 2 Sam. i 17 ff A. V.

'Also he bade . . . the bow' runs יהודה קשת ; ויאמר ללמד בני יהודה קשת 'bow' is absent from the LXX and appears to be a secondary gloss. The passage should run as follows:—

'And he said:—

For instruction. (To) the sons of Judah. [Bow-song].¹

See the writing in the book of Jashar.

'Thy glory (?), O Israel, is slain upon thy high places!' &c.

ללמד, LXX τοῦ διδάξαι: the identical phrase occurs as part of the title to Ψ lx (LXX lix), where the LXX renders εἰς διδασκῆν, R.V. 'to teach'. The Psalm and the title are both regarded as ancient by Dr Briggs: both Psalm and Dirge were apparently 'to be committed to memory for recitation' (Kirkpatrick, comparing Deut. xxxi 22). 'Sons of Judah' recalls 'of (or "to") the sons of Korah' (i. e. belonging to the minor collection of Psalms made by that guild) which occurs in the titles of eleven of the canonical Psalms. קשת 'bow' may either be the 'bow-song'² (analogous to 'the bush' = the passage about the bush, &c.) or possibly a technical musical term of which the meaning is lost.

In the light obtained from this explanation of the exordium to the Dirge we turn to the words which close the Dedicatory Song of Solomon: τοῦ κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ καινότητος. οὐκ ἰδοὺ αὐτῇ γέγραπται ἐν βιβλίῳ τῆς ψδῆς;

Τοῦ κατοικεῖν is undoubtedly intended to represent לִשְׁבֹּת. But לִשְׁבֹּת, if it is a verb at all, means 'to dwell (in)': a suffix is required to express the meaning 'for thee to dwell in'. In the MT the suffix is duly appended and, to make the meaning still plainer, the word 'place' is prefixed: מִכָּן לִשְׁבֹּת. This, however, is a clear case of editorial emendation. לִשְׁבֹּת, therefore, in the original did not mean 'for thee to dwell in', but it did mean 'For the Sabbath' (not 'For Sabbaths' as Prof. Burkitt suggests). This recalls the title to Ψ xcii (LXX xci) מִזְמֹר לְיוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת, Ψαλμὸς ψδῆς εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ σαββάτου. Further instances of the allocation of particular Psalms to the Sabbath or other day of the week occur in the LXX titles, though absent from the MT: xxiii (LXX) τῆς μῶσῃ σαββάτων, (?) xxxvii περὶ σαββάτου, xlvii δευτέρα σαββάτου, xcii εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ προσαββάτου, xciii τετράδι σαββάτων. These parallels arouse a suspicion that to Solomon's Song of Dedication there has been appended a similar liturgical note, indicating that the Song was intended for use on the Sabbath in the services of synagogue or temple.

¹ Dr Cheyne (*op. cit.*) reads 'Of David. For the sons of Jeduthun. For the Ezrahite'. The guild of Jeduthunites has since, alas, been affiliated to the much-enduring Jerahmeel! (*Critica Biblica* iii 250).

² Or belonging to 'the Bow'-collection, which may have included Hannah's song (1 Sam. ii 1-10), &c.: *Speaker's Comm.* on 2 Sam. i.

This impression is strongly reinforced by the subsequent words which have proved a puzzle alike to the ancient translators and editors and to modern commentators. The puzzle to the modern critic is to find a Hebrew original which will account both for the LXX ἐπὶ καινότητος and for the MT עולם 'for ever'. Wellhausen and his followers found the connecting link in the word עולם 'youth', and came, as I believe, very near the truth. Prof. Burkitt gave a Hebrew version of the LXX, but abandoned the attempt to account for the MT. Now, there occurs in the titles of two or three of the Psalms a phrase which exactly meets the requirements of the case. It is the musical direction על צלילת, A.V. 'upon Alamoth', R.V. 'set to Alamoth'. The noun is the plural of עלמה 'young woman'; in 1 Chron. xv 20 the softer notes of 'psalteries set to Alamoth' are contrasted with 'cymbals of brass to sound aloud', and the phrase is interpreted to mean 'in maidenlike style', in other words 'soprano' or 'falsetto'. Boys' voices, rather than women's, are probably intended; in the title to Ψ ix the words לְפָנַי = *pueris* are appended. The translators and editors of Scripture were apparently not musical experts, and the word עלמות is easily confused with the cognate עולם 'youthful vigour' and with עולם 'for ever'. But we are not left merely to probabilities. We find that the phrase has actually been interpreted by two of the later translators, Aquila and Symmachus, in one or other of these ways. The following are the renderings of LXX, Aquila, and Symmachus in the four passages where the phrase (slightly corrupted in two of them) is used:—

	MT	LXX	Aquila	Symmachus
Ψ ix tit.	על מות לבן	ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων τοῦ υἱοῦ	νεανιότητος τοῦ υἱοῦ	περὶ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ υἱοῦ ¹
Ψ xlvī (xlv) tit.	על עלמות	ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων	ἐπὶ νεανιοτήτων ²	ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰωνίων
Ψ xlviii (xlvii) 15 ³	על מות	εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας NART (om. B)	! ἀθανασία ! ἐπὶ θάνατον ἀνανεώσει (or ἀνακαινίσει) ⁴	εἰς τὸ διηνεκές
1 Chron. xv 20	על עלמות	ἐπὶ ἀλαμῶθ		(?) ⁵ ἐπὶ τῶν αἰωνίων

¹ Theodotion (whose rendering is unattested elsewhere) has, with *Quinta*, ὑπὲρ ἀκμῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ, *Sexta* νεανικότης τοῦ υἱοῦ.

² Ἄλλος ἐπὶ νεοτήτων.

³ The title of Ψ xlix has probably become attached to the end of Ψ xlviii.

⁴ As attested in the Talmud and the Syro-hexaplar (see Field).

⁵ Ἄλλος is undoubtedly Symmachus.

Ἐπὶ νεανιότητι(ος) of Aquila is not absolutely identical with ἐπὶ καινότητος of the Jashar fragment, but is sufficiently close to justify the inference that the two are renderings of the same Hebrew: the older translator by a slight and natural paraphrase (καινότης for νεότης or νεανιότης) produced a tolerably intelligible rendering, which a literal version would not have produced. The explanation here given accounts moreover for the ἐπὶ which puzzled Prof. Burkitt; ἐν is the normal preposition to express musical 'accompaniment'; it is abnormal in expressions of time, such as 'on the New Moon Feast'. For the confusion by which the title has been incorporated into the body of the poem, we may compare the prayer of Habakkuk (iii 19), where the title, similarly placed at the end of the poem,¹ 'For the Chief Musician, on my stringed instruments,' appears in the LXX as a continuation of the prayer: (ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἐπιβιβᾷ με) τοῦ νυκῆσαι ἐν τῇ ψῆῳ αὐτοῦ. The conjecture, I venture to think, being supported by the renderings of the later Greek translators, and confirmed by the explanation of the gloss preceding the Dirge (and, as will appear later, by a similar gloss in the third Jashar citation), comes as near to certainty as a conjectural emendation can well come.

It has commonly been assumed that 'the book of Song' (הַשִּׁיר) is identical with 'the book of Jashar' (שִׁירֵי יָשָׁר), and on the whole the assumption seems reasonable, though we may hesitate to decide which title is the older; the fact that the Solomon Song was set to music is slightly in favour of the former.²

The whole canto as restored will now run:—

'Sun, (the) Glory clouds the heavens,

'Jahwe hath promised to dwell without the thick darkness:

(and then, the singer addressing Jahwe)

'Build Thou my house, a celestial Palace for Thyself.'

For the Sabbath. On Alamothe.³

The stanza portrays the glorious descent of Jahwe in the thunder-cloud from His abode in the darkness of the sky, to set His seal to the building, and to enter into possession of the new celestial abode on earth which Solomon has prepared to receive Him.

¹ We have to allow for the possibility that both in Habakkuk (where there is a second title at the beginning) and in the Jashar fragment the title is properly that of the *next* song which followed in the collection. As regards Jashar, however, the parallels in the other citations from that book render this explanation improbable.

² 'Jashar' should probably be explained, not as = the adj. יָשָׁר 'upright', but as = יָשָׁר (י) 'he sang', the title being taken from the first word in the book; cf. the introductory יָשָׁר יְשָׁרָה to the two ancient (? Jashar) songs in Ex. xv 1, Num. xxi 17, and the similar Hebrew titles for the books of the Pentateuch.

³ i. e. 'For soprano voices.'

II. THE TITLES IN THE BOOK OF JASHAR.

We have found that two out of the three citations from the lost Song-book have titles attached to them. It is natural to enquire whether this may not also be the case with the third. Let us look at Jos. x 12 f. We observe first that the incantation to the sun is followed in the MT (though not in the LXX) by the formula of reference familiarized by its use with the other extracts, 'Is not this written in the book of Jashar?' Turning to the prelude we are again struck by the occurrence of words in the MT which are absent from the LXX, interposed, just as the title is interposed in David's Dirge, between the introductory 'And he said' (וַיֹּאמֶר) and the actual incantation. The words are לְעֵינֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל—literally 'to the eyes of (i.e. in full view of) Israel'. They call up a picture of the whole army 'standing at ease', with eyes riveted on their leader or the heavens as he adjures the sun to stand still. But was this the original meaning? We are irresistibly reminded of the allusion to 'the sons of Judah' which precedes the Dirge, though we hesitate to make the easy emendation to לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל. All cause for hesitation, however, is dispelled by the discovery that Aquila actually had these very words in his text! It is to the Syro-hexaplar that we owe the important piece of evidence that Aquila's version was πρὸς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ (Field), or perhaps rather τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ. The parallel with the Dirge leaves little room for doubt that here again we have a title: '(Belonging) to (the collection of) the sons of Israel.' We see how

'And he said:—

To the sons of Israel.

'Sun, stand still . . .'

would inevitably become 'And he said to the sons of I., Sun, stand still', and how the latter, being nonsense, would demand some such emendation as appears in the MT.

Let us put together the long obscured and now recovered titles of these old songs and see what results are obtainable from them. The formula of reference to the title of the whole collection is an invariable concomitant of the minor titles, though placed in varying positions, and must be considered along with them. We have:—

(a) Joshua's Incantation

To the sons of Israel	} MT (not LXX)
Is not this written in the book of Jashar?	

(b) David's Dirge

For instruction. (To) the sons of Judah.	MT, LXX
Bow (song)	MT
Behold it is written in the Book of Jashar	MT
.	

(c) Solomon's Song of Dedication

.....
 For the Sabbath. On Alamothe (= Sopranos) } LXX (not MT ;
 Is not this written in the book of the Ode (or } probably
 Jashar)? } excised)

The results which emerge are as follows :—

(i) The Book of Jashar, like the Psalter, comprised minor collections. It was divided, so to speak, into chapters. We know the names of two of these minor collections, that of 'the children of Judah' and that of 'the children of Israel'. The names are complementary to each other, and this suggests that they are possibly the names of the two main collections. The names resemble the title 'To the children of Korah' which we meet with in the Psalter, yet with a difference. The post-exilic Korah collection 'made in the early Greek period' (Briggs) derives its title from a guild of temple-singers. The titles of the two collections in Jashar are taken not from any narrow clique, but from the two comprehensive territorial or tribal divisions of Palestine in the period of the Divided Monarchy. We are irresistibly reminded of the two oldest narrative-writers in our Bible, known as J and E and commonly associated with the Southern and the Northern kingdom respectively. There is a presumption, at any rate, that these titles are early, and that they may even go back to the time of the Monarchy.

(ii) Solomon's Song has no corresponding 'territorial' title, but it has attached to it the very interesting liturgical note informing us that it was once set to music. Musical rubrics of this kind are not likely to have the high antiquity suggested for the territorial titles. It has been observed¹ that in the Psalter musical instructions as to voice, instrument, or tune are attached only to those Psalms which belong to the collection of 'the chief Musician' or 'Precentor', and the reasonable inference has been drawn that he was the first to introduce them. Now the 'Precentor's' date has been ascertained to have been 'the middle Greek period', about 250 B. C. : he was a contemporary of the Chronicler, whose interest in the temple-singers, of whom he was probably one, is well known. We may infer that the addition of the title 'On Alamothe' to Solomon's Dedicatory Song was probably not made before this period. The date of the title does not of course give us the date of the poem : yet the fact that this poem has the later musical rubric, while it lacks the older tribal title, is perhaps a slight indication that it is not one of the oldest poems in the anthology.

(iii) How did the titles find their way into the O. T. and what purpose do they serve there? The textual evidence at their first appearance

¹ Briggs *Psalms* (*Int. Crit. Comm.*) lxxv.

(i. e. their absence from the LXX of Joshua) suggests that the added words are a gloss; the same impression is made by the title to the Dirge, which interrupts the narrative: there too we see, in the MT, the earlier gloss taking on an accretion. In 3 Kingdoms there is a difference, in that, while in the previous extracts the gloss is restricted to the titles, here the whole excerpt, including the introductory and closing words, appears from the context to be a gloss, though an ancient one.¹ The titles, with in one case the canto itself, are therefore marginal notes which have crept into the text. What more natural explanation of their presence in the margin than that they are references, as it were, to book, chapter, and verse (*'Vide Jashar . . .'*)? The glosses as such have long since disappeared, and we have no criterion of handwriting to tell us anything of their writer or writers: yet it does not seem improbable that we owe these precise and scholarly references, framed on the same pattern, to one and the same person, some ancient student of the later historical books, the rolls of which may have occupied one box² in his library. We may even venture to go further and assign an approximate date to the glossator. The glosses were absent when Joshua was translated into Greek (towards the end of the third century B. C.), they had found their way into the text when the first partial Greek version of the Books of Kingdoms appeared (probably in the latter half of the second century B. C.). We may conjecture then that it was at some time between 200 and 150 B. C. that this early student recorded in the margins of his Bible the fact that these poems, one of which he copied out himself, were to be found in another roll to which he had access, and, to facilitate future reference, added the exact titles under which the passages might be found in the Song-book. One such student we know of who would meet the conditions, one of whom his grandson tells us that 'my grandfather Jesus, having much given himself to the reading of the law, and the prophets, and the other books of our fathers (τῶν ἄλλων πατρίων βιβλίων), and having gained great familiarity therein, was drawn on also himself to write somewhat . . .', one who includes in his category of famous men 'such as sought out musical tunes and set forth verses in writing', himself perhaps one of the 'rich men furnished with ability, living peaceably in their habitations'.³

However this may be, these titles have added to our knowledge of

¹ This is suggested by the immediately succeeding *v. 54* καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς συνετέλεσεν Σαλ. προσευχόμενος πρὸς Κύριον ὕλην τὴν προσευχὴν καὶ τὴν δέξιν ταύτην, which refers back to the long prayer ending at 53^a (see 52 τὴν δέξιν) without any allusion to the Song.

² Swete *Introduction to O. T.* 225.

³ Sirach *prol.*, xliv 5 f. It has been suggested that the praises of famous men in Sir. xliv-1 are imitations or paraphrases of odes in the book of Jashar (*Speaker's Comm.* ii 55).

the book of Jashar and seem to give us glimpses of three stages in its history. First comes the gathering together of the songs of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms respectively, afterwards combined into a single national anthology,¹ possibly at the time when the two early prose narratives of the national history (J and E) were also being welded together (*circa* 650 B. C.,² or perhaps a century later).³ The collection grows, and in the time of the Chronicler (300–250 B. C.) one at least of the songs has been set to music and designed for liturgical use, if not actually used, in the services of temple or synagogue. A century later the Song-book, with headings to its constituent poems like those in our Psalter, was still accessible to a student whose extracts from it have enabled us to read something of its earlier history. In his day copies must have been scarce, since early in the Christian era the book of Jashar was unknown, and Rabbis could identify it with the Pentateuch or some part of it.

III.

Reverting to Solomon's Song, if we cannot hope to reconstruct all the details with certainty, the stanza must have appeared in some such form as on p. 525 when it received its *imprimatur* as suitable for liturgical use. Several considerations, however, combine to arouse suspicions that this may not have been quite the oldest form and that the ascription to Solomon was an afterthought and not the intention of the poet. We see the process of editorial revision going on under our eyes in the extant documents⁴ and we have no ground for assuming that they exhibit its earliest stages. The post-exilic Ψ cxxvii 'Except the Lord build the house' has also, as the title shews, been interpreted as a speech of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple: have we any reason to suppose that the ascription of our fragment to Solomon is more accurate? The considerations to which I shall briefly allude have reference to the language of the stanza, the Massoretic edition of it and the characteristics of the book of Jashar, so far as they can be inferred from the two other certain fragments which have survived.

As regards the language, we note first the address to the sun. The poet may have merely intended to appeal to the sun to witness its discomfiture and obscurity by the greater glory of Jahwe descending to earth. But the prominent position assigned to the sun suggests that the whole stanza, the third line as well as the first, may originally have referred to it. This impression is strengthened by a quite possible

¹ ἐν βιβλίῳ τοῦ ἔθνους (a happy corruption or correction of εὐθεῖς) in the Hexaplaric gloss in Jos. x 13 cod. G.

² Carpenter and Harford *Composition of the Hexateuch* 335: cf. Driver *LOT*² 116 ff.

³ Prof. Kennett in *Camb. Biblical Essays* 99–104.

⁴ It has advanced a little further in 2 Chron. vi 1 f.

interpretation of the first two lines, indeed the one which first commended itself to me:—

‘The sun of glory is obscured’¹ in the heavens,
 ‘Jahwe hath said He will dwell in thick darkness.’

Such an interpretation calls up a picture of a solar eclipse or obscuration. The third line presents difficulties, but two points in it are in favour of the explanation that the sun is the deity addressed. The turning of the speaker to Jahwe in this line involves a rather abrupt transition, and it adds to the consistency of the canto if we identify ‘thee’ of this line with Shemesh of the first. The rare and obscure word וְנִלָּן (LXX *ἐκπρεπή*) is, in one of the three other O. T. passages² where it occurs, used of the lofty abode or station in the sky of sun and moon: ‘Sun (and) moon stood still in their habitation’ (וְנִלָּן, LXX *τῇ τάξει*: Hab. iii 11). The difficulty lies in the building metaphor. Is it permissible to suppose that a Jewish worshipper in primitive times imploring the eclipsed or obscured sun to shine once more would ask him to build his heavenly house—his Beth-shemesh—or to assert that he had built such a house for him? We know too little of Hebrew folk-lore to answer this. The nearest Hebrew parallel is וְנִלָּן (5) 4, the original of which probably ran ‘Shemesh has set up his tent’.³ Reference may incidentally be made to the ‘stations for the great gods’ in the Babylonian account of the creation and to the Greek astrological use of *οἶκος* and *οἰκοδεσπότης*.

The Massoretic manipulation of the canto requires explanation. The editors have suppressed (1) the reference to the sun, (2) the mention of the book of Jashar. For what reason? Partly, no doubt, because the orthodoxy of the Song-book as a whole was suspected and because this extract in particular in its first line seemed to come perilously near to sun-worship or to be capable of such a construction being put upon it. The suspicion in this case may have been groundless, but at least it was felt. Biblical editors and translators were on their guard against

¹ Or ‘Sun, (thy) glory is obscured’. We must assume a Qal form of the verb (עָבַר), which does not occur in the O. T. The occurrence in a primitive poem of a form unrepresented elsewhere is not surprising; its rarity would partly account for its misinterpretation. The Oxford Lexicon quotes, *s. v.* עָבַר, an Arabic equivalent = ‘to be hidden’, and of the sun ‘to set’.

² In Isa. lxiii 15 it is used of God’s abode in the sky, ‘Look down from heaven and behold from the habitation (וְנִלָּן) of thy holiness and of thy glory’. In וְנִלָּן 15 (14) the text is uncertain. ‘The prayer of Habakkuk’ offers the nearest parallels to the Jashar fragment: it belonged to ‘the Precentor’s’ collection and probably therefore once stood in the Psalter, from which it was afterwards relegated to the book of Habakkuk. It may originally have stood in the Song-book.

³ Briggs *Psalms* (*Int. Crit. Comm.*) i. 167. The LXX reading (xviii 6*) is curious, appearing to represent the sun as the abode of God.

this insidious peril and were apt to omit or paraphrase suspicious passages where the sun was placed in juxtaposition or comparison with Jahwe. Sometimes a real relic of sun-worship has thus been obliterated (Ψ xix is the clearest instance¹), sometimes excessive scrupulousness has caused the alteration of an innocuous comparison, as when the LXX translators scented danger in Ψ lxxxiv (lxxxiii) 12 (11) 'For the Lord God is a sun and shield' and freely paraphrased $\delta\tau\iota \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\omicron\nu\kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\acute{\eta} \text{ Κύριος } \delta \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$.

Lastly, we may gather from the two other relics of the Jashar book at least one characteristic of its contents. It has often been remarked that the Lament over Saul and Jonathan contains no religious allusion whatever. The allusions are to nature, to the heights, the mountains of Gilboa, the dew, the rain. This suggests that the poems in the old Hebrew Song-book were of a semi-pagan character. If they reflected any religious or superstitious feeling, this is likely to have been of a primitive kind in which nature-worship and Jahwe-worship were not regarded as incompatible. These remarks are borne out by the fragment in Joshua (x 12 f) which in its original form probably ran²:—

'Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon,
'And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon,
'Until Jahwe hath avenged Himself of His enemies.'

Jahwe is here placed beside Shemesh, the sun-god, or rather, it would seem, given a subordinate rôle: He appears to need the sunlight to defeat His enemies. (Similarly in our fragment the sun gives light to Jahwe and its eclipse causes Him to dwell in darkness.) In the poem it is not Jahwe but Joshua who commands the sun to stand still, though the narrator naturally attributes the miracle to Jahwe (*v.* 14). We note, however, a second characteristic of the three fragments, viz. that they are all associated with great events in the national history. But was this always so? Did the book of Jashar contain nothing but songs commemorating the deeds of heroes? The Lament over Saul and Jonathan is unquestionably what it professes to be—the commemoration of a historical or supposed historical incident. The fragment in Joshua is not so obviously and inseparably linked to the

¹ Briggs *op. cit.*

² Possibly corrupted from, more probably selected owing to its resemblance to, $\eta\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$. A literal rendering of הַצֹּרֵךְ 'the Rock' as a Divine title (Dt. xxxii 4, &c.) was similarly avoided in the LXX: fear of idolatry was in this case the motive.

³ The third line in the MT 'And the sun stood still and the moon stayed' reads like a prosaic addition. In the last line the LXX has $\delta \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, which no doubt represents an original יְהוָה as in *v.* 12^a and often in this book (the late Dr Redpath in *J.T.S.* vii 607). The Massoretes, finding objection in the subordinate position assigned to Jahwe, characteristically altered the Divine Name to 'the nation'.

particular incident with which it is brought into connexion. The valley of Aijalon was one of great strategic importance and the scene of numerous battles,¹ and it is conceivable that the fragment in Joshua was in its origin a war-song or incantation of general application, which subsequently became attached to the first great recorded victory in this celebrated battlefield.

Dr Frazer writes in *The Golden Bough*²: 'Primitive man . . . fancies he can make the sun to shine and can hasten or stay its going down.' In the Joshua fragment we have an instance of the sun-staying incantation. I venture to suggest that the fragment which we have been considering may have grown out of an old popular incantation used in times of solar eclipse, and that, as so frequently happened³, the nature religion was afterwards absorbed into the national religion.

H. ST J. THACKERAY.

¹ G. A. Smith *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land* 209 ff.

² i 115-119, where examples are given of making sunshine and staying the sun. 'During an eclipse of the sun the Kamtchatkans used to bring out fire from their huts and pray the great luminary to shine as before.'

³ G. F. Moore, art. NATURE-WORSHIP, in *Enc. Bibl.*

THE PESHITTA VERSION OF 2 KINGS.

(A CONTINUATION.¹)

FOR this continuation of an examination of the Peshitta text of 2 Kings I have used some additional authorities, so that the full list now runs as follows :—

- A, The Codex Ambrosianus, published in facsimile by Dr. Ceriani, Milan, 1876–1883. 6th or 7th century.
- B, The Buchanan Bible, Camb. Univ. Library, Oo. i. 1, 2. Jacobite, 12th century.
- N, Camb. Univ. Library, Add. 1964. Nestorian, 13th century.
- O, British Museum, Add. 14440. Nestorian, probably earlier than 'N'.
- X, British Museum, Add. 12138. Massoretic Nestorian².
- Z, British Museum, Add. 12178. Massoretic Jacobite³.
- e, British Museum, Egerton 704. Jacobite, 17th century.
- W, The text of the London Polyglot, 1657.
- L, Lee's Syriac Old Testament of 1823.
- U, The Urmi Bible of the American Missionaries of 1852.
- bH, Barhebraeus (Jacobite, †1286), *Auṣar Razē* on Kings, edited by A. Morgenstern, Berlin, 1895.
- Ish, Isho'-dād (Nestorian, fl. 850 A. D.), *Nuhārā* on Kings from British Museum, Or. 4524.
- HI, Hebrew Massoretic text. Š, Syro-Hexaplar.

In *The Peshitta text of Chronicles* (Cambridge, 1897) I attempted to prove that Lee's text of *Chronicles* was derived ultimately from MS 'Syriaques 6' of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. But no such thesis can be maintained with regard to the text of 2 Kings, for of this only an unpointed fragment is preserved in 'Syriaques 6'. Only the negative conclusion can be established that the text of the Editio Princeps was *not* derived from any of the MSS used for this Apparatus. It might be worth while, however, for some scholar to compare the text of 2 Kings

¹ See *J. T. S.* vol. vi pp. 220–232.

² The too learned persons who compiled the Massora are sometimes disposed to correct a reading of the Peshitta from an outside authority, and are so far untrustworthy.

given in 'Syriaques 7' of the Bibliothèque Nationale with the printed text, for an inscription in this MS asserts that it was used for the Paris Polyglot. 'Syriaques 7' is a copy of a Florentine MS, 'Laurent. Orient. 58',² a ninth-century codex with a very interesting text in Chronicles and Psalms.³

As in Chronicles and Psalms so also in 2 Kings the text of Lee differs but little from that of the Polyglots. Instances of divergence are found in xviii 31 (ܡܠܚܐ *W* for ܡܠܚܐ); xxiii 19 (ܡܠܚܐ *W* for ܡܠܚܐ); 35 (mutilated in *W*). But on the whole Lee made very little use of his MSS for the improvement of the text of 2 Kings.

One main result stands out clearly from a study of the whole Apparatus. There are in existence *two* texts of the Peshitta version of 2 Kings. These two are not to be distinguished as *Nestorian* and *Jacobite*, but as the *Receptus* (represented by the two Polyglots and Lee) and the *Non-receptus* (represented by the Authorities collated for this Apparatus). The Urmi text, which stands between them, must be described as 'mixed'. The Receptus is distinguished from its rival mainly by a closer approximation to the Hebrew Massoretic text. This approximation shews itself in the order of words, in the omission of words not found in the Hebrew but almost necessary for the smooth reading of the version, and finally in many quite small details. The general impression which the character of the Receptus makes upon the student is that of a Revised Version, i. e. of a Version revised to bring it into closer agreement with the Original.⁴

A TENTATIVE SELECT LIST OF READINGS.

2 KINGS.

- xiv 3. ܡܠܚܐ *L*
 ܡܠܚܐ *U* = ABNO e HI
 5. ܡܠܚܐ *LU* = ANOX
 om. ܡܠܚܐ B e
 14. ܡܠܚܐ *LU* = ANO HI
 ܡܠܚܐ B e
 19. ܡܠܚܐ *L* = A HI
 ܡܠܚܐ *U* = BNO e

Cited as '1' in *The Peshitta text of Chronicles*.

² Cited as 'F' in *The Peshitta Psalter* (Cambridge, 1904).

³ I single out these two books because I have collated them with some fullness.

⁴ The following passages may be cited: xviii 12, 16, 17, 22; xix 6 (*bis*); xx 14, 19; xxi. 17; xxii 2, 5, 6, 10, 13, 14, 17; xxiii. 5, 8 (*ter*), 11, 13, 16, 32; xxiv. 4, 11 (*bis*), 13; xxv. 13, 16.

25. $LU = \text{ANOX } bH$
om. BZ e
- xv 23. سَقْنَمِ (sine add) L
add تَقْنِم $U = \text{ABNO } e \text{ HI}$
25. لَا اِنَاوَد $L = \text{A}^{\text{vid}}$ BNOX $[\text{لَا اِنَاوَد}] U$
 لَا اِنَاوَد e bH $[\text{لَا اِنَاوَد}] Z$
- xvi 5. اَوْد $LU = \text{AN } e$
 اَوْد BO
16. اَوْد $LU = \text{ANO}$
 اَوْد B e
- xvii 5. اَوْد $LU = \text{BNO } e$
 اَوْد A HI
14. $[\text{اَوْد}] LU = \text{ABN } e$
 اَوْد O HI
19. اَوْد $L = e$
 اَوْد $U = \text{ABNO}$
28. اَوْد $LU = \text{ABN } e \text{ bH}$
 اَوْد O HI
34. اَوْد (r^{no}) (sine add) L $[B \text{ } e]$
add اَوْد $U = \text{ANO}$
38. اَوْد L
 اَوْد $U = \text{ABNO } e$
- xviii 12. اَوْد L HI
 اَوْد $U = [A] \text{BNOX } e$
 $[\text{اَوْد}] L$ HI
 اَوْد $U = \text{ABNOX } e$
15. اَوْد $L = A$ HI
 اَوْد $U = \text{BNO } e$
16. اَوْد L HI
 اَوْد $U = \text{ABNO } e \text{ bH}$
 اَوْد L
 اَوْد $U = \text{ABNO } e \text{ bH}$
17. اَوْد L HI
tr. verba $U = \text{ABNOXZ } e \text{ bH}$
 اَوْد L HI
 اَوْد $U = \text{ABNO}$
 اَوْد L
 اَوْد $U = \text{ABNOX } e$

18. $L = BN \text{ e HI}$
 $U = AO$
22. $L \text{ HI}$
 $U = ABNOX \text{ e}$
 $LU \text{ HI}$
 $AB^{vid}NOX \text{ e}$
23. $L = A \text{ HI}$
 $U = BNO \text{ e}$
24. $(\text{sine add}) L = B \text{ e}$
 $add \text{ HI} U = ANO \text{ HI}$
 $L \text{ [HI]}$
 $U = [A \text{ pr.}] BNO \text{ e}$
 L
 $U = ABNO \text{ e}$
25. L
 $U = ABNOX \text{ e}$
 $(\text{sine add}) L \text{ HI}$
 $add \text{ HI} U = AB^{vid}NOX$
 L
 $pr. ? U = ABNOX \text{ e}$
26. $(\text{sine add}) L = A \text{ HI}$
 $add \text{ HI} U = BNO \text{ e}$
 $L = A$
 $U = BNO \text{ e}$
27. L
 $om. U = ABNO \text{ e HI}$
 L
 $U = ABNO \text{ e}$
 L
 $U = ABNOXZ \text{ e}$
28. $LU \text{ HI}$
 $om. ABNO \text{ e}$
 $L = A \text{ HI}$
 $U = BNO \text{ e}$
 $L = O$
 $pr. U = ABN \text{ e HI}$
30. L
 $U = ABNO \text{ e}$
31. $LU = ABNO \text{ e Ish HI}$
 W

32. $\text{[om.]} L$
om. $U = ABNO \ e \ HI$
33. $\text{[post]} L$
post $U = ABNO \ e$
- xix. 4. L
 $U = ABNO \ e$
 $\text{[post]} L \ HI$
post $U = ABNO \ e$
5. $L \ HI$
 $U = ABNO \ e$
6. $LU \ HI$
 $\text{[tantum]} ABNO \ e$
 $\text{[ad fin vers]} L \ HI$
post $U = ABNO \ e$
8. $LU = AO \ HI$
 $BN \ e$
9. $LU \ HI$
om. $ABNO \ e$
11. $L = O \ cur \ pr \ HI$ [A]
 $U = BNO \ cur \ alt \ e$
12. $\text{[sine add]} LU \ HI$
add $ABNOZ \ e$
14. $\text{[2do]} \text{[sine add]} LU \ HI$
add $ABNO \ e$
15. L
 $U = ABNO \ e$
16. L
 $U = ABNO \ e$
17. LU
 $[A]BNO \ e$
18. L
 $A[B]NO \ [e]$
[om. U]
 L
 $U = A[B]NO \ [e]$
20. L
 $U = ABNO \ e$
21. L
 $U = ABNO \ e$

23. $\text{ܠܚܡܐ ܠܚܡܐ} L$
 $\text{ܠܚܡܐ ܠܚܡܐ} U = [A]BNOX e$
24. $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} LU HI$
 om. $ABNOX^{vid} e$
 $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} L$
 $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} U = ABNO e$
26. $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} L$
 $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} U = ABNO e$
27. $\text{ܠܚܡܐ ܠܚܡܐ} L$
 $\text{ܠܚܡܐ ܠܚܡܐ} U = ABNO e$
31. $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} L e$
 $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} U = ABNO$
 $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} L$
 $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} U = ABNOXZ e bH HI$
32. $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} [ܠܚܡܐ] L$
 $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} U = ABNO e$
- xx. 4. $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} L$ [sine praepositione HI]
 $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} U = ABNO e$
5. $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} L = A$
 $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} U = BNO e$
7. $\text{ܠܚܡܐ ܠܚܡܐ} LU = ANO$ [ܠܚܡܐ e]
 $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} B bH$
11. $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} L$
 $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} U = ABNO e bH$
13. $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} L$
 $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} U = ABNO e$
 $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} L$
 $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} U = ABNO e$
14. $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} L HI$
 $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} U = A[B]NO [e]$
17. $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} L$
 tr. verba $U = ABNO e$
19. $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} L HI$
 om. $U = ABNO e$
 $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} (post \text{ܠܚܡܐ}) L HI$
 post $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} U = ABN$
- xxi. 3. $\text{ܠܚܡܐ} L$
 om. $U = ABNO e HI$

4. L HI
 $(\text{tantum}) U = ABNO \ e$
 L
om. $U = ABNO \ e \ HI$
7. L
 $[U] = ABNOX \ e \ HI$
 $L[U \text{ sine sey}]$
 $ABNO[X] \ e \ HI$
 $(\text{sine add}) L \ HI$
add $U = ABNOX \ e$
 $L \ HI$
 $U = ABNO \ e$
8. $(\text{sine add}) L = A \ HI$
add $U = BNOXZ \ e \ bH$
13. $L = AOZ$
 $U = BN^{ras} \ e$
 L
 $U = ABNO \ e$
15. $L = A \ HI$
 $U = BNO \ e$
17. $L [HI]$
 $U = ABNO \ [e \ sine \ sey]$
- xxii. 2. $L \ HI$
 $U = ABNO \ e$
5. $LU \ HI$
 $ABNO \ e$
6. $L \ HI$
pr. $U = ABNOX \ e$
 $L \ HI$
om. $U = ABNO \ e$
7. L
add $U = ABNO^{curalt}X \ e$
9. L
 $U = ABNO \ e \ HI$
 $L = A \ HI$
 $U = BNO \ e$
10. $(\text{sine add}) L \ HI$
add $U = ABNO \ e$
13. $L \ HI$
 $U = ABNO \ e$

14. $\text{L} = \text{e}$ (sine add) $U = \text{ABNOXZ}$ e bH
 LU HI
 ABNOXZ e Ish bH
17. L HI (sine add) $U = \text{ABNOX}$ e
 $\text{add } U = \text{ABNOX}$ e
- xxiii. 4. $\text{L} = \text{e}$ $U = \text{ABNOXZ}$ Ish bH HI
 LU HI
 ABNO e
7. L
 $\text{om. } U = \text{ABNO}$ e
8. L
 $U = \text{ABNO}$ e bH HI
 HI (2^{do}) $U = \text{ABNOXZ}$ e bH
 HI
 $\text{om. } U = \text{ABNOX}$ e bH
 HI
 $U = \text{ABNOX}$ e [Ish bH]
10. L
 $\text{om. } U = \text{ABNOXZ}$ e bH
 HI
 $U = \text{ABNOX}$ e bH
11. L
 $\text{om. } U = \text{ABNO}$ e
 $\text{LU HI}^{\text{rid}}$
 ANOXZ [B e]
12. L
 $U = \text{ABNO}$ e
13. HI (2^{do}) (sine add) $U = \text{ABNOX}$ e
 $\text{add } U = \text{ABNOX}$ e
14. L
 $U = [\text{A}]\text{BNOX}$ e
15. L
 $U = \text{ABNOX}$ e
 L
 $U = \text{ABNO}$ e HI
16. L
 $\text{tr. verba } U = \text{ABNO}$ e HI

- $\text{ما} (rmo) LU = HI$
 $\text{ما} ABNO e$
17. $\text{ما} L$
 $\text{ما} U = [A]B[N]O e bH$
18. $\text{ما} (sine add) L HI$
 $\text{add } \text{ما} U = [A]BNO e bH^{comm}$
 $\text{ما} L HI$
 $\text{ما} U = ABNO e$
20. $\text{ما} LU$
 $\text{ما} ABNO e$
24. $\text{ما} L$
 $\text{ما} U = [A]BNO e$
29. $\text{ما} L$
 $\text{ما} U = ABNO e$
32. $\text{ما} L HI$
 $\text{ما} U = ABNO e$
34. $\text{ما} L$
 $\text{ما} U = ABNO e$
- xxiv. 3. $\text{ما} (sine add) L [HI]$
 $\text{add } \text{ما} U = ABNO e$
4. $\text{ما} LU HI$
 $\text{ما} ABNO e$
7. $\text{ما} L$
 $\text{ما} U = ABNO e HI$
11. $\text{ما} LU HI$
 $\text{ما} ABNO e$
 $\text{ما} LU = HI$
 $\text{ما} ABNO e$
13. $\text{ما} L HI$
 $\text{ما} U = ABNOX e$
14. $\text{ما} L [HI]$
 $\text{ما} U = ABNO e$
- xxv. 1. $\text{ما} L$
 $\text{ما} U = ABNO e HI$
13. $\text{ما} L HI$
 $\text{pr. } \text{ما} U = [A]BNO e$
15. $\text{ما} LU HI$
 $\text{ما} ABNO e$ [pr. $\text{ما} A$]

16. $\text{אבנו } L$
 om. $U = \text{ABNO } e \text{ HI}$
 $\text{אבנו } L \text{ HI}$
 $\text{אבנו } U = \text{ABNO } e$
17. $\text{אבנו } L \text{ HI}$
 pr. $\text{אבנו } U = \text{ABNO } e$
19. $\text{אבנו } L$
 $\text{אבנו } U = \text{ABNO } e$
 $\text{אבנו } L = e$
 $\text{אבנו } U = \text{ABNO } \text{HI} [\text{et } \text{אבנו } A]$
28. $\text{אבנו } LU = B \text{ e}$
 $\text{אבנו } ANOX [\text{HI}]$
- 28 (29). $\text{אבנו } L$
 $\text{אבנו } U = \text{ABNOX } e$

It remains to be added that these collations are offered only as provisional. In the great majority of cases I have not found time to verify the readings given by a second examination of the MSS. But the interest attaching to some of the readings not found in *Lee* justifies, it is hoped, their publication in the *JOURNAL*; see (for example) xviii 24, 25; xix 24, 31; xx 4; xxi 7; xxii 2, 13, 14; xxiii 4, 8, 18, 29; xxiv 7; xxv 28.

W. EMERY BARNES.

EZRA'S RECENSION OF THE LAW.

ACCORDING to a tradition repeated several times in the Talmud, Ezra wrote the Law אשורית , or בכתב אשורי , 'in Assyrian writing'. The most explicit passage is in *Sanhedrin* fol. 21^b:—'Mar Zutra, or according to others Mar 'Uqba, said, the Law was originally given to Israel in Hebrew writing and in the holy language. It was given to them again, in Ezra's time, in Assyrian writing and in the Aramaic language. Israel chose to retain the Assyrian writing and the holy language, leaving to the ignorant the Hebrew writing and the Aramaic language. Who are meant by "the ignorant"? Rab H̄isda said they are the Samaritans . . .'

Further on:—'Although the Law was not (actually) delivered through him (Ezra), the writing (of it) was changed by him.'

And again:—'Why was it called Assyrian? Because they brought it from Assyria.'

Similarly, in *Jer. Meg.* cap. ii (beginning), *Bab. Meg.* fol. 8^b, and elsewhere.¹

Much has been written on the meaning of the term 'Assyrian' here, but without making the matter clearer.¹ It has been explained as equivalent to Syrian, i. e. Aramaic; and as derived from a root אָשַׁר = אָשַׁר in the sense of straight, i. e. square. Since the discovery of the Assyrian inscriptions it would be natural to suppose that cuneiform writing was meant; but this is impossible, for the Talmudic authorities plainly identify Ezra's innovation with the style in use in their own day, i. e. practically the modern square character. Hence it is sometimes said that the Talmudic statements are confused and worthless.

It seems, however, that we have here a genuine tradition, and that the Talmud is quite right in giving the obvious explanation that the Assyrian writing is so called because it was brought from Assyria. It evidently means the Aramaic writing as developed in Assyria, just as in modern Hebrew we speak of German or Greek writing, meaning Hebrew written by a German or a Greek Jew. Specimens of this Assyrian Aramaic have been preserved in the dockets or endorsements of cuneiform contract tablets. A convenient collection of them has been published by Prof. Clay in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in memory of W. R. Harper* i 285. The cumbrous cuneiform characters must always have been troublesome to read as well as to write, and for business purposes it was handy to have the contents of a document noted on it in the much more practical Aramaic alphabet (and language). Although we have only a relatively small number of these short notes, scratched or written with ink on the edge of clay tablets, there can be no doubt that just as the Aramaic language was used (2 Kings xviii 26, Ezra iv 7) for official purposes alongside of the Assyrian, so the Aramaic alphabet was used along with the cuneiform syllabary. The latter, however, was more suitable for use on clay tablets, which have survived in large numbers, while Aramaic was more generally written on papyrus or skins (Ezra vi 2) which have, of course, perished. The specimens published by Prof. Clay are dated between the tenth year of Artaxerxes I (455 B. C.) and the first year of Artaxerxes II (404-3 B. C.); but the style of the writing shews that it was not then used for the first time. It must have been long in common and constant use. If then Ezra was brought up in Babylon, this (as well, no doubt, as cuneiform) was the writing he learned; it was in this that he became a ready scribe; and if he wrote a copy of the Law it was in this character that he wrote it. We even know approximately what his manuscript would be like. The Assyrian dockets are roughly and hastily written, as one might write a note for merely personal use; but, with this reservation, precisely

¹ See Kohut's *Aruch* s. v. אָשַׁר 2.

the same character is found in the Aramaic papyri recently found in Egypt.¹ These are legal documents, &c., carefully written by professional scribes in what may be called the court hand of the time, dated between 471 and 407 B. C., and thus covering about the same period as the Assyrian dockets. Evidently from the time of Xerxes at least, the Aramaic language and writing were officially used throughout the Empire, and there is no reason why we should not find in Egypt (it would not have survived in other climates) an Aramaic version, on papyrus, of some edict of the Great King. It may also be safely predicted that if we should find a fragment of the copy of the Law which must have existed in the Jewish colony at Elephantine, its writing, if alphabetical, will be this 'Assyrian' Aramaic. Meanwhile the Assuan papyri give a fair idea of the general appearance of Ezra's copy of the Law in its main features, and the fact is of importance in considering possible corruptions of the text. It is from this 'Assyrian' hand, and not from the 'Phenician', that the modern Hebrew square character is derived by a natural process of development.

What then was the alphabet (called 'Hebrew' in the Talmud) which was supplanted by the 'Assyrian' writing? The same opposition between כתב עברי and אשורית (on skin) is already found in the Mishna; e. g. *Yadayim* iv 5. No doubt the Talmud understands by עברי the character found in the Siloam inscription, and earlier on the Moabite stone, and the so-called Phenician alphabet, still retained in a modified form by the Samaritans. On the other hand we know that, in the Tell-el-Amarna period and later, cuneiform writing was used in Palestine and elsewhere as widely as Aramaic was used afterwards under the Persians. In fact there is no satisfactory evidence for the use of the 'Phenician' alphabet in Syria earlier than the Moabite stone, 900–850 B. C. It is therefore highly probable that whatever literature the Israelites had before that date was written in cuneiform,² and, considering the conservatism of the people, it is also probable that this would continue to be used as a sacred character. Moreover if, as there is reason to think,³ the 'Phenician' alphabet was introduced into Syria by Philistine settlers from Crete (after 1200 B. C.), the fact of its origin might well have caused it to be regarded in Israel as unfit for any but secular use. Ezra must have learned the cuneiform character in Babylon, and if he found the Law written in it, there was a good reason for his transcribing it into the Aramaic character, and also for the emphasis laid on his being a 'scribe of the Law'. Hitherto the Law

¹ Sayce and Cowley *Aramaic papyri discovered at Assuan*, London 1906; Sachau 'Drei aram. Papyrusurkunden' in *Abh. d. kgl. preuss. Akademie*, Berlin 1907.

² So Sayce. Cf. Ph. Berger in *Mélanges Dérenbourg* (Paris 1909) p. 21.

³ See A. J. Evans *Scripta Minoa* pp. 80, 82, &c.

had been the peculiar possession of the priestly and learned class : henceforward it was to be accessible to every one who would learn an alphabet (Ezra vii 10, 25 ; Neh. viii, ix). The change was a part, and an important part, of Ezra's scheme for forming a Jewish nation and impressing upon it the worship of the national God. It thus marks a turning-point in the history of religion, and we can easily understand that the tradition of it survived to the days of the Amoraim. There is no positive evidence as to the character in which the Law was written before Ezra's time ; but if it was cuneiform, the reason for his work was much stronger than if he merely transcribed from the old-Hebrew or 'Phenician' script, which was after all quite as suitable for the purpose.

Finally, if by עברי (which the Talmud took as 'Phenician') we are to understand cuneiform, it may be possible to explain the two strange terms דעץ (v.l. for רעץ) and ליבונאה which are applied to the old writing. The root דעץ means 'to prick' or 'pierce' ; and the word may thus denote the 'bristling' characters, or characters 'pricked' with a stylus¹ on soft clay ; while ליבונאה may be a corruption of some derivative from לבנה 'a brick', meaning 'tablet-writing'. The appearance of the cuneiform character must have been quite familiar to Jews living in Babylonia in the early centuries of the Christian era.

A. COWLEY.

THE PARSING OF BĀZĀH IN 2 KINGS

XIX 21 = ISAIAH XXXVII 22.

בָּזָה here is either (1) Qal Pf. sing. 3rd *masc.* of בָּזָה, or (2) Qal Pf. sing. 3rd *fem.* of בָּזָה.

The first alternative involves a false concord. There are, of course, many cases where *masc.* is used in preference to the *fem.* It is specially appropriate where the *fem.* subject has a general reference. In Num. xv 31, e.g. בָּזָה has נָפֶשׁ for its subject. The first two verbs are *masc.* though the subject and demonstrative are *fem.* But a *masc.* here would be very odd. The subject is 'Virgin daughter' ; and בָּזָה is closely linked with another verb in proper agreement with the subject.

Yet the Oxford Hebrew Lexicon, along with every other lexicon and concordance I have consulted, assigns the word to בָּזָה and not to בָּזָה.

The second alternative involves an unusual accentuation ; for the word is accented as a participle and not as a perfect. The perfect accents the stem syllable, not the affirmative, in עָזָה verbs.

¹ I find that this has already been suggested by Lidzbarski in his article 'Alphabet' in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*.

But in view of the *metre* of the passage this latter alternative seems right. Gesenius-Kautzsch (§ 72 I) accordingly assign the word to בָּוֹה and not to בָּוֹה. Hebraists whom I have consulted support this parsing, among them being Dr C. F. Burney, who writes as follows :—‘The form is certainly intended for 3rd fem. sing. perf. Qal of בָּוֹה. The accentuation בָּוֹה־ for בָּוֹה־ is, I have no doubt, adopted for metrical reasons. The metrical scheme of the poem appears to be 3 + 2, the ordinary metrical form of the קִינָה, but also, it seems, used in other poems of measured solemnity and grandeur. Cf. e.g. Isa. lxiii 7 ff. The trochaic opening, which makes the measure move so lightly in many of the lyrics of the Song of Songs,¹ appears to be unsuitable to the קִינָה measure. The rhythm appears to be

Bāzāh l'kā lū'gā l'kā [or *lāk*] *b'tūlāt ba!* *Siyyōn*

just as in the parallel line

'Aḥ-rēkā rōsh hēnī'āh ba! *Y'rūshālēm.*

Cf. also most of the other lines in which we can be certain of the text. To have read *Bāzā l'kā*, &c., would have ruined the metrical effect.'

The meaning of the verbs בָּוֹה and בָּוֹה is the same, but בָּוֹה is characteristic of poetry and *Hoḥmā* literature, and is of much less frequent occurrence than בָּוֹה. It seems fairly certain, however, that two biblical references (2 Kings xix 21 and Isa. xxxvii 22) should be subtracted from בָּוֹה and added to בָּוֹה.

H. F. B. COMPTON.

EMPHASIS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Oûtos in oblique cases.

This pronoun is, in various ways, specially interesting in the above connexion. Partly adjectival in its usage, and partly a demonstrative pronoun, the investigation of it serves, to some extent, to throw light on the emphasis of adjectives. The first question, however, in the study of it was this. Would its *pronominal* uses bear out the principles formulated in the case of the personal pronouns? It is clear, *ab initio*, that the epidictic force of this pronoun naturally renders it peculiarly susceptible of emphatic usage: and, this being so, it seems to afford a strong corroboration of *emphasis by order*, which has been formulated in previous papers in the oblique cases of the personal pronouns. For investigation shews that *oûtos*—naturally inclined to emphasis as it is—is found, in the large majority of cases (though not in all) in the emphatic order; that is, before the verb, or even first in the sentence;

¹ Dr Burney instances Song vi 1 ff. See his note in *J.T.S.* July 1909, pp. 584 ff.

that is to say, just where it would naturally be expected to be, according to the principles previously formulated.

The question is further complicated by a special use of οὗτος, which may be called *resumptive*, in which it is used, by a species of redundancy, to draw special attention to some person or some general notion, which has gone before, and especially to a preceding relative pronoun.

Here, again, corroboration of order-emphasis is not wanting, for, though the emphasis on οὗτος varies from weak to strong, yet always the repetition of the pronominal idea means some amount of emphasis, and always, therefore, as was to be expected, it stands first in its clause.

E.g. 1 Cor. xvi 3 οὗς ἐὰν δοκιμάζητε . . . **τούτους** πέμψω.

2 Thess. iii 14 εἰ δέ τις οὐχ ὑπακούει . . . **τούτον** σημειώσθε.

Matt. xxvii 32 ἐξερχόμενοι δὲ εὗρον . . . Σίμων· **τούτον** ἠγγάρευσαν.

Also this effect is helped out by the καί with the verbs in

Rom. viii 30 οὗς δὲ προώρισεν, **τούτους** καὶ ἐκάλεσεν, καὶ οὗς ἐκάλεσεν, **τούτους** καὶ ἐδικαίωσεν, οὗς δὲ ἐδικαίωσεν, **τούτους** καὶ ἐδόξασεν.

Of very many instances of resumptive emphasis these will probably suffice.

In other respects its usage seems to be the same as in the case of the personal pronouns, even to the extent of suffering attraction. This, however, appears to be limited to the simple pronoun not governed by prepositions, and especially to τοῦτο and ταῦτα.

It remains to give examples, premising that no attempt has been made to distinguish the *amount* of emphasis, which is implied in different cases. It is supposed to be sufficient, at this stage, to indicate, by leading instances, the method by which emphasis of any kind is conveyed.

I. Οὗτος standing alone, substantively.

The following are selected out of many passages, as examples of different forms of οὗτος in the several books of various authors.

A. EMPHATIC, chiefly by order, before the verb.

τούτον Luke xii 5 ναί, λέγω ὑμῖν, **τούτον** φοβηθήτε.

xx 13 πέμψω τὸν Ὑιόν μου . . . ἴσως **τούτον** ἐντραπήσονται.

John vii 27 ἀλλὰ **τούτον** οἶδαμεν πόθεν ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς . . .

Acts v 31 **τούτον** ὁ θεὸς ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σωτήρα ὕψωσεν.

Phil. ii 23 **τούτον** μὲν οὖν ἐλπίζω πέμψαι.

τούτους 1 Cor. vi 4 τοὺς ἐξουθενημένους . . . **τούτους** καθίζετε;

2 Tim. iii 5 καὶ **τούτους** ἀποτρέπου.

ταύτην Luke xiii 16 **ταύτην** δὲ θυγατέρα Ἀβραὰμ οὖσαν . . .

Acts xiii 33 ὅτι **ταύτην** ὁ θεὸς ἐκπεπλήρωκεν.

1 Cor. vi 13 ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ **ταύτην** καὶ **ταῦτα** καταργήσει.

τοῦτο (accusative)

Mark xiii 11 ὁ ἐὰν δοθῇ ὑμῖν . . . **τοῦτο** λαλεῖτε.

Luke vi 3 οὐδὲ **τοῦτο** ἀνέγνωτε ;

xxii 19 **τοῦτο** ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

John iv 18 **τοῦτο** ἀληθὲς εἶρηκας.

viii 40 **τοῦτο** Ἀβραὰμ οὐκ ἐποίησεν.

xiii 28 **τοῦτο** δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τῶν ἀνακειμένων.

Rom. xiv 13 ἀλλὰ **τοῦτο** κρίνате μᾶλλον.

1 Cor. xi 17 **τοῦτο** δὲ παραγγέλλων οὐκ ἐπαινῶ.

2 Cor. x 7, 11 **τοῦτο** λογίζεσθω. Cf. Phil. ii 5, 2 Tim. iii 1.

Gal. iii 2 **τοῦτο** μόνον θέλω μαθεῖν.

Eph. v 5 **τοῦτο** γὰρ ἴστε.

Philem. 18 εἰ δέ τι ἡδίκησέν σε . . . **τοῦτο** ἐμοὶ ἐλλόγα.

Heb. ix 8 **τοῦτο** δηλοῦντος τοῦ πνεύματος.

2 Pet. i 20, iii 3 **τοῦτο** πρῶτον γινώσκοντες ὅτι . . .

Rev. ii 6 ἀλλὰ **τοῦτο** ἔχεις, ὅτι . . .

ταῦτα Luke xxi 6 **ταῦτα** ἃ θεωρεῖτε· ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι (here abruptness combines with order to increase emphasis).

John iii 10 καὶ **ταῦτα** οὐ γινώσκεις ;

2 Cor. ii 16 καὶ πρὸς **ταῦτα** τίς ἰκανός ;

Eph. v 6 διὰ **ταῦτα** γὰρ ἔρχεται ἡ ὀργή.

1 Tim. iv 15 **ταῦτα** μελέτα, ἐν τούτοις ἴσθι.

There is a common construction of **τοῦτο** and **ταῦτα** before participles, especially **τοῦτο** εἰπὼν Luke xxiii 46, xxiv 40, John xviii 38, xx 20, 22 ; **ταῦτα** λέγων Luke viii 8 al. and other participles as Matt. i 20, 2 Pet. i 1. In these cases the pronoun is generally resumptive only and the emphasis is but slight.

ταῦτα with πάντα.

Matt. iv 9 **ταῦτά** σοι πάντα δώσω. Cf. xiii 3, xiv 20 (? reading),

Mark x 20, Luke xii 30, xviii 21, John xv 21.

Matt. vi 32 πάντα γὰρ **ταῦτα** τὰ ἔθνη ζητοῦσιν. Cf. 1 Cor. xii 11.

Also **τοῦτο** and **ταῦτα** occur with emphasis in adverbial phrases.

(a) διὰ **τοῦτο**. This is always in emphatic position probably as being resumptive.

Matt. vi 25 διὰ **τοῦτο** λέγω ὑμῖν, xii 31, xxi 43, Mark xi 24, Luke xii 22.

xii 27 διὰ **τοῦτο** αὐτοὶ κριταὶ ἔσονται ὑμῶν.

John xii 27 διὰ **τοῦτο** ἦλθον εἰς τὴν ὥραν ταύτην.

The only exception is the suggested punctuation in John vii 22, to alter *καὶ πάντες θαυμάζετε. Διὰ τοῦτο Μωυσῆς . . .* into *καὶ πάντες θαυμάζετε διὰ τοῦτο. Μωυσῆς . . .* thus putting *διὰ τοῦτο* at the opposite extremity of the sentence. The universal usage of Greek Testament in all other passages may perhaps be taken as deciding against this latter reading.

(δ) For similar reasons *μετὰ τοῦτο* and *μετὰ ταῦτα* and *διὰ τοῦτο* are usually emphatic.

(ε) *καὶ τοῦτο* or *ταῦτα*, always emphatic (six cases).

Rom. xiii 11 *καὶ τοῦτο εἰδότες τὸν καιρὸν*, and four other cases all Pauline.

Heb. xi 12 *ἀφ' ἐνὸς . . . καὶ ταῦτα νεκρωμένων.*

(δ) *τοῦτο δέ.*

Heb. x 33 *τοῦτο μὲν . . . θεατριζόμενοι, τοῦτο δὲ κοινωνοὶ . . . γεννηθέντες.* Cf. 2 Pet. i 5 *καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δὲ . . .*

τούτου Matt. xix 5, Mark x 7 *ἐνεκὰ τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος.* Cf. Eph. v 31.

John vi 66 *ἐκ τούτου πολλοὶ . . . ἀπήλθον.*

Acts xxv 25 *αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου ἐπικαλεσαμένου τὸν Σεβαστὸν ἔκρινα πέμπειν.*

Eph. iii 14 *τούτου χάριν κάμπτω τὰ γόνατά μου.*

James i 26 *εἰ τις δοκεῖ . . . τούτου μάταιος ἡ θρησκεία.*

1 John iv 6 *ἐκ τούτου γινώσκουμεν τὸ Πνεῦμα.*

ταύτης Heb. xiii 2 *διὰ ταύτης γὰρ ἔλαβόν τινες ξενίσαντες ἀγγέλους.*

τούτων John xvii 20 *οὐ περὶ τούτων δὲ ἐρωτῶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ . . .*

Acts xxvi 21 *ἐνεκὰ τούτων με Ἰουδαῖοι συλλαβόμενοι . . . ἐπειρώντο.*

2 Tim. iii 6 *ἐκ τούτων γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ ἐνδύνοντες.*

Heb. ix 6 *τούτων δὲ οὕτως κατεσκευασμένων.*

Rev. xx 6 *ἐπὶ τούτων ὁ δεύτερος θάνατος οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν.*

τούτῃ Luke x 20 *πλὴν ἐν τούτῃ μὴ χαίρετε.*

John ix 30 *ἐν τούτῃ γὰρ τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἐστὶν ὅτι . . .*

1 Cor. iv 4 *οὐκ ἐν τούτῃ δεικνύμαι.*

1 John iv 10 *ἐν τούτῃ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀγάπη.*

τούτοις Luke xvi 26 *καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις . . . χάσμα μέγα ἐστήρικται.*

Jude 10 *ὅσα δὲ . . . ἐν τούτοις φθείρονται.*

Rom. viii 37 *ἀλλ' ἐν τούτοις πᾶσι ὑπερνικῶμεν.*

ταύτῃ 1 Cor. vii 20 *ἕκαστος ἐν τῇ κλήσει ἣ ἐκλήθη, ἐν ταύτῃ μενέτω.*

ταύταις John v 3 *ἐν ταύταις κατέκειτο πλῆθος τῶν ἀσθενούντων.*

B. UNEMPHATIC ; though before the verb ; chiefly *τοῦτο* and *ταῦτα*.

(i) *By attraction :*

(a) *To pronouns.*

Mark ii 8 *τί ταῦτα διαλογίζεσθε ;* Cf. Acts xiv 15.

Acts xviii 15 *κριτῆς ἐγὼ τούτων οὐ βούλομαι εἶναι.*

(b) *To particles.*

ἵνα Mark xi 28 *ἵνα ταῦτα ποιῇς.* Cf. i Tim. v 21.

ὅτι John ii 18 *ὅτι ταῦτα ποιεῖς.* Cf. Acts xxiii 22, Rev. xvi 5, &c.

εἰ John vii 4 *εἰ ταῦτα ποιεῖς, φανέρωσον σεαυτόν.*

πόθεν Mark viii 4 *πόθεν τούτους δυνήσεται τις ὧδε χορτάσαι ἄρτων ;*
Cf. Matt. xiii 54, Mark vi 2.

(c) *To emphatic words.*

Luke xviii 34 *αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν τούτων συνήκαν.*

Matt. xiii 28 *ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῦτο ἐποίησεν.*

Acts xix 14 *ἦσαν . . . ἑπτὰ υἱοὶ ταῦτα ποιοῦντες.*

i Cor. ix 17 *εἰ γὰρ ἐκὼν τοῦτο πράσσω.*

Heb. xiii 17 *ἵνα μετὰ χαρᾶς τοῦτο ποιῶσιν.*

(ii) *Between verb and dependent infinitive.*

Matt. ix 28 *δύναμαι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.* Cf. John iii 2.

Luke xxi 9 *δεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα γενέσθαι.*

Heb. xiii 19 *παρακαλῶ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.*

James iii 10 *οὐ χρὴ . . . ταῦτα οὕτως γίνεσθαι.*

II. *Οὗτος* with article and noun, used adjectivally.

Besides the usual test of order in relation to the *verb*—which seems evidently to be the same here as in other uses of *οὗτος* and in the personal pronouns—a special question arises, whether any difference in emphasis is made by putting *οὗτος* before the article.

As a test of this may be taken the common phrases 'in this night', 'in these days'. As usual it is possible to find at least one passage in which the emphasis seems clear and unmistakeable.

Matt. xxvi 34, Mark xiv 30 *ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ . . . ἀπαρνήσῃ με.*

Cf. an equally decisive passage,

Luke xii 20 *ἄφρων, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σου αἰτοῦσιν.*

Here it seems clear that there is emphasis on both noun and pronoun. There is no example of *τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ* before the verb ; but *after* the verb are both orders.

Compare

Acts xxvii 23 *παρέστη γάρ μοι ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ . . . ἄγγελος*
with

Matt. xxvi 31 *πάντες ὑμεῖς σκανδαλισθήσεσθε ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ,*

comparison of which will hardly justify the claim of any difference in the emphasis, from the different position of *ταύτη*; but leaves the impression that in both cases the phrase is wholly unemphatic.

So also in

Acts xi 27 *ἐν ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις κατῆλθον*
and

Acts i 15 *καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἀναστὰς Πέτρος* (cf. vi 2),
both alike seem to emphasize the phrase resumptively: and when they occur after the verb, both phrases seem equally unemphatic,

Luke xxiii 7 *ὄντα καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις,*

and

Luke vi 12 *ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις.* Cf. xxiv 18.

Can no special emphasis, then, be put upon the pronoun apart from its noun? It appears that this can be effected by setting *οὗτος* right at the beginning, especially if dislocated from its noun.

John ii 11 *ταύτην ἐποίησεν ἀρχὴν τῶν σημείων ὁ Ἰησοῦς.*

2 Pet. iii 1 *ταύτην . . . δευτέραν ὑμῖν γράφω ἐπιστολήν.* Cf. John iv 54.

2 Cor. vii 1 *ταύτας οὖν ἔχοντες τὰς ἐπαγγελίας.*

Further examples of the four kinds of order.

(i) *Pronoun before both verb and noun*; strong emphasis on both, but less where resumptive.

τούτων Mark vii 29 *διὰ τούτων τὸν λόγον ὑπαγε.*

John xix 20 *τούτων οὖν τὸν τίτλον πολλοὶ ἀνέγνωσαν.*

Acts ii 32 *τούτων τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνέστησεν ὁ θεός.*

Matt. x 5 *τούτους τοὺς δώδεκα ἀπέστειλεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς.*

Acts xxviii 20 *διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς.*

2 John 10 *εἴτις ἔρχεται . . . καὶ ταύτην τὴν διδαχὴν οὐ φέρει.*

Luke i 24 *μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας.*

John viii 20 *ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα ἐλάλησεν.*

John viii 23 *ὑμεῖς ἐκ τούτου τοῦ κόσμου ἐστέ, ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου (locus classicus).*

Heb. ix 11 *τοῦτ' ἐστὶν οὐ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως.*

Acts i 24 *ἐκ τούτων τῶν δύο ἓνα.*

Matt. xii 32 *οὔτε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι, οὔτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.*

Matt. xvi 18 *καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω.*

Matt. xxii 40 *ἐν ταύταις ταῖς δυσὶν ἐντολαῖς ὅλος ὁ νόμος κρέματα.*

(ii) *Pronoun before verb after noun* ; emphasis on both.

Luke xii 56 τὸν καιρὸν δὲ τούτων πῶς οὐκ οἴδατε δοκιμάζειν ;

Luke xix 27 πλὴν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μου τούτους . . . ἀγάγετε ὧδε.

Mark xii 10 οὐδὲ τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην ἀνέγνωτε ; Cf. Luke vi 3.

1 Cor. ii 6 σοφίαν οὐ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.

Acts xxviii 22 περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς αἰρέσεως ταύτης γνωστὸν ἡμῖν ἐστίν.

Matt. iii 9, Luke iii 8 δύναται ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων ἐγείρει τέκνα.

Acts i 6 εἰ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἀποκαθιστάνεις . . .

1 Cor. xv 19 εἰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ ἐν Χριστῷ ἡλπικότες ἐσμὲν μόνον.

(iii) *Pronoun after verb before noun* ; both unemphatic.

John vi 58 ὁ τρώγων τούτον τὸν ἄρτον ζήσει.

Luke vii 44 βλέπεις ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα ;

John xii 18 ἤκουσαν τοῦτο αὐτὸν πεποιηκέναι τὸ σημεῖον.

Acts xxii 22 ἤκουον δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄχρι τούτου τοῦ λόγου.

Matt. xxv 40 ἐφ' ὅσον ἐποιήσατε ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου.

2 Cor. iii 10 οὐ δεδοξασται τὸ δεδοξασμένον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει.

Acts xvi 12 ἡμεν δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει.

(iv) *Pronoun after verb and noun*, of which probably a very few examples will be sufficient.

Luke ix 45 ἐφοβοῦντο ἐρωτῆσαι αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ῥήματος τούτου.

Acts xxi 28 κεκοίνωκεν τὸν ἅγιον τόπον τούτον.

1 Cor. vii 31 παράγει τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου.

Rev. xxii 7 ὁ τηρῶν τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου.

Acts viii 22 μετανόησον ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας σου ταύτης.

AMBROSE J. WILSON.

THE VISIT OF CHRIST TO NAZARETH.

A Study in the Synoptic Gospels, Matt. xiii 54-58 ; Mark vi 16 ;

Luke iv 16-30.

THE Synoptic Gospels relate the story of a visit of Christ to Nazareth where He had been brought up, of His teaching there, and His rejection by the Nazarenes.

The accounts given by the first two Gospels are practically the same, except that St Mark tells us the disciples accompanied Him on His visit, a fact which St Matthew and St Luke both omit. On the other hand the story is placed by St Luke in a different order, and its details are also so different that many have understood it as the record of another visit.

The hypothesis of two visits may, however, be dismissed. If Christ had been rejected and an attempt made on His life at the first visit, it is impossible that He could have 'marvelled at their unbelief' when He visited them again. It is also unlikely that the same question should have been asked and the same proverbial answer made on the occasion of two different visits.

For these reasons most commentators have decided against the theory of two visits. They are also, for the most part, agreed that St Luke has placed his story out of its true historic order, and that St Mark's account is nearer to actual fact in that respect. Indeed this appears from St Luke's own words, for though he places the visit to Nazareth at the beginning of our Lord's active life, he speaks of His having taught in the synagogues of Galilee, and the Nazarenes are represented as saying 'Whatsoever we have heard done in Capernaum do also here in thine own country'.

Three interesting questions present themselves in view of the differences in the Synoptic reports :—1. How did St Luke, having St Mark's story before him, come to give an account differing so greatly from that given by both St Matthew and St Mark? 2. Whence did he derive his version of the story? 3. Why did he deliberately insert it out of its proper order?

1. Let us compare the two accounts. According to St Mark, Jesus, accompanied by His disciples, entered into the synagogue at Nazareth and taught; His hearers were astonished at His wisdom, and at what they had heard of His miracles; but remembering His lowly origin they said, 'Is not this the Carpenter, the son of Mary?' and they were offended at Him. St Mark then relates our Lord's retort upon them, 'A prophet is not without honour save in his own country'. And he adds that Christ was unable to do many mighty works among them, save that 'He (subsequently, of course) laid His hands upon a few sick folk and healed them, and He marvelled at their unbelief'. This is the story of the second Gospel. It is remarkable as saying nothing of any definite act of the Nazarenes against Him, and giving no hint of the duration of His stay in the town, nor of His visit having been brought to a close by violence. It indicates from the first that it was not a success. But the fact that he wrought some cures subsequently, shews that at the first no violence was offered.

St Luke's story is very different, though the scene is laid by him also in the synagogue at Nazareth. According to him Christ was well remembered there. It had been His custom to attend the synagogue service, they even remembered His supposed father, Joseph; but He came now as in some degree a public character, and their curiosity was stirred by the reports of His miracles at Capernaum. In the synagogue He stood up to read, and the attendant gave Him the

roll of the prophet Isaiah in which He found a passage which He read aloud ; He then sat down and began to speak. At first the power and grace of His words were admitted. 'All wondered at the words of grace which proceeded out of His mouth.' But by degrees voices of discontent were heard. 'Is not this the son of Joseph?' to which He replied with the old proverb 'No prophet is accepted in his own country'; but then, according to St Luke, He went on to meet another complaint that they made against Him, not on the score of His lowly birth, but on the ground that He was treating His own townspeople worse than strangers like the people of Capernaum. This complaint shews that He must, at this time, have been at least some days in Nazareth, as otherwise there had not been time for the complaint to arise, 'Doubtless ye will say unto Me this proverb, Physician, heal thyself, whatsoever we have heard done at Capernaum do also here in thine own country'. His defence of Himself against this charge was made by a reference to the prophets Elijah and Elisha, who had been 'sent' to work miracles on those who were not Israelites. A reply which perhaps touched on an implicit reproach for His working miracles in a city like Capernaum where the population was largely gentile. At all events the answer roused both their local and their national pride, and so excited the fanatics in the synagogue that they rose up and led Him out to cast Him down from the brow of the hill on which their town was built.

A glance at these two accounts shews that they scarcely touch one another at any point. If they do refer to the same visit, as it appears they must, they relate different incidents which happened in the course of it. And this is very likely. Our Lord's mission to Nazareth was not an accidental thing but part of His plan after work done at Capernaum and elsewhere. It seems to have been in the course of a tour of preaching in different parts of the Province. It is probable that He intended a stay of some duration, and to make Nazareth a centre from which to work. In fact St Mark, who does not speak of the close of His stay there, brings into immediate connexion with His visit the mission of the twelve, and also a preaching tour by Christ Himself in the villages around.

I suggest then, as the hypothesis which best explains the statements of the Synoptics, that St Mark and St Luke give an account of different parts of Christ's visit to Nazareth. That our Lord stayed there at least eight or ten days, and preached in the synagogue on two sabbaths. The beginning of the visit, the incidents on the first sabbath, and the mixed reception given to Him then, are told by St Mark, who probably had the story from St Peter who was present, though he afterwards was sent out on the mission and did not return to Nazareth. The general attitude of

the Nazarenes at first was that of surprise and curiosity, tempered by somewhat contemptuous remarks about our Lord and His family connexions.

On the other hand, St Luke tells us what happened on the second sabbath when the visit came to a disastrous conclusion. On that day the disciples were absent. We cannot imagine that if they had been there when the angry assault was made upon their Master, they would have suffered it without resistance. If the fiery St Peter drew his sword against the officers sent by the High Priests, would he have been cowed by a mob of villagers? The number of men in that little synagogue cannot have been so considerable as to overpower the twelve without a struggle. The silence of St Mark, which we may take to be the same as the silence of St Peter, is conclusive proof that the twelve were not there, and this is accounted for by the mission of the twelve which St Mark alone records and places about this period. This mission, and the preaching of Christ in the villages round Nazareth, may well be placed in the interval between the two sabbaths. During that interval our Lord's popularity did not increase. He found Himself hindered by the want of faith which prevented Him from doing more than a few miracles, and thus disappointed the expectations the men of Nazareth had formed from His fame as a wonder-worker.

At this point St Luke takes up the history of what happened on the second sabbath when, though at first all bare Him witness and wondered at the gracious words that proceeded out of His mouth, the undercurrent of ill will which had been growing in strength, made itself felt. It is even possible that the words He had read from the Prophet, promising the delivery of the captives and giving sight to the blind, which He claimed to fulfil that day, accentuated their discontent and their demand that He should not do less for them than He had done at Capernaum and elsewhere. Thus all led up to the final outbreak, which, instead of being a sudden explosion of anger taking place in the first hours of His visit, was the result of growing discontent, unbelief, and resentment brought to a climax by His words on the second sabbath.

2. We have already said that St Mark most probably drew his narrative from St Peter, and that he closes it where St Peter's witness failed because of his absence on the mission with the rest of the twelve. The story as related by St Luke had another source. It was evidently derived from one who was present at the tumult in Nazareth, who described it as an eyewitness, and who was certainly peculiarly and painfully interested in the scene.

St Mark is said to excel the other Evangelists in picturesqueness of style, the life-like presentation of facts, and the abundance of minute

details.¹ But here, for once at least, St Luke gives us a fullness of detail, and a life-like portraiture extraordinarily vivid. He speaks of Christ's 'habit' of attending the synagogue on the sabbath. He describes His 'standing up to read', His 'opening the roll', His 'finding the place', His 'giving it back to the attendant', His 'sitting down', and the eager 'fastening the eyes of all in the synagogue upon Him'. And finally, how all they in the synagogue being 'filled with wrath, rose up', and 'cast Him out of the town' and 'led Him away' to throw Him headlong from the cliff. We can almost see the breathless interest with which the narrator had witnessed each detail. And when we ask ourselves: Who was the most likely person to have been there, and to have followed all with interest and anxiety, surely we can only give one answer:—The Mother! listening to her wonderful son, as for the first time she heard Him teaching publicly in the town where she had 'brought Him up'. In all the vivid touches for which St Mark's Gospel is so noted there is nothing so detailed and life-like as this picture drawn from the memory of the Mother who then began to feel the fulfilment of Simeon's prediction that 'a sword should pierce her heart'.

3. In comparing St Mark and St Luke we have to explain the silence of each as to the facts told by the other. We account for St Mark's silence about the events in Nazareth on the second sabbath, by St Peter's absence on his mission with the other disciples. St Luke's omission of what happened on the first sabbath, when the visit began, is to be explained by the reason that led him to place his account of the visit out of its proper historic order. It has indeed been laid down as an *a priori* principle admitting of no dispute, that 'an evangelist would omit nothing'.² But, like other *a priori* principles when applied to human actions, this proves a very misleading 'loadstar'. Men will not always act as we expect or think they ought; and sometimes they have a very good reason for disappointing us. In reality St Luke had a sufficient reason both for omitting what St Mark had recorded, and for transgressing the historic order. He places the visit to Nazareth at the beginning of the story of Christ's active life, and he does so as St Augustine says, 'knowingly',³ and not carelessly or ignorantly. It is, as it were, the preface to the active ministry. To have included all that Mark tells would have been useless for his purpose, and would have distracted the reader's attention from it. St Luke wrote, no doubt, 'in order' (καθεξῆς), but the order is not mechanical, not that of time strictly, but a rational order, shewing the relation of things. Writing

¹ Cf. Swete *St Mark* pp. lxxv-lxxviii; and also Dr Robinson in *The Study of the Gospels*.

² Wright *Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek* p. vii.

³ *de cons. evang.* ii 42 (195. 1).

thus not a mere chronicle of events, not even with the intention of including in his Gospel everything that he knew, but a rational history, he selected this particular incident from the close of our Lord's visit to Nazareth, with the teaching that arose out of it, as the best fitted to throw a light upon that ministry of Christ which he was about to relate. He was right in doing so because the passage from the prophet was chosen by Christ as expressing the spirit and purpose of his ministry in the broadest and most complete way :—

‘The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
Because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor,
He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives,
And recovering of sight to the blind,
To set at liberty them that are bruised,
To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.’

Where could we find words more suitable to be placed before the record of His active ministry?

But that is not all. If the text chosen by Christ with the incident that followed, was so fit a motto for the Gospel history, His after-words were equally to St Luke's purpose. For the actions of the Nazarenes and their rejection of Him, foreshadowed in the plainest way His rejection by Israel as a whole. And, in addition, Christ's employment of the stories of the widow of Zarephath, and of Naaman the Syrian, foretold with equal clearness God's purposes of mercy towards the heathen world.

Thus the story as told by St Luke was a forecast of the character of Christ's ministry, of His rejection by Israel, and of the call of the Gentiles. In a word, of the whole extent of the great historical work that the Evangelist had planned, of which the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles form the first and second parts. Nowhere else could he have found an introduction so complete and authoritative as in the words of the Prophet by which Christ began His sermon in Nazareth.

W. SHERLOCK.

NOTE.—It is interesting to remark that the sneer at our Lord's lowly origin as given by St Luke was ‘Is not this Joseph's son?’ Now if St Luke's account was derived from the Blessed Virgin, who knew that her son was indeed the Son of God, that was just the point which she would be most likely to notice.

MATTHEW x 11-15.

THE literary questions raised by the Charge to the Twelve are many. But there is one which has hardly received due attention. The following suggestions are made, not confidently, but in order to invite criticism. It is well known that the Marcan account (vi 7-11) is closely followed by Lk. ix 1-5, but that the longer account in Lk. x 2-6, which is connected with the mission of the 'Seventy(-two)', is derived from a different source, while Matt. x 5-16 contains a combination of the two sources.

Matt. x 11-14 contains injunctions as to the behaviour of the Apostles during their missionary tour. In Mk. vi 10, 11 there are two explicit commands: (1) In any house that they enter they are to remain until they leave the place, (2) as they depart from any place that refuses to receive them they are to shake off the dust under their feet as a witness against it. But since they are to lodge in the same house all the time that they stay in a town, they must select it carefully. This selection is commanded in Matt. (v. 11^a) only: 'Into whatsoever city or village ye enter, investigate (ἐξετάσατε) who in it is worthy.' In order that nothing may be lost from his Marcan source, the compiler appends loosely, 'and there abide until ye go forth', ἐκεῖ referring to the house of the man who has been found 'worthy'.

The difficulty lies in the following injunction (vv. 12, 13): 'As ye enter the house, salute it,' &c., in which it is contemplated (v. 13^b) that the house *may not be worthy* (ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ᾖ ἀξία), although by their ἐξέτασις they have previously discovered that it is.

The usual explanation is that the investigation as to who in the city was worthy was to be made by enquiries among the inhabitants of the place; 'hospes fama eligendus est populi et indicio vicinorum' (Jerome). Having been received into the best-recommended house, 'the guest may at first be unknown, but he then reveals himself as a missionary, and thereupon experiences varying treatment' (Wellhausen).

But what, then, is the meaning of ἀξίος? The inhabitants could say whether a man was respectable and likely to take in visitors; and if pressed they might say further whether he was considered religious from a Jewish point of view. But the adjective clearly means more than that, because, according to the above explanation, it is not till *after* the householder has taken them in, that the Apostles find that he is not ἀξίος, and his house not ἀξία. The meaning of 'not ἀξίος' is surely defined in v. 14: 'and whosoever (ὅς ἂν, contrast Mk. ὅς ἂν τόπος) will not receive you, nor hear your words.' The account in the first Gospel may therefore be explained thus: v. 11 is the general injunction—'Find out who

is worthy, and stay with him during your whole visit.' *Vv.* 12-14 describe the procedure to be followed during the ἐξέτασις (which must mean the enquiry from one householder after another whether he would 'receive them and hear their words')—'As you enter the house (τὴν οἰκίαν) where you propose to make enquiries, before making them, give the house a salutation (*v.* 12). If the enquiries prove satisfactory, i. e. if the householder will receive and listen to you, the greeting will have its effects; if not, it will return to you (*v.* 13). In the latter case, as you emerge from the house, shake off the dust of your feet (*v.* 14).' It is in keeping with this explanation that in Lk. x the command ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ οἰκίᾳ μένετε κτλ. (*v.* 7) follows, instead of preceding, the injunctions as to the salutation (*vv.* 5, 6).

But at this point a disturbing element is introduced by the words ἡ τῆς πόλεως which occur after τῆς οἰκίας in Matt. (*v.* 14). In Lk. x, after the commands dealing with the missionaries' reception in a house (*vv.* 5-7), there follow others which bear upon their reception or rejection by a city as a whole (*vv.* 8-11). It is not to the present purpose to dwell upon the difficulties in this. But it seems probable that the intrusion of ἡ τῆς πόλεως in Matt. (*v.* 14) is due to harmonization with Lk.

The remaining difficulty offers itself in *v.* 15 ('Amen I say unto you, it will be more tolerable . . . than for that city'), which stands in the corresponding position in Lk. x 12. What is its relation to Matt. xi 20-24?—a passage which corresponds to the continuation of the Charge in Lk. x 12-15. In Matt. xi, (a) Chorazin is contrasted with Tyre and Sidon (*v.* 21), and (b) ἀνεκτότερον κτλ. follows (*v.* 22). Then (c) Capernaum is apostrophized and (d) contrasted with Sodom (*v.* 23), and (e) ἀνεκτότερον κτλ. follows (*v.* 24). In Lk. we have similarly (a), (b), and (c), but (d) is omitted because (e) is transposed to precede (a). That is to say, Lk. x 12 was placed where it is because it formed an impressive continuation to the saying about rejection by a city. When, therefore, we see this verse standing where it ought in Matt. xi, but where it ought not in Matt. x, we gather that in Matt. x it is an insertion later than Lk. Like ἡ τῆς πόλεως in the preceding verse it is a scribal attempt, and a peculiarly unfortunate one, to harmonize Matt. x and Lk. x—an attempt earlier than any known MS or version. If these references to a city can be eliminated, Matt. gives a perfectly consistent tradition as to the procedure that the Apostles were bidden to follow in discovering a householder who would shew himself 'worthy' by consenting to take them in and listen to their preaching.

A. H. McNEILE.

TWO QUESTIONS OF TEXT AND TRANSLATION.

I

Acts xii 25 ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, πληρώσαντες τὴν διακονίαν **N B** :
 ἐξ **A** : ἀπὸ **D**.

Dr Hort thought ἐξ Alexandrian, ἀπὸ the Western reading. The εἰς of **N B** 'cannot possibly be right if taken with ὑπέστρεψαν', he said, and suggested as the original τὴν εἰς Ἱ. πληρώσαντες διακονίαν. Mr Valentine Richards, in *Camb. Biblical Essays* xv p. 532, considers this one of the passages that 'serve to shew that the text of **N B** cannot always be followed even when it has further attestation', and doubts whether Hort's is 'an easier explanation than the more obvious one that εἰς is a blunder of an earlier copyist'.

Is it not possible that Hort's explanation was wrong, and yet **N B** were, in this place, right? In xi 28 we read of a wide-spread famine. In v. 29 of the disciples at Antioch resolving to send alms τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀδελφοῖς. In v. 30 of their sending these alms by Barnabas and Saul to the Elders. The Elders, no doubt, were the Elders at Jerusalem, but the Brethren dwelling in Judaea were likely to be scattered in many villages as well as in Jerusalem. The narrative is interrupted at this point by the account of the imprisonment and deliverance of St Peter. When it is resumed at xii 25 we are told in the briefest manner that 'Paul and Barnabas returned to Jerusalem having fulfilled their ministry'. The easiest inference seems to be that after all ὑπέστρεψαν should be construed with εἰς; that the Elders charged Paul and Barnabas with the distribution of their alms in the country districts; and that, when they had finished this distribution, they returned to Jerusalem. The addition of συναρπαζόντες Ἰωάννην τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Μάρκον should not be urged against this reading of the passage. We are told indeed in xii 12 that St Peter went to the house of Mary the mother of Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Μάρκου, and her house was of course in Jerusalem. But we are not told that John Mark was then in the house, or that he dwelt in it habitually. Moreover, the repetition of the name with note of surname so soon after suggests that the author made an extract from some document, or from some other set of notes of his own, which led him to cut short the story he was telling about Paul and Barnabas; and this makes it only more probable that Paul and Barnabas did something more than he has found it worth while to record. Then, in resuming, he followed his rough notes more closely than his shortened summary, if it was to be perfectly clear, demanded; hence the repeated note about the surname, and the phrase with εἰς which puzzles us.

The Epistles of St Paul had so long thrust the Gospels into the back-

ground that the impulse of return, begun in the Oxford Movement and fashionable now, has but imperfectly changed our habits of thought. In imagining the Apostolic world we still circle in the *ἀναστροφῇ* of the citizen, and forget (what Dr Hatch has taught us) that the *πορεύεσθαι* of the villagers was the 'Way' of the primitive disciple. A mission to Judaea need not mean a mission to Jerusalem, any more than the address 'to Hebrews' need mark a letter to the Church at Jerusalem. And, further, Dr Hort himself helps us to this interpretation of the passage. In 'Prolegomena to Romans', p. 40, he wrote: 'It would have been easy, as it must have been at times most tempting, to sever sharply the hampering links which bound St. Paul to the Churches of Judaea, and to form the new Gentile Churches into a great separate organization. But this was just what he was most anxious to prevent. . . . This was doubtless the primary motive . . . which made him visit Jerusalem before each of his great missionary journeys.' So then B witness to an act of courtesy which prepared for this loyal habit of later life.

II¹

Heb. ix 11 is another passage where the reading of B, supported here by D*, is rejected by editors on account of its difficulty, and where again the difficulty disappears if what is surely the natural construction be allowed.

Χριστὸς δὲ παραγενόμενος ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν γενομένων ἀγαθῶν διὰ τῆς μείζονος καὶ τελειοτέρας σκηνῆς οὐ χειροποιήτου, τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως, οὐδὲ δι' αἵματος τράγων καὶ μόσχων διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος εἰσῆλθεν κτλ.

It is certainly bold to translate τῶν γενομένων ἀγαθῶν 'the good things that are come'. Γενομένων expects words to complete it. But it gets those words if we construe it with διὰ τῆς μείζονος κτλ., as we easily may if we remember that οὐδέ is a particle of emphasis rather than of addition. It does not connect δι' αἵματος with διὰ τῆς μείζονος but carries to a further stage the idea of παραγενόμενος. So Euthymius Zigabenus's comment: ἐνταῦθα ἡ ἀπόδοσις τῆς συντάξεως. ἔστι γὰρ οὕτως. Χριστὸς δὲ παραγενόμενος Ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, ἐφάπαξ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὰ Ἁγία. With the reading γενομένων, the plan of the sentence is:—

Christ having appeared as High-priest of the good things which came by the greater tabernacle—not by blood of goats and calves either, but by His own blood entered.

As for the repetition of διὰ in a new connexion, it is almost a man-

¹ Since this Note was in type I find that Dr Wickham in his recently published commentary makes the same suggestion as to the construction of διὰ, though he connects it with μελλόντων; and that Dr Rendall in 1883 explained μελλόντων as a correction made by some one who failed to see the true construction of γενομένων with διὰ.

nerism of the author to repeat a word which he has used once, even though the sense or application be changed; e. g. i 5, 6 πάλω, iv 12, 13 λόγος; with addition to mark the change iv 8, 14 Ἰησοῦς—Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, xi 35 ἀναστάσεως—κρείττονος ἀναστάσεως. He is apt to repeat even parts of words, as he does with παραγενόμενος—γενομένων here; e. g. v 1-3 ὑπὲρ—πρὸς—προσφέρῃ—ὑπὲρ—περίκειται—περὶ—περί—περί, vii 23-25 παραμένειν—μένειν—ἀπαράβατον—παντελὲς—πάντοτε, xi 7 κατεσκέυασεν—κατέκρινεν—τῆς κατὰ πίστιν δικαιοσύνης, xiii 1 φιλαδελφία—φιλοξενίας, 22 παρακαλῶ—παρακλήσεως.

A. NAIRNE.

AN UNRECORDED REFERENCE TO THE RULES OF TYCONIUS.

IN the introduction to Professor Burkitt's edition of the *Rules* of Tyconius, the following words occur, summarizing the early history of the book: 'The sole reference to Tyconius's book independent of the review in the *de Doctrina Christiana* [of Augustine] is that by the author of the *de Promissionibus*. He was an African, and perhaps for that reason familiar with the book which his countryman had written less than a century before. But Cassian and John the Deacon quote the Book of Rules only to illustrate a passage where Tyconius's explanation had been already noticed by St Augustine; Cassiodorus names Tyconius only in the sentence in which he recommends the study of the *de Doctrina Christiana*; St Isidore follows St Augustine's remarks more than the original Seven Rules.'¹

I am happy to be able to supplement two of the above statements. There is a quotation taken apparently direct from the *Rules*, and not through St Augustine, in the commentary on the Epistles of St Paul hitherto printed under the name of Primasius, but which, following a felicitous conjecture of Mr C. H. Turner,² I have successfully claimed for Cassiodorus and his pupils.³ The quotation occurs in a comment on 2 Thessalonians chapter ii, verses 4-5 (ed. Paris [1543] p. 160 v = Migne *P. L.* lxxviii 648 C, D), and reads thus:—

'*Quod dicitur deus ecclesia est: quod autem colitur deus summus est. Ut in templo dei sedeat ostendens se quod ipse sit deus, id est, quod ipse sit ecclesia: quale est, si diceret: in templum dei sedeat ostendens se quod ipse sit dei templum, aut in deum sedeat ostendens quod ipse sit deus. Istud de Ticonii Regulis.*'

¹ Page xxiv.

² See this JOURNAL vol. iv (1902-3) pp. 140-141.

³ *Proceedings of the British Academy* vol. ii p. 428.

The passage is actually from the first Rule, and corresponds to page 5, ll. 15-20 of Burkitt's edition. Cassiodorus, then, possessed a copy of the *Rules* in the library of Vivarium, and the particular pupil who revised Pelagius's *Commentary on 2 Thessalonians*, remembering the recommendations of Augustine and Cassiodorus, used it in this (perhaps solitary) instance.

But the interest of this quotation is not confined to its existence. Its form also deserves attention. The following is a comparison of its readings with those of Burkitt's MSS:—

(1) <i>Quod</i> Cassiod.	<i>Qui</i> R M V
(2) <i>temple</i> Cassiod. V ^b M	<i>templum</i> R V*
(3) <i>ipse sit</i> Cassiod. V M	<i>ipse est</i> R
(4) <i>quale est</i> Cassiod.	<i>quale</i> R M V
(5) <i>templum</i> Cassiod. R	<i>templo</i> M V
(6) om. <i>se</i> Cassiod.	<i>se</i> R M V

The readings (1) and (2) are Vulgate, which sufficiently explains their presence in Cassiodorus: (3) may also be said to be under the influence of the Vulgate. There remain (4) and (6), which will probably be brought into agreement with Tyconius, when the sole known MS of Cassiodorus is fully collated. We are left with just a suspicion that Cassiodorus's MS of Tyconius was inferior to R, the best MS of Tyconius, and was more nearly related to the less valuable MSS.

A. SOUTER.

A READING OF THE FLEURY PALIMPSEST (*h*) OF ACTS.

IN Acts xxvi 22 *h* reads thus, according to Buchanan's restoration, adopted by Von Soden¹:—

cum ergo auxilium dī sim co[n]fīsus
esto indicans maiori ac minori nihil amplius d[ic]ens quā
quae profetae dixerunt futura esse scriptum [est enim
in moysen.

I venture to think that, instead of co[n]fīsus], we ought to restore co[n]secutus]. It seems quite clear from the other lines that something longer than *confisus* is wanted to fill up the space. *Consecutus* is the right length, and seems a proper equivalent for τυχών.² The verb

¹ *Das lateinische Neue Testament in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians* (Leipzig, 1909) p. 566.

² It is, of course, a recognized word of the African Bible to render other Greek words.

τυγχάνειν is unfortunately rather rare in the New Testament, and it is not therefore possible to produce another passage in it, which would shew us the regular 'African' rendering of this verb. The omission from *h* of a rendering for the words ἀχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης of the Greek is only one of many instances of the same kind in these later chapters.

A. SOUTER.

SOME POINTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE *TEXTUS RECEPTUS* OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

- (1) IN his *Canon and Text of the Greek Testament* (Clark, Edinburgh, 1907), C. R. GREGORY writes (p. 444):—

'The text which has been considered the Received Text by theologians of different places and different years has not always been the same. One general distinction to be mentioned is *that between England and the Continent*, inasmuch as the text of Estienne of the Regia edition of 1550 has for the most part prevailed in England, whereas on the Continent the text of Elzevir, 1624, has held the chief place. *But then the handy editions of the British and Foreign Bible Society have done much to bring the English form into use in other countries.*'

Two years later Gregory repeated the same statement in German in his *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, dedicated to A. Harnack (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1909, p. 557):—

'Doch haben die handlichen Ausgaben der Britischen und Ausländischen Bibelgesellschaft viel getan, um die englische Form auch in andern Ländern in Gebrauch zu bringen.'

That the contrary is true, I shortly pointed out in the new edition of my *Einführung in das Griechische Neue Testament* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1909, pp. 15, 44): the editions of the B. F. B. S. did not bring the English form to the Continent, but the Continental form into England.¹

It is now just a hundred years since the B. F. B. S. first published a Greek text of the N. T.: 'Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη . . . διγλωττος (J. Tilling, Chelsea, 1810). This edition was a repetition of the Diglott of Halle, 1710, which derived its ancient Greek from the seventh edition of Elzevir of 1678. Later on, in the separate editions of the Ancient Greek, since 1843, the B. F. B. S. adopted the text of the first Elzevir edition of 1624 (with few and unimportant variations).

¹ It is worth while to mention that Fell 1675 makes an exception among his countrymen as not following Stephen of 1550, but Elzevir of 1633.

(2) As the *second* edition of the Elzevir of 1633 has in the Preface the famous statement :—‘Textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum’, and boasts that ‘vel minutissimae mendae’ were removed, which might have been left in the first edition, this latter edition of 1633 has sometimes been taken as standard, and it is therefore desirable to have the facts about the differences between the two editions cleared up. In Scrivener’s *Plain Introduction* (third edition, 1883, p. 442) this had been done in the following way :—

‘Although some of the worst misprints of the edition of 1624 are amended in that of 1633 [follow eight passages among which “John v 2”], others just as gross are retained [follow twelve passages], to which must be added a few peculiar to itself [follow nine passages, among which “John v 2 *secundo loco*”]. Of real various readings between the two Elzevirs we marked but eight instances (in six of which that of 1633 follows the Complutensian) [follow eight passages, among which “Heb. ix 12”].’

In 1890 one of the most conscientious workers in this field, H. C. Hoskier, devoted not less than twenty-six pages to a ‘Collation of Elzevir 1624 with Elzevir 1633’ in the Appendix C to his *Full Collation*, &c.

After giving a list of not less than 450 differences between the texts of the two editions, he begins to discuss the statements of Scrivener, just quoted, and says :—

‘In “John v 2 (*secundo loco*)” and “Heb. ix 12” (the latter in the list of real divergences), *I can see no discrepancy whatever.*’

With reference to another statement of Scrivener (who believed that he read in his copy of 1633 in John iv 51 οἱ δοῦλος instead of οἱ δούλοι), Hoskier tell us that he examined, besides his own copy of 1633, three in the library of the B. F. B. S., three in the British Museum, one at Oxford, and one at the Bib. Nationale at Paris ; and yet in Heb. ix 12 he could not see any discrepancy whatsoever.

A copy of 1633 I have had several years, one of 1624 I acquired but recently, both from England ; now my copies read :—

	1624	1633
Heb. ix 12	εὐρόμενος	εὐράμενος.

Was Hoskier struck with blindness, when he could see no discrepancy whatsoever, and Scrivener with him and after him? For in the fourth edition of his *Introduction* (1894, vol. ii, 194 sq.), which takes account of the examinations of Hoskier, Scrivener not only struck out ‘John v 2 *secundo loco*’ from his third list, but also Heb. ix 12 from the list of the ‘real divergences’, heading it with ‘we marked but *seven or eight*

instances'.¹ Or—and this is the question, which justifies the publication of these lines—are there copies, which yield no variation: i. e. copies of 1624 with *δ* or copies of 1633 with *δ*? After it has thus been shewn, in which letter the discrepancy must be looked for, it will be easy for those who have access to these rare editions to verify this question. The word is the last in the verse, and the verse is not quite short, therefore it is possible that Hoskier's attention did not keep up to the last.²

(3) That there are differences between various copies of the edition of 1624 has been long known, at least as regards the title-page. Hoskier distinguishes not less than four or five varieties:—

He first quotes from Willems, *Les Elzévier*, 1880, p. 61:—

'Il existe des exemplaires avec un titre en rouge et en noir, qui portent pour le nom de ville *Lugduni* (qu'on pouvait prendre pour Lyon); ce sont les exemplaires destinés aux pays *Catholiques*; les autres ont un titre en noir seulement et portent *Lugduni Batavorum*.'

Then he goes on to say:—

'So that already we have apparently three different issues of the edition of 1624, but my copy has three words on the title-page in red—*διαθήκη*, Testamentum, and Elzeviriana, which thus makes a *fourth*, and further, Mr Omont, of Paris, writing of the Bibl. Nationale copy, says its title-page has *διαθήκη*, Testamentum and *Ex off. Elzev.* in red, which would make a fifth. This is an interesting point to clear up, but the book is very rarely met with now, even in public libraries. It is not at Bâle, nor in the Mazarine, nor Ste Geneviève at Paris, and there is only one I believe in all Oxford.'

In the forthcoming *Historical Catalogue of the printed editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the B.F.B.S.*, Darlow and Moule quote the same passage from Willems, and add:—

'G. Berghman, however, in his *Supplément à l'ouvrage sur les Elzévier* (1897, p. 60), records a third variety, which has the title in red and black, but gives the place as *Lugduni Batavorum*: a copy of this variety, which may be called C, is in the B.M.'

¹ The addition of 'iv 51' in this edition crept in in the wrong place after 2 Tim. i 12; it ought to have been inserted after 'John iii 6', but it must be struck out. Hoskier is quite right, when he says 'the type is rather faulty, that is all'.

² Is it necessary to say, that I do not wish to deprecate in the least the painstaking accuracy of Hoskier? There can be no greater admirer of his patience than I. Subsequently I notice that the difference between *εὐράμενος* and *εὐράμενος* is marked in Scrivener's Greek Testament. Now the fact is still stranger. Hoskier knew this edition, of course, and yet he saw no discrepancy whatsoever in Heb. ix 12, and Scrivener who had noted the passage in the 3rd edition of his Introduction and has given the variant in all editions of his Testament, removed the passage from his list in his 4th edition, as convinced by Hoskier, that there was no variety there!

The variation A (entirely in black, with *Lugd. Bat.*), and B (*διαθ.*, Test., Ex. Off. Elz., red, and *Lugduni*) are in the library of the B. F. B. S. I cannot settle this point, I note only that my (black) title writes 'Officina', while Hoskier gives 'Officinā'. This seems to be a further difference. Hoskier does not mention that the *Signet* (device on the title-page: a man plucking grapes from a vine encircling the trunk of a tree with a scroll bearing the words *Non solus*) is not quite the same in the two editions, 1624 and 1633.

But there seem to be differences also in the *text* between various copies of the year 1624. Hoskier at least says (p. 13) on 1 Peter iii 19:—

'In 1624, p. 775, ends with πνεύ-^{μασι} *sic.* but the catch-word *μασι* is *not* transferred to the next page as usual.'

In my copy it *is*; the first line of p. 776 runs in my copy:—

μασι πορευθεῖς ἐκήρυξεν, Ἀπειθήσασί 20.

It would be interesting to learn how it runs in copies, in which *μασι* is missing. But are there such copies? H. F. Moule examined for me the five copies in the British Museum, the two of the B.F.B.S., and one in his own possession; Prof. Schmiedel of Zürich that of the town library there; all are in order and begin p. 776 with the syllables *μασι*.

But further: in Romans, Hoskier registers not less than a dozen readings of the edition of 1624 which are not found in the Zürich copy, nor in my own; most touch only the punctuation (i 22, 26; iii 1; v 18; vi 8; vii 7, 9, 12, 16; viii 24, 26, 28); but at vi 4 he gives for 1624 εἰς θάνατον, 1633 εἰς τὸν θάνατον.¹ Was he mistaken in all these passages? Is there no chance of finding the copy which he used?

For Rom. viii 5 Hoskier marks another fault, the catch-word p. 531 being ἀμαρ- instead of ἡμεν, the beginning of the next page. In my copy the letters *ἀ* and *αρ* have been erased apparently by the printers, to whom I might ascribe also the correction of the spiritus lenis of *ηρεῖσα* in Matt. xii 18 into spiritus asper.

About 'John v 2 *secundo loco*' in Scrivener's third list, I am at a loss as well as Hoskier. I suspect some confusion with the quotation of this verse in the first list, i.e. between the variation *κολυμβήθρα* (nominative, 1624), and *κολυμβήθρα* (dative, 1633). That it was 'hardly fair' of Scrivener, as Hoskier expressed himself, to classify the nominative *κολυμβήθρα* which was the reading of Erasmus, Colinaeus, Stephanus, Beza, and is the reading of all modern editors, among the worst misprints of the edition of 1624, while the dative of 1633 only found a place on the margin of Tregelles with a query, has been acknowledged by Scrivener himself in his fourth edition, inasmuch as he removed the

¹ My copy of 1624 and that in Zürich have the article.

passage from his first list. On the general value of both editions the estimate of Hoskier will hold good.

Unimportant as these questions are, the last has a more general bearing. It has been but recently recognized that in the earliest times of book-printing, when the printing went on at a slow speed, each copy of an edition must be taken, so as to say, as an individual, there being time to bring in corrections between the striking off of the sheets. The examples quoted seem to shew that this took place occasionally as late as the seventeenth century.

EB. NESTLE.

PSALM CXX 3^m.

In the A.V. of 1611 the marginal note on Psalm cxx 3 stands thus : 'Or, what shall *the deceitfull tongue* giue vnto thee? or what shall it profit thee?' The words 'the deceitfull tongue' are printed in a different type, thus indicating that they are not found in the original. I venture to think that this is a mistake, and that the whole note should be in the same type, as being the alternative rendering to that given in the text : 'What shall be giuen vnto thee? or what shalbe done vnto thee, thou false tongue?'

It is not substantially different from the Geneva Bible of 1560 :

'What doeth thy deceitful tongue bring vnto thee? or what doeth it auaille thee?'

Or from the Bishops of 1568 :

'What doth a deceitfull tongue vnto thee? What good bryngeth it thee?'

The A.V. reverts almost to Coverdale.

It seems strange that this error should have been perpetuated in all copies of the A.V. which have been printed since, and even that it has been augmented, for Scrivener prints the latter part of the marginal note thus : 'or, What shall it profit thee?' as if it were an alternative rendering of what precedes.

WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT.

THE *REVELATIO THOMAE* AGAIN.

WHEN I wrote the note on the *Revelatio Thomae* in the January number of this JOURNAL I was unaware that others were working on the same subject, and that a larger fragment of the Apocalypse in question had under a misleading title been printed. As a matter of fact, Professor von Dobschütz has had for some years a text of the Apocalypse founded on two manuscripts, which we may hope to see in print before long. Further, the text of one of these manuscripts was printed by F. Wilhelm in *Deutsche Legenden und Legendare*, 1907, as an 'Epistle of Christ to Thomas'. Yet again, in *Wiener Studien*, 1908, pp. 308-340, E. Hauler has published a most interesting study of the Vienna palimpsest of which I made mention in my note, and has shewn that the text of the first of the two leaves of which it consists is a fragment of the *Revelatio Thomae*, while the second belongs to the *Epistola Apostolorum*, of which Dr Schmidt has further portions to give us in a Coptic version. My note, however, has not been useless, since it has served to call the attention of Professor von Dobschütz to the existence of the Verona fragment, which was previously unknown to him.

M. R. JAMES.

NAMES OF ANGELS IN ANGLO-SAXON AND
OTHER DOCUMENTS.

IN connexion with the interesting question of what apocryphal books were anciently current in Great Britain, I have brought together in this note such unusual names of angels as I have found in documents belonging to the infancy of the English Church. I shall be grateful for additions to the collection.

1. On the coffin of St Cuthbert, made in A.D. 698, the fragments of which are preserved in the Chapter Library at Durham, and have been minutely described by Dr W. Greenwell in the *Catalogue of the Sculptured and Inscribed Stones* there (1899), there is a series of incised figures of angels, with names.

On the larger end of the coffin are two :—

1. (S)CS MICHÆL
2. G)ABRIÆL

On one of the long sides were six :—

1. RAPHAEL

2. SCS VRIA(EL)

3. one lost

4. SCS

The name gone : the figure holds a sceptre, and Dr Greenwell identifies it with Gabriel, who, he thinks, occurred twice in the series.

5. VMIA doubtless for Rumiael.

6. nameless.

2. In the so-called *Rituale Dunelmense* published by the Surtees Society in 1840 from a Durham manuscript of the ninth century we have, in a series of forms of blessing of crops :—

p. 145 sqq. : Adiuro te creatura aque per Panchihelem archangelum ut incendantur atque fugantur (!) demones.

p. 146 : Cum Panchielo archangelo ut defendat segites nostras.

ibid. : Panachihel qui est super omnes fructus terrae et super semina, cum <centum?> quattuor quadraginta milibus angelorum.

On p. 198, in a sort of alphabet :—

R. Raguel, id est fortis, id est satahel.

3. In the *Book of Cerne* (cent. ix, first half) ed. Kuypen, p. 153 :—

Gabriel esto mihi lurica

Michahel „ „ baltheus

Raphahel „ „ scutum

Urihel „ „ protector

Rumihel „ „ defensor

Phanuihel „ „ sanitas

The same prayer is in the *Collectanea Bedae* (Opp. ed. Cologne, 1612, T. iii) : the last two names are there given as Rumiel, Paniel.

4. A similar prayer is in MS Harl. 7653 (*Antiphonary of Bangor* ii App. p. 85, 92, Henry Bradshaw Society) :—

Michaelem sanctum gloriosum deprecor

Rafael et Uriel

Gabriel et Raguel¹

Heremiel et Azael ut suscipiant animam meam, &c.

5. In the *Amra* of St Columba (*Irish Liber Hymnorum* ii 66, Bernard & Atkinson) l. 344, 'He was skilled in Axal the angel'.

¹ Enoch xx 4.

Is this Azael the angel of Enoch viii 1 who taught metal-work, &c. ?

6. In MS Corp. Chr. Coll. Camb. 41, p. 326, we have the names of Fandorohel, Saniel (bad angels), and Dormiel (a good angel), mentioned in charms (1) for ear-ache, (2, 3) for stomach-ache.

7. In the *Textus Roffensis*, at Rochester, of cent. xii early :—

‘Hec sunt nomina septem archangelorum, Michael, Gabrihel, Raphael, Urihel, Barachiel, Raguhel, Pantasaron.’

These same names are found in a Cologne MS (Jaffé und Wattenbach, no. 214) of cent. ix–x, which contains a form of the prayer, ‘Cum mane surrexeris Michaellem in mente habeto’, &c. This prayer is of common occurrence down to the end of the Middle Ages.

I will add two Continental instances. Raguel occurs on a sepulchral monument of the Merovingian period from the old cemetery near Poitiers, excavated by the R. P. La Croix ; it is now in the Musée de la Soc. des Antiquaires de l'Ouest at Poitiers.

We have a series of angel-names in an invocation used by the obscure heretic Aldebert (A. D. 745, Jaffé *Monumenta Moguntina* p. 145) : ‘coniuro uos et supplico me ad uos, angelus Uriel, angelus Raguel, angelus Tubuel, angelus Michael, angelus Adinus, angelus Tubuas, angelus Saboac, angelus Simiel.’

It seems on the whole probable that the Book of Enoch (especially ch. xx) may have been a factor in determining the list of the seven archangels, as given in some of the documents here cited. The seven named in ch. xx are Uriel, Raphael, Raguel, Michael, Sarakiel (? Barachiel), Gabriel, Remeiel. It should be remembered in this connexion that the Royal MS 5 E xiii of cent. viii has preserved a fragment of *Enoch* in a Latin version.

M. R. JAMES.

THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH.

WHEN Dr M. R. James published the so-called *Apocalypse of Sedrach*¹ (Apocrypha Anecdota: *Texts and Studies* ii 3 pp. 127-137) from the fifteenth-century Bodleian MS Miscell. gr. 56, ff. 92-100,² he purposely omitted the first chapter, a fragment of a homily on Love, because it was entirely extraneous to the text of Sedrach, and 'quite unimportant and quite irrelevant', but he quoted a few lines of its beginning and its end: 'Ἀγαπητοί, μηδὲν προτιμήσωμεν πλὴν τῆς ἀνυποκρίτου ἀγάπης· πολλὰ γὰρ πταίομεν . . . μακάριος ἄνθρωπος ὁ τὴν ἀληθινὴν πίστιν καὶ ἀνυπόκριτον κτησάμενος ἀγάπην, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ δεσπότης ὅτι Μειζότερον τῆς ἀγάπης οὐδὲν ἔστιν, ἵνα τις τὴν ψυχὴν θῇ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ.'³

So far as I can judge from these few lines, the chapter is taken from the Λόγος περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ μετανοίας καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ εἰς τὴν δευτέραν παρουσίαν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ascribed in many manuscripts to Ephraem the Syrian, and edited by Thwaites (*S. Ephraim Syrus Graece*, Oxford 1709, pp. 455-462: reprinted in Assemani *S. Ephraem Syri Opp.* II gr. lat. pp. 209-222). The first chapter of Sedrach corresponds to the text in Thwaites 455-456 col. 2, and in Assemani 209-210 D, where it is followed by a few lines which complete the argument on Love. The few various readings in the passage cited by Dr James seem to be due to a desire to modernize the language; the Apocalypse of Sedrach abounds in neo-Greek forms and constructions.

If the title were not expressly formulated, Τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μακαρίου Σεδράχ λόγος περὶ ἀγάπης καὶ περὶ μετανοίας καὶ ὁρθόδοξων Χριστιανῶν καὶ περὶ δευτέρας παρουσίας τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, one would naturally suspect that the incongruity between the first chapter and the text which follows was due either to some disorder or loss of leaves, or to the carelessness of the copyist; but it is more probable that the author of the Apocalypse, who unhappily amalgamates various sources (cf. James, l. c. 128, 129, and 'The Testament of Abraham', *Texts and Studies* ii 2 p. 31) has erroneously connected the Introduction

¹ E. Preuschen, in his review of Dr James's work in *Theologische Literaturzeitung* xviii (1893) col. 546, rightly observes that 'die Schrift ist von James mit Unrecht eine Apocalypse genannt worden'.

² Krumbacher *Geschichte der Byz. Litteratur* (ed. 2) ii p. 160 mentions, among unedited ascetical works of uncertain date, 'Sidrach περὶ ἀγάπης &c. in cod. Bodl. Miscel. 56, s. xv, ff. 92-100'.

³ The fragment occupies ff. 92^r-93^v.

with the rest of the treatise. The late compiler was evidently very unskilful; he has not only given to this Apocalypse a wrong introduction, but he has copied almost *verbatim* from the same homily of Ephraem a title which does not fit in with the contents, in which there is no reference whatever to the second coming of the Lord.

GIUSEPPE SILVIO MERCATI.

THE TEXT OF THE ODES OF SOLOMON.

DR HARRIS has published these interesting poems from a single Syriac MS of late date, and it is fairly obvious that, though the text as a whole is well preserved, there are not a few passages which cry out for emendation. As a contribution to the textual study of the Odes I would offer a few suggestions in this number of the JOURNAL in the hope that others will carry the investigation further.

Ode VIII, v. 3 is rendered by Dr Harris:—

‘To bring forth fruit to the Lord, living [fruit], holy [fruit];
‘And to talk with watchfulness in His light.’

But neglecting *seyame* and reading **ܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܝܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ** (two quite small emendations) we arrive at the rendering:—

‘To bring fruit to the Lord the Living One, the Holy One;
‘And to remove blindness by His light.’

Ode X, v. 7 in Dr Harris’s rendering (our Lord speaks):—

‘And I was unpolluted by my love [for them],
‘Because they confessed me in high places.’

Instead of **ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ** read **ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ**, and render the first line:—

‘And I was not polluted by their sins.’



A harsh ellipse is thus avoided.

In Ode XIX 1–5 the singer speaks of the mystic milk which he received from the breasts of the Father through the Son and the Holy Spirit. Then in v. 6 he turns (if it be the same author) to a new subject. Vv. 6–9 run in Dr Harris’s rendering as follows:—





- ‘[The Spirit] opened the womb of the Virgin
 ‘and she received conception and brought forth ;
 ‘and the Virgin became a Mother with many mercies ;
 7. ‘and she travailed and brought forth a Son, without incurring pain ;
 8. ‘and because she was not sufficiently prepared,
 ‘and she had not sought a midwife (for He brought her to bear),
 ‘she brought forth, as if she were a man, of [her own] will ;
 9. ‘and she brought [Him] forth openly,
 ‘and acquired [Him] with great dignity.’

It is obvious from this rendering that much work remains to be done on the text of the Ode. The following translation is tentatively offered as based on a preliminary correction of the text :—

1. 1. The womb of the Virgin had no power,
1. 2. And she received conception and brought forth ;
1. 3. And a Virgin became a Mother with many mercies.
1. 4. And she travailed, and brought forth a Son, without suffering pain,
1. 5. (*Text corrupt.*)
1. 6. And she sought not a midwife, for He delivered her.
1. 7. She brought Him forth ‘as a strong man’ (Ps. xix 5) by His own will ;
1. 8. And she brought forth Him with a demonstration [of His power] ;
1. 9. And she acquired great authority.

In l. 1 the sense ‘opened’ is not established for the strange  of the printed text, and moreover apart from the translation ‘opened’ there is no justification for supplying ‘[the Spirit]’ as the subject of the verb. It is better to assume that a confusion of letters common in MSS has taken place, and that the Syriac should be read  ‘defecit viribus’ (Payne Smith).

This brings the text into practical agreement with the quotation from Lactantius (*de Div. Instit.* iv 12) given by Dr Harris, ‘Infirmatus est uterus Virginis, et accepit foetum et gravata est, et facta est in multa miseratione mater virgo’.

In l. 7 the translation, ‘as if she were a man’, is surely impossible. For  read  (Ps. xix 5) and read  with 3 s. m. suffix. In the last line, ‘acquired great authority’, the preposition  is to be treated as the mark of the object. The fancy which these closing verses contain, namely, that the babe by his prenatal power delivered his

mother from the pain and peril of childbirth without the intervention of a midwife, belongs probably to an earlier date than the elaborate details of the hymns of Ephrem Syrus.

W. EMERY BARNES.

A STUDY OF SOME EUCHARISTIC PHRASES IN THE WEST.

IN the present Roman Pontifical at the *Ordinatio Presbyteri* a prayer is used by the ordaining Bishop that God would bless those 'quos ad Presbyterii honorem dedicamus . . . ut . . . in obsequium plebis tuae panem et vinum in corpus et sanguinem Filii tui immaculata benedictione transformet'. The earliest instances of the use of the phrase in this connexion that we now possess are, I believe, to be found in the *Missale Francorum* (668 Mur.) and *Sacr. Gel.* (514 Mur.¹), where it occurs in the *Benedictio*, which follows the *Consummatio Presbyteri* in the form 'per obsequium pl. tuae corpus et sanguinem Fil. t. immac. bened. transformet.' This we may take to be the original form of the phrase. There are, however, variations. For instance the *Pontifical of Egbert* omits 'benedictione' and reads 'immaculati'; the *Codex Gellonensis* omits 'per'; while the *Benedictional of Archbp. Robert* (125 HBS) seems to have made a more determined attempt to amend the text of the phrase by altering it and joining it on to the beginning of the next in this way: 'per obs. pl. tuae corpore et sanguine Filii t. immac. bened. transformetur ad inviolabilem caritatem.'² This last version makes good sense but of course it is a wholly different one from that of the original text. As to the meaning originally intended there is, however, no

¹ The quotations are all, where possible, from Muratori, merely for convenience of reference.

² I cannot think that Bp Gore is right in his view (*Church and Ministry* note C p. 367, London 1889) that this is the earliest form of the petition, and perhaps the additional facts I adduce here may convince him. I venture to suggest also that his translation of 'per obseq. pl. tuae' (= 'in the service of Thy people') is not correct, though I do not feel quite certain of this.

difficulty, except in regard to the words 'per obsequium plebis tuae', which Archbp. Robert's version does not touch. I conclude that the words mean that the loyal co-operation of the laity is a necessary element in the consecration of the Elements—a most valuable consideration, which is lost by the alteration in the modern Roman Pontifical of the 'per' into 'in'; this, I imagine, is intended to convey the thought that the 'transformatio' effected by the Presbyter is for the obedient reception of the people. The addition of the other words in the modern Roman rite is unnecessary but not detrimental to the proper meaning.

The interesting point about the phrase I am discussing is that it, together with the whole prayer in which it occurs of course, would seem to be derived from 'Gallican' rather than purely Roman sources: and if so, it is the more remarkable, as it is, I think, the nearest approximation to the doctrine of Transubstantiation at present to be found expressed in the chief Roman Service books.

The following is the evidence on which I base my suggestion:—In the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus*, the section of the Canon which begins *Hanc igitur oblationem* on Maundy Thursday (723 Mur.) has this clause: 'Iesus Christus in novo testamento sacrificandi ritum instituit dum panem ac vinum . . . in sacramento sui corporis et sanguinis transformavit.' This also is what Muratori (130 ff) says he has ascertained to be the form of the *Hanc igitur oblationem* in the Ambrosian *Canon Missae* for Maundy Thursday.¹ And the (Gallican) *Expositio Liturgiae* quoted also by Muratori (col. 144) from Martène is evidently commenting on some such clause in the words 'panis in corpore et vinum transformatur in sanguine'.

Again in the *Missale Gothicum* the *Post Secreta* for the Circumcision (534 Mur.) contains the phrase 'ut fiat nobis eucharistia legitima . . . in transformationem corporis ac sanguinis Domini Dei nostri Iesu Christi', while the *Post Secreta* for S. Leudegar Martyr (637 Mur.) has 'ut descendat hic benedictio tua super hunc panem et calicem in transformatione spiritus tui sancti.'

These are the only passages I have found in which the word 'transformare' ('transformatio') actually occurs, but we may fitly compare the prayer *Post Mysterium* for the *Assumptio S. Mariae Matris Domini nostri* in the last-named Missal (548 Mur.), 'ut translata fruge in corpore calice in cruore proficiat meritis quod obtulimus pro delictis'; while if we turn to patristic writings on the subject we find parallel words used. For instance, Muratori *Dissertatio de rebus liturgicis* (136 f) quotes two passages from S. Ambrose, where he uses 'transfigurare' in this connexion, viz. *de Fide* iv 10: 'Sacramenta quae per sacrae orationis mysterium

¹ His statement is corroborated by the *Ordo ex codice Heriberti Archiepiscopi* appended by Magistretti to his *Ambrosian Pontifical* p. 101 (Milan 1897).

in carnem transfigurantur et sanguinem,' and *de Incarn. Dni.* iv 'etsi a Christo veram carnem esse susceptam et offeras transfigurandum corpus altaribus, etc.'. Compare, too, Isidore *de Eccl. Officiis* i 18 'sanctificata per spiritum sanctum in sacramentum divini corporis transeunt'; Gelasius *de Duabus Naturis* 'Sacramenta . . . in hanc, scilicet in divinam, transeunt spiritu sancto perficiente substantiam, permanent tamen in sua proprietate naturae'; and Gaudentius (Bp. of Brescia circ. 400) *ad Neophytos* ii 'ne terrenum putes quod caeleste effectum est per eum qui transit in illud et fecit illud suum corpus et sanguinem'.

It is obvious, I think, that these terms, and in particular 'transformare' and 'transfigurare', which strictly correspond to the Greek *μεταμορφοῦν* and *μετασχηματίζειν*, belong to a stage in the mediaeval development of eucharistic doctrine earlier than the scholastic stage, and really represent Greek rather than Latin modes of looking at the Presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament (see Dr Srawley's Introduction to Gregory of Nyssa, *Catechetical Oration*, pp. xxxviii ff, and his notes on pp. 146 ff).

It is on these grounds that one is tempted to suggest that the phrase we have discussed was introduced into the Roman Pontifical from Gallican sources, which were apparently themselves often drawn from the East.

It seems, indeed, as if the tendency to use strong and definite words for describing the change in the Elements by consecration is first seen in such sources.

Two other instances may be taken to illustrate this :—(1) The use of the words 'mutare' and 'convertere'. The *Missale Gothicum* has an invitation to worship on the Epiphany (542 Mur.) 'poscentes ut qui tunc aquas in vina mutavit, nunc in sanguinem suum oblationum nostrarum vina convertat', and in the *collectio post nomina* in the same *Missa* we have 'omnium simul oblationes et vota convertere dignetur in sacrificium divinum', whilst in the last *Missa Dominicalis* (656 Mur.) the *Post Secreta* has 'ut operante virtute panem mutatum in carne, poculum versum in sanguine illum [sc. sanguinem] sumamus in calicem qui de te fluxit in cruce ex latere'. With this we may compare Ambrose *de Sacr.* cap. ix. 'benedictione etiam natura ipsa [sc. of the elements] mutatur', and cap. lii 'tantum voluit humana benedictio ut naturam converteret' (viz. in the O. T. miracles).¹ (2) The use of the words 'conficere' and 'perficere'. The *Miss. Franc.*, *Sacr. Gel.*, *Pont. of Egb.*, *Leofr. Missal*, &c., all have a prayer for consecrating a paten 'ad conficiendum in ea corpus Domini'—a curiously strong phrase, which is well illustrated by Ambrose

¹ See also a very curious prayer for the consecration of an altar in the *Benedict! of Archbp. Robt.* (85 HBS) and three allied MSS: 'dignum sit supra quod electas ad sacrificium creaturas in corpus et sanguinem Redemptoris virtus secreta convertat et in sacras agni hostias invisibili mutatione transscribat.'

de Sacr. cap. liij 'sacramentum istud quod accipis Christi sermone conficitur', and cap. liij 'hoc quod conficimus corpus ex Virgine est'—though lower down in the same group of benedictions the prayer for consecrating a ciborium uses 'perficere' in a somewhat different sense, 'hoc vasculum sanctificetur et corporis Christi novum sepulcrum spiritus sancti infusione perficiatur'.

But a remarkable parallel to the stronger use is found in a *Preface* for the fifth Sunday *post Theophaniam* in the Ottobon. Codex of the *Sacr. Greg.* (298 Mur.) which strikes one as by no means 'Roman' in phraseology: '(hostia) quae offertur a plurimis et unum corpus Christi sancti spiritus infusione perficitur . . . propterea ipsi qui sumimus communionem huius sancti panis et calicis unum corpus Christi efficimur.'¹

Lastly, the following extracts will serve to illustrate the ways in which the word 'substantia' itself was used in the West with regard to the sacramental Presence of Christ in these same times, before the scholastic doctrine of Transubstantiation had been formulated and received. *Sacr. Leon.* (297 Mur.) Mense Aprili xij 'repleti substantia reparationis et vitae quaesumus etc.'; *Sacr. Leon.* (357 Mur.) Mense Iulio viiij 'Rogamus . . . ut qui percepimus caelestis mensae substantiam etc.': *Sacr. Leon.* (419 Mur.) Mense Septembri xi 'consequens fuit ut . . . ederetur qui . . . hoc totum non solum de caelo substantia deferret et nomine sed panem praeberet aeternum'. With the first of these extracts we may compare Ambrose *de Sacr.* cap. xlvij 'ista esca . . . iste panis vivus . . . vitae substantiam subministrat', and a striking parallel to it in the *Sacr. Ambr.* (Pamel. Lit. i) 'panis vivus et verus qui substantia aeternitatis et esca virtutis est'.² In all these cases 'substantia' seems to mean the reality ('veritas', ἀλήθεια) in a general sense,³ not the essence ('essentia', οὐσία) in the technical sense, which it was afterwards taken to signify.

This brief study of early liturgical phraseology in the West is very largely based on the quotations given and discussed in Muratori's masterly *Dissertatio de rebus liturgicis*, with which he prefaced his *Liturgia Romana Vetus* (Venetiis 1748). It seems almost unfair to have so

¹ Cf. *Pont. of Egb.* (p. 43 Surtees ed.) and *Benedict. of Archbp. Robt.* (84 HBS) in a *benedictio tabulae*: 'lapidem hunc ad conficienda vitae sacramenta compositum': Canon 7 of the second Council of Seville (A.D. 619) 'presbyteris non licet . . . episcopo praesente sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi conficere': Isid. *de Eccl. Off.* ij 7 'in confectione divina corporis et sanguinis consortes'. Amalarius of Treves (circ. 820) uses nearly the same phrase as this last.

² Cf. *Miss. Goth.* (567 Mur.) at beginning of Lent: 'ipse est panis vivus et verus . . . qui est substantia aeternitatis et esca virtutis.'

³ Cf. Leo Magn. *Serm. de ieiunio septimi mensis* vi cap. 3 'ut nihil prorsus de veritate corporis et sanguinis ambigatis', and *Ep.* lix 2 'nec ab infantium linguis veritas corporis et sanguinis Christi taceatur'.

used his labours, because, though I hesitate to lay down any definite conclusion, yet it cannot but be evident that the tendency of my suggestions is in a contrary direction to his, which is to maintain that the doctrine of Transubstantiation has been held throughout by the (Roman) Catholic Church.

C. L. FELTOE.

REVIEWS

DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.

The Holy Spirit in the New Testament, a Study of Primitive Christian Teaching, by HENRY BARCLAY SWETE, D.D. (Macmillan & Co., London, 1909.)

The Mission and Ministration of the Holy Spirit, by ARTHUR CLEVELAND DOWNER, M.A., D.D. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1909.)

IN his Preface to the above-mentioned work Dr Downer complains that 'the study of the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit has been strangely neglected by the Church throughout her history'; and yet a few lines further on we find him admitting that 'a list has been compiled of upwards of 1,200 books, or parts of books', which deal with this great theme. It might thus seem at first sight as if the literature of the subject must be tolerably complete; but, so long as we believe with Dr Swete, that 'each age receives its own manifestation of the Spirit's presence', and that, while 'the New Testament marks out the great lines of Christian truth which can never be changed', 'it leaves to successive generations the task and the joy of pursuing them into new regions of thought and life, as the Divine Guide points the way' (p. 360), the work of reinterpretation and reapplication will always be necessary. And in this work, if we may venture to say so, both his own book and that of Dr Downer render signal service.

Of Dr Swete's treatise it is difficult for the present writer to speak without falling into what may appear the language of exaggeration. The subject with which it deals is one which its gifted author has for long made his own. So far back as 1873 and 1876 he published two Essays entitled respectively *On the Early History of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* and *On the History of the Doctrine of the Procession*, and a few years later he contributed the article 'Holy Ghost' to Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. Owing to the character of the work in which it appeared, this article was principally occupied with the teaching of the Church; but a subsequent article in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* ii p. 402 ff gave Dr Swete the opportunity of dealing more particularly with the Biblical teaching on lines of which, so far as the New Testament is concerned, the volume before us may be said to be the developement and the growth.

The book is strictly, as its sub-title bears, *a Study of Primitive Christian Teaching*, and in his Preface the writer is careful to lay down the standpoint from which he approaches his subject, and the limits he has set himself in its treatment. In his own words—

‘This book is not an attempt to demonstrate the truth of the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Spirit by an appeal to the New Testament, nor does it profess to make a formal contribution to the study of New Testament theology. Its purpose is rather to assist the reader in the effort to realize the position of the first Christian teachers and writers, when they speak of the Holy Spirit in connexion with the history of their times or out of their own experiences of the spiritual life.’

And again, after stating that he has not thought it necessary to spend many words upon questions of literary and historical criticism—

‘The testimony which the writers bear to the belief or the experience of their age is but seldom, and in a relatively low degree, affected by questions of this kind. . . . And whatever views may be held as to the historical character of certain narratives, or the date or authorship of certain books, the New Testament as a whole speaks with a voice too clear and full to be overpowered by the din of our critical controversies. In the following pages I ask the reader to listen to that voice, as it tells him what the presence and working of the Spirit of Christ meant to the first generation of believers.’

It is easy to see that such an attitude lays the writer open to attack on the part of the representatives of the more advanced school of modern literary criticism. But on the part of those who are willing to adopt Dr Swete’s standpoint, there can be only a feeling of gratitude at the service he has rendered them in his deeply interesting and stimulating volume.

After a brief Foreword on the doctrine of the Old Testament on the Holy Spirit, which in this particular, as falling outside his more immediate object, may well be supplemented by reference to the already mentioned article in Hastings’s *Dictionary*, Dr Swete divides the main body of his discussion into three parts. In the first part he deals with the Manifestation of the Holy Spirit in the History of the New Testament, including His work in the Life of the Baptist and of our Lord, and in the founding of the early Jewish and Gentile Churches. Then in the second part he passes from history to doctrine, and reviews the leading truths regarding the Spirit’s presence and influence, as they are disclosed in the teaching of our Lord, and of St Paul and the other New Testament writers.

The order followed, it will be noticed, is not the chronological order in which the different books of the New Testament appeared, but rather the order suggested by the preceding historical sketch. At the same

time Dr Swete shews himself fully alive to the different stages in the apprehension of the truth, and more particularly to the developement in St Paul's views in accordance with the varying circumstances in which he found himself, and the growth in his own spiritual life. The lexical and exegetical notes, with their constant references to various readings, especially as contained in Codex Bezae, in this section, as indeed throughout the whole volume, are peculiarly valuable, throwing welcome light on many obscure passages, and by their very brevity provoking further thought and enquiry.

The third part of the book is of the nature of a summary, the author gathering together 'the sum of the teaching of the New Testament' on such general themes as 'The Spirit of God', 'The Spirit of Jesus Christ', 'The Spirit in the Church', 'The Spirit and the Ministry', 'The Spirit and the Written Word', &c.

The mere mention of such headings is enough to shew the number of present-day questions of the utmost importance with which Dr Swete is led to deal, and to the discussion of which, it need hardly be said, he brings the wealth of learning and deep spiritual insight which we are accustomed to associate with all he writes.

It seems unnecessary to quote from a book with which all readers of this JOURNAL will desire to make themselves familiar, if they have not done so already, but a few sentences selected almost at random will illustrate the epigrammatic force and the beauty of style by which the book is marked.

'Sunday commemorates both the Lord's victory over death and the Spirit's entrance upon its work of giving life. The weekly Lord's Day is also the day of the Spirit of Christ' (p. 69).

'The purpose of the Son's mission was to give the rights of sonship; the purpose of the Spirit's mission, to give the power of using them' (p. 204).

'Without the mission of the Spirit the mission of the Son would have been fruitless; without the mission of the Son the Spirit would not have been sent' (p. 206).

'It is due to the Spirit that the love of God is to believers not a mere doctrine, but a fact of their inner life, continually present to their consciousness, and inspiring a certain hope of future blessedness' (p. 213).

'The human element in the written word coexists with the Divine after a manner inscrutable to our comprehension. It is so in the mystery of the Christian life; it is so, to take the highest instance, in the mystery of the Word made flesh. We believe, we experience the truth of the union, and it is enough' (p. 339).

With Dr Swete's book, Dr Downer's has not a few points in common, both outward and inward. Thus not only is it dedicated to Dr Swete,

in gratitude for advice and encouragement received, but in its earnestness of purpose and deeply religious tone, it is no unworthy companion of Dr Swete's own work. The more exegetical portions of the book, indeed, hardly shew the same finished scholarship, and the power of combining a number of details in a harmonious whole, which distinguish Dr Swete's. Nor can it be left out of sight that while Dr Swete is constantly on his guard against finding formulated dogmas in the as yet unformulated faith of the New Testament writers, Dr Downer approaches his whole enquiry from the position of the Creeds, and presents us with a 'doctrine' rather than with an 'experience'. When, however, full allowance has been made for this, more particularly in the interpretation of the Biblical passages, it will be readily conceded that Dr Downer has given us a book which no student of the subject can afford to neglect. The comprehensiveness of the treatment is perhaps especially noteworthy. Many books dealing with the Holy Spirit suffer from being confined to one particular aspect of the Spirit's work; but here the many and varying aspects are all brought together briefly, but clearly and succinctly.

It would have been interesting if Dr Downer had seen his way to pursue further the enquiry to which he refers in his Preface, namely, the ways in which the various religious movements of the last few generations, in this country, have borne upon the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, as, for example, when the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century drew special attention to the work of the Holy Ghost in producing personal religion, or the 'Essays and Reviews' debate raised the question how far the letter of Holy Scripture is the voice of the Holy Spirit. But to these, and similar historical points, Dr Downer may perhaps see his way to return again. And meanwhile we have to thank him for the diligence and care he has bestowed upon a book which, as he tells us, is the result of ten years' study, and which will amply reward those who set themselves to master its rich and varied contents. Ease of reference to these is much facilitated by the excellent Synopsis or Table of Contents, as well as by the full Index of subjects with which the book is provided, though we should have been glad to have in addition a list of the principal Biblical passages discussed. The general *format* of the book, as of Dr Swete's, is all that could be desired, and we have detected no *press-errata* of importance, though to the short list on p. xxx may be added p. 218, l. 1 read ἐμπνεῖα for ἐμπνεῖα; p. 236, l. 9 read ζῶν for ζῶν; p. 266, l. 8 read ἐγκράτεια for ἐγκράτεια; and p. 269, l. 1 read Ἰωβ for Ἰωβ.

G. MILLIGAN.

Christologies Ancient and Modern. By W. SANDAY, D.D. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1910.)

THIS book opens with the welcome announcement that its next successor will be the *Life of Christ* for which we have all been waiting with eagerness, and which is to be the crown of Dr Sanday's work upon the New Testament. These lectures and essays are intended to give us a foretaste of the larger book, and especially to indicate the presuppositions which necessarily enter largely into any attempt to reconstruct the biography of Jesus Christ.

Dr Sanday is not only the most courteous of critics. His favourite method is that of comprehension and acceptance, not that of exclusion and rejection. He is always reluctant to adopt the *Entweder-Oder* argument, of which the Germans are so fond. This gentle habit has, perhaps, its drawbacks as well as its advantages. Of the commendation of Schweitzer in his last book (*The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, 1907) I shall have more to say presently. In these essays I cannot quite make out which way Dr Sanday would have voted at Chalcedon; and (p. 124) he seems to think it possible that when our Lord called Himself the Son of Man he meant *both* 'man as gathered up in Himself' and Daniel's apocalyptic Messiah. Here, surely, we must take our choice, unless, indeed, we think that He meant neither.

Still, the main trend of the argument is perfectly clear, and the foretaste whets our appetite for the coming feast. Christ was fully human as well as divine; and there is more danger in dividing or duplicating His personality than in denying the two natures. German Liberal theology has 'reduced' Christianity too much, though it has succeeded in building a great structure of sound and devout religious teaching upon an unduly narrow basis. For the Christ of the Gospels is not only a teacher of the purest morality and an example of perfect goodness; He is divine, and He believed Himself to be the Messiah.

So far we are on the lines of the best orthodox apologetics. But the freshest and most interesting part of the book is that in which Dr Sanday indicates the manner in which he intends to deal with two very difficult questions:—(1) How did the divine element in the personality of Christ operate in relation to the human? (2) How can we transcend the 'reduced' Christianity of the Ritschlian school, and bring the divine Christ into our own lives?

The solutions which Dr Sanday offers in his discussion of these two problems are closely connected. In both cases he calls in the new psychology to support the old doctrine of the *unio mystica*.

'The first proposition is that the proper seat or *locus* of all divine indwelling, or divine action upon the human soul, is the subliminal con-

sciousness. And the other is that the same, or the corresponding, subliminal consciousness is the proper seat or *locus* of the Deity of the incarnate Christ' (p. 159). This is indeed a momentous theory to announce in a few words. It will be most interesting to see how Dr Sanday works it out in his larger book. At first sight, it is no doubt very attractive, as avoiding the enormous difficulty of assuming a dual consciousness in Christ, or of in any way conceiving of a divine consciousness which could yet give the human free play. But the theory bristles with difficulties, and some of them may turn out to be serious objections. In the first place, we must not assume that thoughts and feelings which seem to us vague and mysterious, arising we know not whence, do not proceed from ourselves, but from some higher spiritual source. These dwellers on the threshold may be quite common and ignoble, while on the other hand a man's clearest and most definitely conceived thoughts may be those in which God most directly speaks through him. We cannot, of course, distinguish between our own initiative and the promptings of the Holy Spirit; in that sense the source of our inner life lies in the unconscious region; but this is quite a different thing from supposing that our most inspired thoughts are themselves 'subliminal'. I do not think that they are. The unconscious part of the mind seems to preserve stores of racial rather than individual experience, world-old instincts and mechanical habits, which, indispensable as they are for the existence and perpetuation of the race, have no claim to be considered more sacred or inspired than the individual and independent movements of conscious thought. There is always a tendency to regard with awe phenomena for which we cannot account; but this is a temptation to be guarded against; otherwise we may come to trust in infra-rational promptings because they are infra-rational, and that way madness lies. And if we cannot, in our own experience, give a very exalted place to these surgings up from the unconscious or subliminal, does the hypothesis that the subconscious was the *locus* of Christ's divinity help us much? This suggestion, indeed, seems to me less helpful than the old belief in a *κέντρον ψυχῆς*, a divine spark at the core of the personality, which was a favourite doctrine with Eckhart and other mystics more orthodox than he. This *Funkelstein* was not the subliminal as such; in a perfect character it would illuminate and control the whole conscious life. I see no difficulty in supposing that the most perfect identity between the human and the divine will would involve no impairing of complete human consciousness, and no consciousness of a second will or nature other than the human; but I do not see that we are helped in any way by referring the divine element to the subliminal or subconscious part of the mind. If the divine element which is dynamically present in us is so deeply buried, is the fact that it is so.

unconnected with our moral imperfection, and would it be subliminal in Christ? These are some of the difficulties which may make us hesitate to accept a theory which, nevertheless, is worthy of the careful consideration which Dr Sanday will doubtless bestow upon it.

There are indications that in the coming book the indwelling of Christ in the soul of the believer and in the Church, will be expounded with the help of arguments borrowed from speculative mysticism. The soul is described as 'travelling between two immensities', capable of uniting itself with every order of being, up to the very highest. In these speculations Dr Sanday expresses great obligations to the late Dr Moberly, an earnest thinker, but not a student of philosophy, who, as his critics pointed out, sometimes dallies innocently on paths which lead straight to Spinoza and other heretics. Dr Sanday would find William Law and the Cambridge Platonists very helpful in this part of his argument. I cannot refrain from expressing my pleasure at finding Dr Sanday among the Christian mystics.

But what light does this conception of the Christ of experience throw back on the Jesus of history? There is much in this book which may make us sure that no breach of continuity will be admitted. We shall not be invited to acknowledge *comme deux Christs*. The emphasis laid, in the concluding paragraph, on 'truth to type' in religion should alone be enough to reassure us on this head, for the 'type' of Christianity is that of a religion based on belief in a historical person. Nevertheless, in view of some pages in *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, I must express very respectfully my hope that Dr Sanday will dissociate himself more explicitly from the school of Schweitzer. The praise which he then bestowed on this writer, guarded as it was, gained for a production which I am old-fashioned enough to think blasphemous,¹ a vogue which it would never otherwise have obtained in this country. It has now appeared in English, not, as might have been expected, under the auspices of the Rationalist Press Association, but with commendations from Divinity Professors of both our great Universities. Here is surely a case when the *Entweder-Oder* must be faced, and I cannot doubt that Dr Sanday will vindicate the 'existence', and a good deal more, of the historical figure with whom the Christian Church stands or falls, and will assure us, with the weight of his unrivalled authority, that the foundation of our faith in Him standeth sure.

W. R. INGE.

¹ 'Der Jesus von Nazareth, der als Messias auftrat, die Sittlichkeit des Gottesreiches verkündete, das Himmelreich auf Erden gründete, hat nie existiert.' 'Der historische Jesus wird unserer Zeit ein Fremdling oder ein Rätsel sein.' 'Die historische Erkenntnis des Wesens und des Lebens Jesu der Welt nicht eine Förderung, sondern vielleicht ein Aergernis zur Religion sein wird.' (Von Reimarus zu Wrede pp. 396-399.)

THERE are few more pressing problems than that of Authority in Religion for the Christian thinker of to-day. Mr Leckie (*Authority in Religion* by the Rev. J. H. Leckie: T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1909) not only sees this but sees also that it is a practical problem for the Christian Church, and not least for those Protestant bodies which are heirs to the protests of their forbears against the mediaeval conception of authority. So, avoiding questions which, however important in themselves, are really incidental to the main problem,—such questions as the exact nature of Biblical Authority or the dependence of Church Authority upon a particular ecclesiastical organization—he aims at discovering the real place of Authority, its nature, limits, and organ. The book centres in his theory that the organ of Authority is the Soul in communion with God; but he will not allow that this involves subjectivism or exalts the individual over-much. The Christian will never forget that his soul is but one among myriads which claim the same experience; above all, he will not forget the fact of the Christian aristocracy—the prophets, among whom he seems to include the saints, though a rather clearer distinction might have been drawn corresponding to the recognizable distinction between the two types. He balances this ‘aristocracy’ by a recognition of the rights of the Christian democracy—the Church, whose authority, derived from its continual witness, is religious rather than dogmatic, though no wise man will lightly put aside those old forms in which the Church has seen its faith most adequately expressed. Mr Leckie does not, I think, sufficiently remember that the religious faith itself is often conditioned by the forms in which it has been clothed, so that though at first dogma arose out of a faith not yet intellectualized we can no longer quite fairly point to the witness of the corporate consciousness as justifying the dogmatic forms. His treatment of the authority of Christ is very suggestive, since in this case pre-eminently we are face to face with a truly human Soul in perfect communion with God. The book is refreshingly free from anything in the nature of partisan argument, and is none the worse for being suggestive rather than conclusive where it treats of the relation of past dogma to present experience.

Mr Leckie devotes but a small part of his book to the consideration of our Lord's authority. This problem, with which is bound up the further, though logically preliminary, question of the relationship existing between the Jesus of the Gospels and the Christ of Christian experience, is dealt with very thoroughly in two works by Dr D. W. Forrest of Edinburgh. His earlier work (*The Christ of History and of Experience* (5th Edition: T. & T. Clark, 1906), though written before the eschatological issue became dominant for students of the Gospels in this country, is yet well fitted to justify, as something more than a judge-

ment of value arising out of the consciousness of the early Church, the transition from the picture given of Jesus in the Synoptists to the explanation of that picture which we find in the Epistle to the Colossians or the Gospel of St John. Particularly valuable is Dr Forrest's insistence on the Resurrection. It is strange to have to say this ; yet I cannot but think that if the eschatological school laid as much emphasis on the Resurrection as the Gospels and the early chapters of Acts do, they would find it necessary to revise some of their conclusions. It is not easy to correlate the two ideas of the coming of the Kingdom and His own death and resurrection existing together in the mind of our Lord, if He never transcended the Jewish view of the Kingdom which is supposed to have dominated the thought of His time. The conception of Jesus formed by the new school is, even more than that of the much-abused Liberal-Christian school of Germany, confounded by the Resurrection.

As against that other popular view of our time that history is an embarrassment to the spiritual element in Christian faith Dr Forrest writes wisely. The repudiation of history is really the repudiation of all that we can learn of the experience of the past in the fancied interest of the experience of the present ; and this is to cut up human life into fragments and destroy the best means we have of understanding and confirming the religious experience of the present. The latter part of the book is in effect a compendium of dogmatic theology, dealing with the Godhead of Christ, the Trinity, the Atonement, the Church and the Final Judgment ; on this last point Dr Forrest prefers to do justice to the claims of the moral consciousness on behalf of right, wherever found, even apart from faith, by a theory of unconscious faith, rather than to assume a future probation. I cannot agree with Dr Forrest's attack on Herrmann and the Ritschlians generally as to the Resurrection, and Herrmann's supposed substitution of the inner life of Jesus for the Resurrection as an apologetic, though I should admit that the Ritschlian emphasis is not always rightly distributed.

The *motif* of Dr Forrest's later book (*The Authority of Christ*: T. & T. Clark, 1906) might be expressed by saying that he is anxious to portray the authority of Christ as always spiritual, never legal. Dr Forrest carries this point of view consistently through his chapters. He argues forcibly against the view that Christ settled, or was on earth to settle, questions as to the authorship of this or that book, the historical truth of this or that incident in the Old Testament. The letter of Christ's precepts is ever to be interpreted by the Spirit-illuminated conscience, and it is the intention expressed and visible in His commands, not the form of the commands, which compels our obedience. So, on the one hand, we shall not think it strange if Christ in His life on earth never dealt with problems on which we now especially need guidance;

problems connected with political and social ethics ; on the other hand, we shall not conceive of individual practice as necessarily immoral if it does not keep within the letter of Christ's commands. The last and longest chapter in the book is therefore fittingly devoted to the subject of 'The Incarnation and the Holy Spirit', for Christians can answer those who accuse them of explaining away all that is difficult in Christ's commands only if in the doctrine of the present workings of the Holy Spirit is seen not merely an expression of the Incarnation, but Christ Himself as the supreme authority on a universal scale impossible to Him in the days of His flesh. There is a tendency to discursiveness in Dr Forrest, but his vision is clear and his touch sure.

The Gospel of Reconciliation or At-one-ment by the Rev. W. L. Walker (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1909) suffers from a style which makes it particularly hard for the reader to grasp the connexion of thought running through his arguments. This is the more unfortunate because the book, unlike so many written from the same point of view of liberalizing theology, has nothing loose or flabby about it, but is a valuable piece of theological work. It is an easy enough thing to write a book on the Atonement which is mainly concerned with the demolition of the theories of the past, with an appreciation of the doctrine of God's Fatherhood thrown in by way of a positive element. Mr Walker is too true a thinker to inflict anything so amateurish upon his readers. He sees that the Cross has been and must remain the centre of the Gospel, and that in the Cross there must be a judicial as well as an ethical element : the content of St Paul's thought is not dependent on the categories he used. The Cross as the supreme manifestation of God's love, in that the Son of God, as man, there submitted to the inevitable consequence of sin, is his central thought ; while close to it lies the conviction of the unity of the race with Christ, so that men benefit through the Cross owing to their vital relationship with the Saviour. The book is probably the best in our time which follows the tradition of Maurice and McLeod Campbell and does full justice to one side of the Atonement while not forgetting the other.

J. K. MOZLEY.

Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus. Grundlagen und Grundzüge der theologischen Gedanken- und Lehrbildung in den protestantischen Kirchen. Von OTTO RITSCHL. I. Band: Prolegomena, Biblicismus und Traditionalismus in der altprotestantischen Theologie. (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, 1908.)

The Confessional History of the Lutheran Church. By JAMES W. RICHARD, D.D., LL.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa. (The Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia, Pa.)

IN this volume Otto Ritschl, the son and biographer of the famous theologian, has essayed the task which was declined by his master Harnack, to whom his work is dedicated. Harnack, as will be remembered, brought his History of Dogma to a close with Luther, giving as a reason that without infallibility there can be no dogmas, and the Protestant Church bade farewell to infallibility at the Reformation. But whether or not the term *dogma* can be applied in its strict sense to the doctrinal teaching of Protestantism, whose doctrines have undergone many transformations, the theologians of the Post-Reformation periods have left ample materials for what is commonly known as *Dogmengeschichte*. Those who desire to have a complete and connected view of the history of religious thought in Europe cannot afford to neglect even the least attractive of its manifestations.

Ritschl is under no illusion as to the disfavour with which the 'strife theology' of the age immediately succeeding the Reformation is viewed even in Germany. As a disciple of Harnack he adhered to his master's counsels, and has always consulted the original sources, but he confesses that, even with the resources of more than one University library at his disposal, it was not always easy to obtain the needed volumes.

Notwithstanding Ritschl's mild apology for his clients, who were not without their personal virtues, it is difficult to come to any other conclusion than that the disfavour is deserved. It is an age which offers a signal example of the squandering of the fruits of a great religious movement which had preceded it. At a time when the new Church required plain teaching and guidance, the Protestant divines fell out among themselves, and spent their energies in acrimonious controversies regarding matters of subordinate importance, and on questions which will never be solved by the wit of man.

Pietism and Rationalism, which arose later, were both, although in different ways, reactions against the positive and overbearing dogmatism of the 'new scholastic' of the Post-Reformation era, and although the

former proved a blessing to the religious life of the German people, it weakened the prestige of the official Church.

Evidence for the above view is to be found in abundance in both the volumes before us. The second is the work of a deceased American professor ; and although he does not write so exclusively from sources as Ritschl, his well-chosen extracts from contemporary German historians of religion will be welcomed by English students.

Both volumes shed an illuminating light on some portions of the Reformation history. Our space forbids us to allude to more than one or two points which have a specially modern interest.

Ritschl and Professor Richard both make a distinction, and a distinction often overlooked, between the motives of the earlier and the later Confessions of the Protestant Churches. Of the earliest and noblest of these Confessions, the Confession of Augsburg, Professor Richard writes :—

‘It was composed with the avowed purpose of repelling hostile attacks, and of expressing agreement in doctrine with the Roman Church. Neither the theologians nor the Princes had any intention of leaving the Catholic Church, but much rather was it their intention by repudiating heresy, and by affirming the Catholic doctrine, to vindicate their right to remain in the Church.’

The object of the later Confessions was different. The Princes having become governors of the Church—‘*cuius regio eius religio*’—it was necessary to furnish them with explicit forms of faith to impose on their subjects, and this often led to oppression and even to cruel persecutions.

Another question discussed by both authors, but especially by Ritschl, is the relation of Luther and of Melancthon to Scripture, and to Christian antiquity. The attitude of the former is difficult to define. Like most men of his genius and temperament he was often inconsistent in this and in other matters, and for this reason, perhaps, he belonged to the future as well as to his own age. At times he spoke of Scripture in terms of adoring reverence, but, on the other hand, certain of the books of Scripture fared badly at his hands. He appears to have had no theory of inspiration regarding the writers inspired rather than the Book. Ritschl speaks of his attitude as that of an ‘eclectic Biblicism’. He neglected, if he did not reject, those portions of Scripture which did not enforce his favourite doctrines of grace.

For the testimony of Christian antiquity, the creeds and the decrees of Councils, he cared little, although he was willing to accept them when they were in agreement with Scripture. In a remarkable passage, however, quoted by Ritschl, he goes far beyond this, and speaks as if the

consent of universal Christendom was a sufficient support for any doctrine.

Of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper he writes :—

‘The witness of all the holy Christian Churches to this article, had we nothing else, ought to make us hold it fast, and hinder us from listening to or suffering any factious spirit (*Rottengeist*) ; for it is dangerous and horrible to listen to or to believe anything that is contrary to the unanimous testimony, faith, and doctrine of all the Holy Christian Churches from the beginning for fifteen hundred years. I had rather have against me not only all the factious spirits, but all emperors, kings, princes, all wisdom and law, than see rise up against me one iota or tittle of all the Christian Churches.’

This, however, is an exceptional utterance on the part of Luther; written at a time when he was in controversy with the Swiss on the doctrine of the Supper, and was not unwilling to avail himself of the support of Catholic tradition.

Melanchthon, on the other hand, who had a historical mind, perceived that it was a weakness for the Protestant Church to have no connexion with the past, especially with the Patristic Church ; and with advancing years this feeling became stronger. He was himself a diligent student of Church History, and he inculcated the study on others ; for it shewed, he said, that during its whole course the Church had been ‘like a lily among thorns, or a distressed ship tossed on stormy waters’. Like most timid men he dreaded democracy, and Ritschl quotes his definition of the Church, which makes it plain that he was not disposed to leave its government to *Herr Omnes*, to use an expression of Luther :—

‘Est autem ecclesia monarchia, quod ad caput Christum attinet, et aristocratia, quod ad ministros attinet et auditores, ut honesta schola.’

In politics, and in matters educational, he avowed himself a follower of Aristotle :—

‘Aristoteles quem sequimur magistrum in philosophia, aristocratiam maxime probat et hanc antefert omnibus formis politiarum. Sequamur igitur Aristotelem, et in scholis, quantum fieri potest, aristocratiam efficiamus.’

JOHN GIBB.

Heinrich VIII von England und Luther (1908). *Zur Wertung der deutschen Reformation* (1909). *Die christliche Sittlichkeit nach Luther* (1909). By Dr W. WALTHER (Deichert, Leipsic).

DR WALTHER, Professor of Church History in the University of Rostock, is one of the chief living authorities on subjects connected with the history of the Reformation in Germany, and he will also be remembered as one of the ablest critics of Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christentums*.

In the first of the three works mentioned above, an enlargement of a rectorial address to the University, the attack of Henry VIII on Luther and the latter's reply, and the subsequent relations of the two men, are explained and criticized. Contemporary documents are the basis of the investigation; but the latest German, English, and Italian authorities are everywhere considered.

Zur Wertung der deutschen Reformation is a very valuable collection of essays and lectures on subjects connected with the German Reformation, revised and reprinted. The author indicates their purpose when he says in his preface, 'they seek to make clear the opposition of the German Reformation to the errors of the Roman Church on the one hand, and of the "Fanatics" (*Schwärmer*) on the other . . . in the hope that they may contribute to a right estimation of Luther's work, which appears by no means to be reached in some modern books'. Some of the essays, such as those on Luther's death and on the tactics of the Swiss against Luther in the sacramental disputes, are directly controversial. Others, as that on 'Early Roman Catholic attempts to make the Psalms "useful"', or that on Melanchthon and the Universities, are more simply historical and throw light on some extremely interesting aspects of the age. The last two essays in the book deal with modern religious movements imported into Germany, and contrast certain features in the teaching of Methodists, the Salvation Army, and others, with the teaching of Luther.

Die christliche Sittlichkeit nach Luther is the third of a series entitled 'Das Erbe der Reformation im Kampfe der Gegenwart'. This third part, though it does not escape controversy altogether, has a more positive purpose than its two predecessors in the same series. Based on a very careful independent examination of Luther's works, the great Reformer's ethical teaching is grouped under four main headings: 1. True Morality and the Will of God; 2. The Source: the significance of Faith for Morality; 3. The Morality of the Christian in Practice; 4. The significance of Morality for Faith. In his conclusion Dr Walther remarks that the investigation shews that it is quite wrong

to say that Luther laid more stress on Faith than on Morality. A separation between them was for Luther impossible ; on the contrary, he linked them in an inseparable union.

These books will be indispensable in all serious study of the Reformation movement, and the third is no less important for the history of ethics. The learning and the judgement of the author are presented to the reader in a delightful style.

W. L. WALTER.

PRINCIPLES OF RELIGIOUS DEVELOPEMENT.

The Principles of Religious Developement, A Psychological and Philosophical Study, by GEORGE GALLOWAY. (Macmillan & Co., London, 1909.)

DR GALLOWAY is already known as the author of *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion*. Though he still acknowledges his indebtedness to Pfleiderer, there is no longer any real dependence except in something of the old method. This work is the fruit of riper thought, though it is still far from finality, and of maturer expression though it is not yet as easy reading as even this difficult subject admits of. A more synthetic method, with a statement at the beginning of what was to be proved, would greatly assist the reader, and Dr Galloway's accurate, clear, and compact summaries of philosophical positions prove his ability to employ such a method.

Religion is conceived as having to do with the evolution of spiritual values, and the main purpose of the book may be described as the endeavour to gain for this conception some of the old security which seemed to be so certain under the idea of cosmic process. His philosophic position is akin to Lotze's. It is a realistic idealism. Instead of substance we have centres of experience, existing for themselves and also for all intelligences. The self-conscious, moral, spiritual personality crowns the series. The evolution of religion coincides with the evolution of moral personality. This evolution is followed along the psychological lines of feeling, thought, and volition, and then in the interaction of all these factors with the environment. A process so personal yet various demands a directing will from which it issues, by which it is directed, and which is again its goal.

All this is suggestive, but in spite of Dr Galloway's assertion that there is no one principle of religious developement, the reader is left

with the feeling that one principle ought to predominate, or, if not, all should be subordinated to some central purpose. We read that 'the unfolding of personality is the revelation of a higher order of being; for personal life is charged with spiritual interest and purpose, and it relates temporal ends to an ideal and eternal end . . . The deepening of the inner side of experience expresses itself in the higher religious consciousness which conceives the facts of life in terms of spiritual value, and grounds all values in a Supreme Value'. In that case should not all possible principles of religious developement be subordinated to this one task of realizing and securing spiritual values? Instead, we are shewn mankind busy keeping the three balls of feeling, thought, and volition in the air at one time like a conjurer, continually in trouble through allowing too much predominance to any one of them. Moreover, each element is found difficult to manage by itself. Feeling, for example, is at times too dynamic, and at other times too conservative. But is not religion the mightiest conservative force and the mightiest revolutionary force precisely for the same reason? In cherishing anything as of eternal worth every effort is made to shield it from criticism, and, when that is no longer possible, the same sense of great interest at stake can make sacrifices for reality. But if the conservation of worths thus necessarily involves the criticism of them, we are led at once to the place of thought in religion without needing to introduce new interests for which the concerns of feeling must be limited in order to make room. This nice proportion of separate elements becomes still less convincing when we pass to volition, which must be the realization of a worth we have proved and felt, or it is mere hypocrisy. 'There is danger', we are told, 'both in the individual and social developement of religion, that the volitional and practical side may be exaggerated to the detriment of the spiritual harmony which is the true ideal . . . The possible evil is obviously the externalizing and mechanizing of religion, and the consequent drying up of the springs of faith and emotion.' Does such a result really arise from a too preponderating exertion of the will? When religion is mechanized, is it not precisely the real, purposeful exertion of the will above all else that is to be spared? The person whose will is too energetically bent on religious ends has yet to be found, but the person who substitutes forms and customs to save all energetic feeling and thinking and acting alike is a very present and persistent reality. Indeed, this 'nothing too much' idea is so far from being the essential element in religious progress, that it is fundamentally irreligious. Religion and a nice balancing of various considerations have no kinship. That which corrupts religion is an absence of all reality, not the excessive pursuit of one aspect of it. The genuinely pious man, and the ardent seeker after truth, and the prophetic labourer

for the kingdom of God are all religious men who cannot pursue their ends too intensely or too far. Religion is corrupted not because men are not sufficiently encyclopaedic, but because they are not sufficiently single-minded.

This inquiry is important, therefore, as a preliminary task, but its chief suggestiveness lies in shewing that there must be a further stage of enquiry. To suggest that need, however, is no unimportant service, and it is to be hoped Dr Galloway will yet build on the foundation he has laid with so much solid learning.

J. OMAN.

CHRISTIAN ETHICS.

Christian Ideas and Ideals, an Outline of Christian Ethical Theory. By R. L. OTTLEY, Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology, Oxford. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1909.)

THIS is a most useful book. The aim of its writer is 'to exhibit the point of view from which Christian thinkers of every period have approached ethical questions, and so illustrate the vital connexion that subsists between the moral *ideals* of Christianity and its characteristic *ideas*', and the subject is dealt with from the point of view of pastoral theology, the book being indeed in substance lectures delivered by Dr Ottley in the course of his professorial work.

It will not satisfy the philosopher. The discussions of ethical theory hardly go deep enough. Occasionally difficulties are glided over. The pen runs on a little too easily. At the same time the mass of quotations, though often it introduces to the reader some suggestive thought of a modern writer, or reminds him of some half-forgotten, but valuable patristic work, is apt to become tiresome, and to hide the individuality of the author, of whom we would gladly have seen more. But in an introduction to Christian ethical theory to be read by theological students, this characteristic has its advantages. For it bears witness how very much in all ages, and not merely in the present, doctrine has had, for good or for ill, a strongly practical bent. Dogmas have been valued as the support and guarantee of graces or virtues.

In the book before us Christian practical ideals are made to rest on

the doctrine of the Incarnation. 'The most pregnant and distinctive of the ideas of 'Christianity', says Professor Ottley, 'is that of a self-communication of God to man. Christian theology culminates in the doctrine of the indwelling of God in humanity.' The strength of the book is that, this position having been taken, it is maintained throughout. There is a sustained unity of view. The practical and ethical meaning of Christianity is throughout regarded as a life lived in fellowship with and imparted by God. There is on this basis a large function for reason and for conscience. The discussion of the latter is hardly so illuminating as one might have wished even though the space is limited. But intuitionism is rejected.

In some ways the most interesting parts of the book are the applications of Christian ideas to economic questions, and to the subject of religious conformity. Dr Ottley treats the latter question with moderation and candour, but yet sees that it is a necessity for the clergy to teach clearly and confidently, and makes the suggestion that a man seeking ordination should 'ask himself how far he is really in sympathy with that entire system of ideas which Christianity represents'.

In discussing the former subject the author is easily able to shew how the doctrine of brotherhood has made Christians very 'radical' in their view of property, while a respect for order, the powers that be, ordained by God, has restrained them from placing reliance on revolutions. In like manner the intensely sacramental character of historic Christianity, where its full influence has been felt, has urged its adherents to sympathy with bodily needs while not allowing them to treat these needs as ultimate.

Again let me say a most useful book, though it would better have served its purpose as an introduction to the subject if the style had been more stimulating. I have the feeling that this would have been secured had the author allowed himself to speak in his own person a little more, and in doing so, adopted a less detached manner. The perusal of a book such as this suggests the wish that it and other writings of the kind might find their way into the hands of theological students, and the disquieting reflexion that in the Anglican Communion no systematic and scientific study is required of a subject which on any theory of Christianity is of vital importance.

A. S. DUNCAN JONES.

Ethics of the Christian Life. By DR THEODOR VON HÄRING. Translated from the second German edition by JAMES S. HILL, B.D. (Williams & Norgate, 1909.)

THIS book presents a great contrast to the former, both in point of view and in method. Its method is superior; it shews a more vigorous attempt to grapple with underlying problems. But its point of view is more constricted. Every one in writing on such subjects is bound to approach them from some standpoint or other. But even so, a more and a less of limitation is possible. The angle from which Christian Ethics is here regarded is that of Lutheran orthodoxy, combined with considerable 'liberal' sympathies. *Das christliche Leben auf Grund des christlichen Glaubens*, which was published in 1902, and which I take to be the original of the present work, is classed by Zöckler with I. A. Dorner's *Christliche Sittenlehre* and Köstlin's *Christliche Ethik*. They differ in detail, but their systems are fundamentally the same. Christ is the Principle of Christian Ethics. On that basis the virtuous life of the Christian is expounded, first on its inner side, and then as exhibited in the life of the community.

The form of v. Häring's book is as follows. There are two parts, under the headings, 'Christian Ethics and its opponents', and 'Christian Ethics as a coherent system', respectively. The former section, which is in some ways the best part of the book, might with advantage have been longer. It consists of 107 pages out of 462. There are many suggestive passages in it. One of the most interesting is the section on Nietzsche, that portent for moralists. Von Häring speaks of his 'deep understanding of single sides of Christian morals', and finds the secret of his influence in his reaction against intellectualism. 'Men rejoiced to find that the world was no longer emptied of meaning.' But Nietzsche's own words are true of himself, 'Thou has lost the goal, and so hast lost thy way too!'

The section on 'Christian Ethics as a coherent system' is prefaced by a chapter on the difference between Evangelical Ethics and that of Roman Catholics. The latter, we are told, have 'no ethics which deserves the name'. 'The salvation which is offered to him [the Roman Catholic] is supernatural in the sense that it is something which is external to his nature. For it is not personal communion with a personal God whose innermost mystery of holy love has been revealed, but the impartation of heavenly powers, a participation in the ineffable mystery of the divine life, which is certainly righteousness and goodness.' The attitude here depicted is characteristic of the whole book. While at times calling Roman Catholics Christians and saying that their lives are

better than their moral system, there is a constant tendency to identify unprotestant and unchristian, an identification which is actually accomplished on p. 279.

There is an almost nervous fear of appearing to coincide with the theologians of the Roman Church in any moral judgement, which is perhaps due to the author's opinion that 'the modern consciousness is largely inclined to regard the Catholic view of morality as that which is primitively Christian'. The way in which this attitude of mind develops may be seen best by particular examples. Under the heading, 'The Nature of the Christian Good', the subject of the Example of Christ comes up for discussion, and we are told that the 'Imitation of Christ' in its external connotation can have no place in the Evangelical Church. The Example of Christ is of no value as compared with the Ascended Christ. The religion of the Gospels, i. e., is of little worth as compared with the religion of 'the Gospel'. By this means that which to Catholic and rationalist alike has seemed to be the 'desirable thing of all nations' is given a very subordinate place, if allowed entrance at all. St Francis and John Stuart Mill suffer shipwreck in the same vessel. The 'Ecclesiastical Music' of à Kempis is, our author is constrained somewhat grudgingly to admit, an 'Imitatio' after the Pauline manner.

But is not all this really to say that all Christians must be of one kind? It is to affirm not only that all Christians must do the same things, but that there is only one point of view from which the Faith can be approached, only one temperament which can really appreciate and exhibit Christianity. The existence of the New Testament, that very various whole, is a protest against any such views, as it was in the days of Marcion. If one attempts to view the matter dispassionately, one finds one's greatest difficulty in Dr v. Häring's negatives. It is surely a little difficult to say that the salvation offered by the Roman Catholic Church is '*not* personal communion with a personal God', &c. It is in the word personal I venture to think that the key to the antinomy is to be found. An examination of the numerous places where Dr Häring speaks of personal relations with God leads me to the conclusion that he means those dealings with the Eternal Spirit which take place in the privacy of the individual consciousness. It is in these moments only, and in this way only, that God and Man are united. It is really similar to the view of Thomas à Kempis, 'Unless a man be set free from all creatures, he cannot wholly attend unto divine things'. But are 'the creatures' really this hindrance? Is the action of God upon us, through the things that He has made, impersonal? If it be right to apply the word personal to the Godhead at all, must we not conceive the Divine action as at all times personal? Or are we to think of the Deity slipping from impersonal to personal action, and *vice versa*, in the manner that

Leo pictures the action of the Incarnate Word, Very God and Very Man? There is a difference, it seems to me, deep down between what Dr v. Häring calls Evangelical Ethics and that of many Roman Catholic theologians. By the former the relation with God is supposed to be primarily, as I have said, a something which takes place only in the privacy of the individual consciousness; by the latter this relation is conceived of as primarily, though perhaps not exclusively, mediated through persons and things. May it not be that both are true? There is certainly a considerable body of authority for the supposition. St Augustine himself may be taken as an example. It is significant that Dr v. Häring ranks this great writer high, though not on the same level as Luther. Between these two, as far as this book is concerned, there is a long and silent desert. It might perhaps be added to this discussion of the notion of personal relations with God that the Tübingen professor will not allow that nature can be loved. It can only be enjoyed. But here again, just as with persons, it is at least possible that the natural order is a sacramental expression of the mind of God, and that in this expression the Divine Being sets forth and calls out love.

It will be seen that there is a certain obliqueness of vision. But there is no obliquity and the book is a good example of the way in which a mind which is at once sincere, vigorous, and religious, can transcend its own limitations. No one can read the book and not feel that he has been in contact with one whose outlook is profoundly religious, who also at the same time is making a large and determined effort to get down to realities. Ethical systems may be distinguished from one another according to the view they take of the fundamental Principles, the ultimate End, and the Motive or Incentive. In this book the Principle is, as I have said, Christ, the Motive the Love of God, grateful affection, and the End God. No lesser end, it is seen, can be admitted, and reference is made to Augustine's view that the love of God means that the love of a Christian is directed not to the gifts but to the source of the gifts. This End is the highest End in so strict a sense that it is able to realize in itself every lesser End. 'The Highest Good of Christian ethics surpasses the other systems, in that it is raised above the otherwise irreconcilable opposition of individualism and socialism.'

This is all in keeping with the strong assertion of the place of mysticism in theology. 'That there is a direct fellowship', says Dr v. Häring, 'between God and man apart from his relation to the world may indubitably be asserted.' Eschatology, too, is of far-reaching importance, for it encourages 'courageous work in this world because "it is God's will"'. 'The one thing that unites the martyrs of the second century, Augustine, the Reformers, and the Quietists of the Renaissance in feeling and judgement is the certainty that they had that a good time was

coming.' Again, while 'conduct' in the narrow sense is rightly valued very high, the author is able to say of prayer that it 'is the most direct participation in the highest Good'.

There is so much in this that is in keeping with the best Catholic thought, Roman and non-Roman, that it seems almost like an illogical lapse to find the Church treated as a kind of appendix, a thing 'that may find its place at the conclusion of social ethics'. The author's remarks on the relations between Church and State are extremely interesting if a little difficult to reconcile with one another, but there is no room to discuss them here.

I could wish very heartily that this book could have a wide circulation. But I fear the publishers and the translator seem to have combined to hinder such a result. The original is a book that will be found on many German pastors' shelves. I have found it on some myself. It is valued because it is solid and popular. The former quality remains in its English dress. But the latter has disappeared. Even if the eagerness of the reader overcomes the initial difficulty of the price, which is 10s. 6d., he will still find himself face to face with an English style which is most repellent. Any one who knows German will find his path easier, as he hears 'ja' and 'doch' resounding from under their thin disguises. Split infinitives are a trifle perhaps. Words like 'minify' might be passed over. But one does not know whether one feels more inclined to quarrel with the expression or the meaning of such a sentence as 'Art does not ask after reality; the splendour of illusion is its province'; nor does it make it easier to follow the train of thought to find one's self checked by a sentence of this sort: 'And it is also clear that the higher love, as ethically determined, stands so much the higher, the higher those moral ends are which are striven for in common; and so much the purer is that benevolence and good pleasure—that is to say, the more purely benevolence and good pleasure are determined by that absolute "ought"' (p. 132).

A. S. DUNCAN JONES.

IN *The Pastoral Teaching of St Paul* (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1908) Dr W. E. Chadwick sets himself to deduce from St Paul's epistles lessons which may be of use to the minister of the gospel in the present day—at first in a more general way, and later in regard to particular departments of work—preaching, praying, &c. As the writer feels that the general principles are of more importance than their early applications, he makes little reference to the Pastoral Epistles, as largely containing definite details. Wide experience and wide reading are brought to bear on the task of suggesting applications of St Paul's principles to the needs of to-day, and there are many points made which are worthy of notice. With regard to the minister's attitude Dr Chadwick is surely right when he remarks that 'we are sometimes tempted to see in the work of so-called Christian pastors and teachers two primary motives, both of which appear to be stronger than "the love of souls": firstly, the desire to make others orthodox; secondly, the determination to perform every duty of their profession most punctiliously' (p. 227); and again when he notices that the 'lack of character' introduced into manual work by 'mechanical contrivances' is not without a parallel defect in religious work. 'Elaborate organization takes the place of personal dealing; and admirably, though mechanically, performed services, the place of preaching and teaching. Individuality, and so character, is here as elsewhere being crushed out by machinery' (p. 304). The minister, says the writer, 'must be an artist' (p. 26) preparing his hearers for the message he has to deliver to them, while he must also remember that nothing will appeal to his hearers like his own personal experience, 'a revelation of Christ mediated, not only through him, but actually *in* him' (p. 316). In regard to the message: 'The laws of the Kingdom of God, and that welfare depends upon obedience to those laws, is perhaps the most necessary of all messages for the present.' This same conviction appears in Dr Chadwick's treatment of the social question: 'we have come to see that the so-called "social problem" is an ethical one' (p. 178); and again in the application of the new knowledge of the universality of the Divine Law to Christian work: 'The message of this, which we have to declare and explain to the world, is that upon the knowing and doing of God's will depends all welfare' (p. 295).

In line with this view Dr Chadwick has in Chapter X an interesting discussion of the meaning of *σοφία* in the New Testament. He holds that it refers not so much to an entity, 'the essential nature of some thing', as to skill in working; it is rather a power than a possession, and has its roots in the Jewish rather than in the Greek sense of the word. Thus wisdom becomes very much an ethical quality. 'Man's wisdom consists in the skill or ability with which he uses all that God has put within his power. This wisdom is dependent upon far more

than knowledge: it is often the means whereby we gain more knowledge' (p. 364). Probably the writer goes too far in limiting Christian wisdom to ethical conduct, but he is to the point when he urges that the new knowledge in psychology and sociology as being largely ethical in nature claims the 'earnest attention' of the Christian pastor (p. 377).

On the other hand, in spite of many helpful passages, it must be said that the combination of commentary, discussion of words, application, and exhortation has produced a book which is exceedingly difficult to read with sustained interest.

The ideas often lack freshness, and, when suggestive of originality, are insufficiently developed. It is difficult to gather any definite inspiration from the book, or to feel that the method adopted really throws much new light upon St Paul and the secrets of his success.

C. BARROW IN FURNESS.

CODEx 'ALEXANDRINUS'.¹


THE Trustees of the British Museum have begun to issue a new complete photograph of the famous Codex Alexandrinus (A) in reduced facsimile, whereby scholars will be able to acquire an accurate representation of this great MS at a much lower cost than that of the full-size photograph, published in 1879-83. The actual photograph of each page in this new publication measures about 8 in. x 6½ in. The printing of the plates (executed by the University Press, Oxford) is very clear and legible, when the state of the MS is considered, and Dr Kenyon writes the Introduction.

The present volume contains the New Testament and Clementine Epistles, but the other volumes are promised in due course. This therefore seems an appropriate time to express the hope that in the Introduction to the Old Testament volumes the mediaeval history of Codex A will be fully investigated, with a view to determine how far it deserves to be called 'Alexandrian' at all. Every one knows that it was formerly in the possession of Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Alexandria (till 1621), and afterwards of Constantinople (1621-1638). It was given

¹ The Codex Alexandrinus in reduced photographic facsimile (vol. i, New Test. and Clementine Epp.). Printed by order of the Trustees, 1909.

to Charles I through Sir Thomas Roe, then British Ambassador at Constantinople, but, as Dr Kenyon observes, 'the history of the Codex Alexandrinus, before it passed from the hands of Cyril Lucar to Sir Thomas Roe, is more obscure'. As a matter of fact, the mediaeval history of the Codex, which is repeated in so many Introductions to the Greek Testament and to palaeography, is based upon an Arabic Note at the foot of the first page of Genesis. It seems, therefore, worth while to consider this Note a little more closely, all the more since it has not been made the subject of any enquiry since Professor Nicoll of Oxford interpreted it for Baber's edition of A in 1821. The Note consists of three lines of very bad Arabic writing, with a cross at the side. The vellum also is stained and lacerated. I read as follows:—

حس على القلاية الطرركه بنغر الاسكندرية
من اخرجه يكون محروم مسروز
كـ[ب] اساسوس المقيـ



That is, supplying the points,

- (1) حُس على القلاية البطركية بنغر الاسكندرية
(2) من اخرجه يكون محروم مشروز
(3) كتب اثناسيوس المقيـ

- (1) Bound to the Patriarchal Cell in the Fortress of Alexandria.
(2) He that lets it go out shall be cursed and ruined.
(3) The humble Athanasius wrote (this).

'Cell' (قلاية) is the regular term for the Patriarchal residences, both Malkite and Jacobite, in Cairo. Both dignitaries considered themselves Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, successors of the great Athanasius and Cyril: the first line of this inscription means that the MS, when the Note was written, belonged to the Patriarchal Library in Cairo, and as we find it in the possession of Cyril Lucar, the Greek Patriarch, it refers presumably to the Library of the Malkites. The last word of line (2) is indistinct, but it obviously means 'cursed' or 'punished': Nicoll read معروز, but I think the second letter looks more like س. For the third line Nicoll read اثناسيوس المقيـ, thinking the first letter was *Alif*, but it is certainly *Kaf*¹; in fact, previous to Nicoll the line was read كتب هذا سابس (i. e. 'Sabas wrote this'). There is a hole after the *Kaf*, but the next letter must be *b*, *t*, *n*, or *y*. I read the proper name *Athanasius*, as Nicoll does: the spelling as I decipher the word corresponds with the usual spelling.

¹ It is formed exactly like the *Kaf* of دكروا, in the Thekla inscription on the verso of the fly-leaf.

It is usual to identify 'the humble Athanasius' with Athanasius III, Patriarch of Alexandria about 1300. But is there any reason why this scribe should be a Patriarch at all? Do not Patriarchs usually indicate that 'by Divine permission' they *are* Patriarchs? Certainly this is the case with 'Michael by the mercy of God Patriarch of Antioch', who wrote his name and anathema in the thirteenth-century codex of Eutychius's Annals now in the British Museum.¹ Similarly 'the poor Macarius' (الفقيه مكاروريوس) never fails to add the territorial title 'of Antioch', he being Patriarch, every time that he writes his name in B.M. Addit. 9965.²

But if 'the humble Athanasius' who wrote the Note in Codex A be not a Patriarch of Alexandria, some curious consequences follow. The argument hitherto accepted has run thus: Athanasius who wrote the Note signed his name with a cross and says the Codex was an heirloom of the Patriarchal Library of Alexandria, therefore Athanasius was a Patriarch of Alexandria; the only Patriarch Athanasius who is late enough is Athanasius III, therefore the writer of the Note is Athanasius III, therefore the Codex was in Alexandria (or rather, in Cairo) about the year 1300; therefore it really is Egyptian in origin, and has always been kept in Egypt.

It is true that 'J. J. Wetstein (*Nov. Test. Gr.* i 10) quotes a letter of his uncle, J. R. Wetstein, written in 1664, in which he states, on the authority of Matthaeus Muttis, a deacon of Cyril's, that the MS was found at Mt. Athos', as Dr Kenyon faithfully reports (p. 7, note). Dr Kenyon, however, goes on to say that very little weight can be attached to this statement, because 'clearly the MS was at Alexandria about 1300'. But what puts the Arabic Note we have been considering into the fourteenth century, except the theory that it must have been written by a Patriarch named Athanasius? Is it not more likely that Athanasius was some person of Cyril Lucar's staff, who had charge of his Library?

If we accept Matthaeus Muttis's statement, we may suppose that Cyril Lucar, then Patriarch of Alexandria, got hold of Codex A at Athos in 1616. The Codex passed into the Patriarch's Library, but as he himself had acquired it, he felt himself at liberty to take it with him when he was translated to Constantinople in 1621, and afterwards to

¹ Cotton *Caligula* A iv: see Cureton's Catalogue (1846) p. 49.

² Cureton's Catalogue pp. 41-45; see also the autograph of Athanasius, Bishop of Kāra in 1136 (Wright *CBM* 199). My friend Mr E. H. Minns has further drawn my attention to the Patriarchal autographs collected by N. Likhatcheff in the *Trans. Imp. Russ. Archaeol. Society of St Petersburg* (vol. iv, 1907). These Greek documents, which include a letter from Cyril Lucar himself, shew that the shape of the cross in the Arabic Note in Cod. A was in use about 1600.

present it to the King of England.¹ If Codex A came from Athos, that means it originally came not from Egypt, but from Constantinople. In a word, it represents a Constantinopolitan, not an Egyptian, text of the Greek Bible.

So far as I know, there is nothing in Codex A to indicate that it was ever in Egypt before 1616. The only Arabic writing it contains is (1) the Thekla inscription²; (2) the Athanasius inscription; (3) the pagination, which goes through the whole Codex; (4) two notes in the margin of Wisdom, viz. *يوم الجمعة* i. e. 'Friday', opposite Wisd. ii 12, and *الفصح* 'Easter', opposite Wisd. v 1. All this seems to me to be contemporary, if not by the same hand. I venture to think it rests with those who still support an Egyptian *provenance* for Codex A to shew that these Notes are not contemporary with Cyril Lucar. All the other lectionary-marks, some of them quite late, are in Greek, as also is the very ill-spelt sentence written in the corner of fol. 605 r, and repeated on the lower margin of the opposite page. As far as I can read it, it runs:—

ο ταλαως κατανον τας εμας αμαρτηας τοτε ωλωσ
ου τολμο απεινησε ης ουρανου

In any case, it appears to be the work of some one who lived about the tenth century, and had more piety than grammar. It has nothing to do with the text, which is a page of the Song of Songs. The Greek lectionary marks, scattered about various Books of the O. T., look to me much later, but some of the marginal corrections, e. g. in 2 Chron. xxxii 23, appear to be of the tenth to the twelfth century.

All this is quite inconclusive: let us hope that the future volumes of the new facsimile will do something to clear the matter up. The main object of this Note has been simply to call attention to the extreme slenderness of the material, out of which the generally accepted history of the Codex 'Alexandrinus' has been constructed.

F. C. BURKITT.

¹ It is worth noting that the anathema was not erased, when the Codex was presented to Sir Thomas Roe. Contrast the case of the MS now numbered *CUL* Gg. 5. 27, an Arabic copy of the Gospels (dated 1285) which Cyril Lucar gave in 1618 to David de Wilem. In this the old notes of ownership have been carefully destroyed.

² *ذكروا ان هذا الكتاب يحط ثقله السهده*, i. e. 'They relate that this book is in the handwriting of Thekla the Martyr'. This is written on the *verso* of the fly-leaf, facing Gen. i, and appears to me to be in the same hand as the Athanasius inscription.

EUANGELIUM GATIANUM.¹

Euangelium Gatianum is an edition of the well-known Latin codex of the Four Gospels commonly quoted as *gat*. The codex formerly belonged to the Monastery of S. Gatien at Tours: it is now at Paris (B. N. *nouv. acq.* 1587), and may be assigned to the eighth century. Herr Heer's work seems well done. There is a good facsimile and prefixed to the text are sixty-four pages of Introduction, in which the editor brings out the chief points of interest in *gat*. If, like most editors of MSS, Herr Heer is inclined to value the witness of his codex somewhat too highly, that is a fault which is amply excusable in view of the clear and practical way in which he has put some new evidence at the disposal of his fellow-workers.

The text of *gat* certainly does raise some very interesting questions. What, we may ask, is a 'mixed Vulgate MS'? When ought a codex to be reckoned among the Old Latin MSS, and when among Vulgate MSS? Herr Heer (p. xl) distinguishes three elements or strata in *gat*: there is (i) the most ancient Old Latin element, partly African in type; (ii) Vulgate readings properly so called; (iii) the main body of the text, common to the Vulgate and the Old Latin. 'Miram equidem hanc codicis *gat* structuram ita compositam esse censeo, ut genuina illa versio antiquissima Africana, quam codici pro fundamento subesse demonstravi, iam ante s. Hieronymi aetatem ad exemplaria veteris familiae "Italicæ" sive "Europææ", postea etiam ad exemplaria Hieronymiana sive pura sive mixta pedetemptim emendaretur atque adeo misceretur' (p. xli). This may be in itself a perfectly accurate statement, but it hardly prepares the student for the thoroughness with which the text has been corrected to the Vulgate. If we include in 'Vulgate' not only the purest text, such as is preserved in Codex Amiatinus and printed in Wordsworth and White, but also the inferior texts current in England during the Heptarchy, then the part of *gat* which is not Vulgate and is Old Latin shrinks to very small proportions.

At the same time the 'African' element is really present in *gat*. In Lk. i 11 according to *gat* the angel appears to Zacharias 'a dextris altaris *supplicationis*', while the Vulgate and all the Old Latin texts, except the African *e*, have 'a dextris altaris *incensi*' (= τοῦ θυμιάματος). Here *e* has 'in medio altaris *supplicationis*', so that at least in the final word *gat* preserves a characteristically African rendering which could not have been derived from mere accidental emendation or correction, like a change of tense or the omission of a particle. There are not many African readings in *gat* so striking as this one, but they do occur,

¹ By J. M. Heer (Herder, Freiburg i. B., 1910.)

as for instance in Joh. xix 42 where *gat* (again supported by *e*) has *cena pura* for *parascene*. It is also important to notice that this phenomenon of 'African' renderings and readings appearing in isolated Irish or semi-Irish codices is not confined to *gat*.¹ Thus in Lk. xvi 14, where the Vulgate and almost all the Old Latin texts have *auari* (= *φιλάργυροι*), we find *cupidissimi* in *e*, but *cupidissimi et amatores pecuniae* in the Irish MS *r*. This combines two renderings of *φιλάργυροι*, the second being found alone in *a* and in the Book of Armagh. More instances of African readings in Irish texts are given in Lawlor's *Book of Mulling*, p. 134 ff.

No doubt Herr Heer is right in supposing that these African readings are not curiosities introduced into Irish texts at a later stage, but on the contrary are relics of its oldest stratum and only owe their presence in *r* or *μ* or *gat* to imperfect thoroughness in the work of revisers, whose main aim was to conform the texts before them to 'Late-European' or Vulgate standard. But the mere presence of uncorrected African readings in *gat* does not give any special weight to those parts of the text which happen to agree with the mediaeval standard. It is enough here to refer to the classical explanation of the appearance of scattered readings of ancient type in MSS whose text is for the most part ordinary and late, which is to be found in Hort's *Introduction* §§ 336-338. The illuminating example from the Clermont MS and its copy *E*₃ is too long to be quoted in full, but it gives once for all the reasons why it will be always dangerous and unscientific to use such a MS as *gat* as authority for the 'Old Latin', except in those readings which actually differ from the Vulgate. Many words and sentences in the Vulgate are of course repeated unaltered from Old Latin texts; you cannot tell whether *Quoniam quidem* in Lk. i 1 or *Lux mundi* in Joh. viii 12 was derived in *gat* by unaltered transmission from its Old Latin ancestry or by correction to the Vulgate. But just for that very reason it is impossible to draw any inference whatever from their presence in *gat*. The evidence is simply negative. If, on the other hand, it had happened to read *Lumen saeculi* in Joh. viii 12 (which it does not), then we might well have safely inferred that the older Irish text had *Lumen* . . . , and that it had been transmitted unchanged in the text before us.²

The critical use of a text like *k* or *a*, or even *e*, is fundamentally different from that of a text like *gat*, or any other Latin text which has

¹ *Gat* is described as 'insular' in origin. It is worthy of notice that the scribe does not mind beginning a line with *ns* or *nt*, followed by a vowel: e.g. in Lk. i 11 we find *sta|ns a dextris*. Can this be paralleled except in MSS written in Ireland, such as the *Book of Mulling*, which has e.g. *obseruaba|nt eum* in Matt. xxvii 36? Barbarous division is notably absent from *r*.

² As a matter of fact *r* has *lumen mundi*.

been contaminated from the Vulgate. *h* and *a* may safely be taken as pre-Vulgate from beginning to end. They were written possibly before the Vulgate was published, certainly before it had made any general headway or the process of mixture had begun. *e*, though somewhat later and often untrue to the 'African' type, does not seem to have been assimilated to the Vulgate. Of the 'European' MSS the fragments known as *n* and *s*, and the almost complete codices *ff* and *b*, may be assumed to have very few Vulgate readings, if indeed there be any.¹ But most of the MSS usually reckoned as 'Old-Latin' seem to contain Vulgate readings, some more, some fewer. This is certainly the case with *c*, and with *h r*; apparently with *i l* (Lk, Joh) and *g*, and with *f*.

The manner in which this later mixture takes place is different in different MSS, and therefore we must take into account the possibilities discussed by Dr Lawlor in his *Book of Mulling* pp. 66-69. Perhaps the most conspicuous example of irregular mixture is *c*, the latest in date, though by no means the least important, of the MSS usually classed as Old Latin. It is quite evident the *c* contains Vulgate readings, usually in the form of the insertion of verses and clauses which were absent from the genuine Old Latin texts. Besides these interpolations there are other readings and renderings, scattered throughout the Four Gospels, which may safely be ascribed to contamination from the Vulgate. The great value of *c* is that (like *gat*) it contains an African element, but this element seems to be confined to parts of Luke and Mark. The text of Matthew is European where it is not Vulgate. Following Herr Heer's argument for proving an African base for *gat*, we may assume an African base for *c* in (parts of) Luke and Mark. But we are not equally justified in assuming an African base for *c* in Matthew or in John. Possibly the African element was derived from a fragmentary codex (such as *h*) in which the missing portions had been supplied from a European text.

A yet simpler instance is presented by *h*, i. e. Cod. Claromontanus. This MS is made up of two, written by different hands, though of about the same date. The MS containing Matthew is Old Latin throughout, with only a few Vulgate readings here and there, if any. The text of Mk, Lk, Joh is Vulgate: it is indeed one of the oldest MSS of the Vulgate, and I do not know why it was not used by Wordsworth and White. But if an eighth- or ninth-century copy of *h* had been made, we should have had a MS all in the same hand, Old Latin in St Matthew's

¹ Yet in the case of *ff*, note the presence of *Matthia*, *Amos*, *Maah*, in Lk. iii 25; on which see Herr Heer's book *Die Stammbäume Jesu* p. 59 ff. I am still inclined to regard *b* as a good example of the type of text from which Jerome made his revision, so that it should have occupied the place which *f* does in Wordsworth and White's edition. No doubt Dr Souter will soon have something to say on this subject.

Gospel, Vulgate in the rest. The text of Matt is akin to τ , in fact the affinity of h and τ is one of the keys we possess to solve the problem of the origin of Irish texts. But there is nothing Irish about Mk, Lk, Joh in h . Because there are 'Irish' readings in h (Matthew), that does not prove that h (Mk, Lk, Joh) has an Irish strain in its ancestry, much less that the Irish strain is the primitive 'strues', to use Herr Heer's word. It is a pity that he has not attempted to localize the African element in *gat*, to see whether there are portions of the Gospels where the demonstrably 'African' readings are strewn more thickly than others. They seem, for instance, so far as I can judge, not numerous in the Gospel of Mark.

One other characteristic of Irish texts must be noted. It is this: that not all the differences from the Vulgate found in Irish or British MSS are derived from the Old Latin. We read in Lk xvi 8 that 'the Lord (*or*, the lord) commended the unjust steward because he had done wisely, because the children of this world are wiser than the children of light in their generation'. When we turn to the Latin versions we find evidence that this verse caused difficulties in ancient as in modern times. *D a b c e ff l*, with *gat* and its friends E M, insert 'therefore I say to you', or 'but He said to His disciples' before the second clause, obviously in order to make it quite clear that the praise of the Unjust Steward belongs to the Parable and is not a general proposition, while the final clause may be taken for edification.¹ It is an old insertion: *e* has the African *discentes*, while the other texts have *discipulos*, so that we may assign this interpretative gloss to the early days of the Latin N. T. But the saying itself was interpreted by the earlier Latin texts in a somewhat unfamiliar fashion. We find *filii huius saeculi prudentiores sunt quam filii lucis in hac generatione* in *b c ff q r*. With this *a* and *l* agree, except that *a* and *l* have *super filios lucis*, and *a* has *in gente hac*.² The African *e* has *filii saeculi huius prudentiores super filios lucis in saeculum istut sunt*, and this is supported by Cyprian 793, who has *in saeculo isto* when alluding to the verse. The variation in the rendering of *γεγεν* is what we find elsewhere: *generatio* is characteristic of the common run of European MSS and of the Vulgate, *a* in Luke has a strongly marked preference for *gens*, while the Africans *k* and *e* waver between *saeculum*, *progenies*, and *natio*. We may therefore be sure that the Old Latin tradition of the meaning of *εἰς τὴν γεγεν* τὴν αὐτῶν was 'for this age' or 'in this age', whether the original rendering was *in saeculum istut* (as is most probable), or *in hac generatione*. If there was

¹ *Dominus* is always contracted, indicating that Latin scribes at least understood the word to mean 'Jesus', not 'the master of the Unjust Steward'.

² *i* is missing here. *d* has evidently been corrected to fit its own Greek; it reads *filii saeculi huius sapientiores super filios lucis in generationem suam sunt*.

any revision from a Greek MS it only affected the term used to render *γενεά*, not the general meaning.

The Vulgate, followed by *f*, translates 'than the children of light' by *filiis lucis*, and instead of *in hac generatione* has *in generatione sua*. This is neat and scholarly: it is like the master correcting a schoolboy's Latin prose. But *gat*, Wordsworth's E, and the margin of the Echternach Gospels (*ℙ^{ms}*), have *in uita sua*. This very curious reading, which agrees in general sense with the usual interpretation put upon the words in modern times—I suppose *in uita sua* here means 'in their own concerns'—is therefore on the one hand characteristic of an Irish-British group, and on the other it is clearly not Old Latin at all. Neither again is it a reading that belongs to the early type of Irish texts represented by *r*, for *r* has *in hac generatione* in agreement with *b* against the Vulgate.

It seemed to me worth while to discuss the Latin renderings of Lk xvi 8 at some length, because the issues are there raised in a particularly acute form. It may serve to shew the interest of *gat*, which Herr Heer has now made accessible to his fellow-students, and it also may help in elucidating the history of the equally important text of *ℙ*. Whatever be thought of Dom Chapman's theories, it is probable that the key to the history of *ℙ* and its curious marginal notes is also the key to the early history of the Vulgate itself. Is it possible that some of these marginal notes were interpretative rather than textual? In that case *in uita sua* might have got into the text of *gat* and E by a misunderstanding, and its proper place would be where it stands in *ℙ*, i. e. in the margin. It would be interesting to know who first put it there.

F. C. BURKITT.

A GOTHIC-LATIN FRAGMENT FROM ANTINOE.

DR PAUL GLAUE, of Giessen, has brought to light a fragment of a vellum Gospel codex, the interest of which is out of all proportion to its size. It came out of a miscellaneous lot bought from native dealers near Antinoe, which was handed over in 1908 to the University Library at Giessen. When the fragment was entrusted to Dr Glaue, he recognized that it had once formed part of a bilingual codex of the Gospels, the writing on the *recto* being Latin, while that on the *verso*, the post of honour, was not Greek as in Codex Bezae, but Gothic. It is thus similar to the fragments (from Rom. xi-xv) known as Cod.

R r 2

Carolinus or *gue*, except that in *gue* the Gothic and the Latin columns stand on the same page. Dr Glaue has now published the Giessen fragment in the *Zeitschrift f. neutest. Wissenschaft*, Prof. Karl Helm editing the Gothic text.¹

The new 'find' is unfortunately small, consisting only of the inner upper corners of two conjugate leaves, which must have been the outer pair of a quire. The extant portions contain :—

<i>recto</i>	Lk. xxiii	2-6	Latin
<i>verso</i>	xxiii	11-14	Gothic
<i>recto</i>	xxiv	5-9	Latin
<i>verso</i>	xxiv	13-17	Gothic,

the Latin lines being all mutilated at the end, and the Gothic lines at the beginning. As in the case of *gue*, the lines are sense-lines, and the writing may be assigned to the fifth century.

Small as the fragment is, and closely as *f* and the Vulgate agree, it is clear that its text is akin to *f*. The following readings are characteristic.

(a) Agreements of *giess* with *f* vg against lat. vt :—

Lk. xxiv 6^a NON EST hic &c. = *f* q vg, om. clause lat. vt.

xxiv 6^b RECORDAMINI = *f* vg, memoramini *a* e, comm. *c*,
remem. *b* *fflgr*, mementote *d*.

xxiv 8 RECORDATAE = *f* vg, memoratae *a* *d* e*, comm. *c*,
remem. *b* *coor. fflgr*.

xxiv 9 A MONUMENTO = *f* g vg, om. lat. vt.

(b) Agreements of *giess* with *f* or *f*-lat. vt against vg :—

Lk. xxiii 4 PILATUS AUTEM (*dixit*) = *f* *a* *d* r, ait autem Pil. vg *b* e *ffl* q.

xxiii 5 INCIPIENS = *f* lat. vt (inchoans *a*), et incipiens vg = NB.

These six readings taken together give as clear a verdict about the textual character of the Latin text of the new fragment as could possibly be demanded.

Peculiar to *giess* is the insertion of *quia* before *commouet* in Lk. xxiii 5 (= *οτι ανασει*), and perhaps also there is a coincidence with *a* in xxiii 3^b, where Dr Glaue thinks the half-verse begins with *QUI RESPONDIT*, but it is illegible in the photograph. In the next line it would suit the space better to supply *sacerdotes* rather than *principes sacerdotum*. In the Gothic text perhaps the most interesting point for the textual critic is the rendering of *εσθητα λαμπραν* (Lk. xxiii 11) by *wastjom bairhtaim*, i. e. 'bright vestments'. This is the rendering of *λαμπρος* that we should expect from Lk. xvi 19, and shews that the Gothic was not influenced here by the *ueste alba* of the Vulgate and of lat. vt (exc. *a* *c* *d*).

¹ Also separately : *Das gotisch-lateinische Bibelfragment* . . . von Paul Glaue und Karl Helm, Giessen 1910. The publication includes two very clear half-tone plates.

A Gothic text which turns up in Egypt is indeed a curiosity. But the main interest of this discovery is not the positive additions which it brings to our scanty treasure of early Germanic, but the general confirmation which it gives to the view that Codex Brixianus (*f*) is not a normal Old-Latin text, but a copy of a Gothic-Latin bilingual, such as the Giessen fragment came from. Readers of the *Journal of Theological Studies* may remember that this view was brought forward in the first number of this JOURNAL, in the review of the Oxford Vulgate. It has since then been generally accepted in Germany, e. g. by Kauffmann in Kiel, and by Streitberg in his excellent edition of the remains of the Gothic Bible and literature.¹ Dr Glaue's discovery not only brings us some new light on the Bible of the Goths; it adds also a not unimportant link in the chain of arguments that prove the Vulgate Gospels to have been what St Jerome claimed them to be—a true *Nouum Opus*.

F. C. BURKITT.

REMNANTS OF THE LATER SYRIAC VERSIONS.

Remnants of the Later Syriac Versions of the Bible . . . edited by JOHN GWYNN, D.D. Published for the Text and Translation Society. (Williams & Norgate, London, 1909.)

BIBLICAL students have waited some time for this book, but Dr Gwynn has done his work in such a way that it will not need to be done again. We have here in the First Part a really satisfactory text of the Four Minor Catholic Epistles (i. e. 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude) in the Philoxenian Syriac, based upon a collation of twenty MSS, together with full Prolegomena, including a reconstruction of the Greek text attested by this Syriac version. In the Second Part, which is really a separate book, with separate pagination, Dr Gwynn has edited some hitherto unpublished Extracts from the Syro-Hexaplar Version of the LXX, comprising passages from Genesis (xxvi 26–30), Leviticus (xxvi 42–46), 1 Chronicles (extracts from i–vi, xxxiii 14–17), 2 Chronicles (extracts from xxvi–xxxv), Nehemiah (i 1–4; ii 1–18; iv 7–9, 16–22; vi 15, 16; viii 1–18; ix 1–3)—in all nearly 200 verses. Any fresh fragment of the Syro-Hexaplar version is a real addition to our knowledge of Origen's epoch-making work upon the text of the Old Testament in Greek, and Dr Gwynn deserves the thanks of Biblical scholars for

¹ W. Streitberg *Die Gotische Bibel* (1908) p. xliii ff.

the industry with which he has hunted these extracts out of Catenas in the British Museum, and the care and skill with which he has edited them.

But interesting as are these Hexaplar texts, the New Testament texts are even more interesting, and it will perhaps best exhibit the importance of Dr Gwynn's work for N.T. textual criticism, if we see how it affects the critical Notes on the Catholic Epistles in 'Westcott and Hort'.

The version edited by Dr Gwynn is not entirely unknown to scholars. It is, in fact, the text of the Minor Catholic Epistles usually printed with the text of the Peshitta, but in a very inaccurate form. The true text of the Peshitta does not contain these Epistles, and they were first printed in 1630 by Edward Pococke from a late MS in the Bodleian (Gwynn's 8). The Version is therefore called 'syr. bod.' by Hort,¹ but Dr Gwynn has practically demonstrated that it formed part of the true Philoxenian Version, made in the sixth century under the direction of Philoxenus of Mabbog, of which the Harclean Syriac is a later revision.

Hort mentions 'syr. bod.' twice in 2 Peter (iii 10, iii 12) and five times in Jude (1 *bis*, 5 *bis*, 22 f). Of these seven passages, it is quoted accurately in 2 Pet. iii 12, and in Jude 1^a (τοῖς ἔθνεσιν) and Jude 5^b ('God', for 'Jesus' or 'the Lord'). But each of the four other passages contains an error, which Dr Gwynn's edition enables us to correct. In 2 Pet. iii 10 the best MSS of the Philoxenian support *εἰρεθήσεται* without *οὐχ*, in agreement with the best Greek evidence. In Jude 1^b, to quote Dr Gwynn (p. 128), 'The prefix *و* in *وَالله* is not to be taken as implying that our translator read *ἐν* before *Ἰησοῦ* in his exemplar: the Syriac idiom demands the preposition'. In Jude 5 Dr Gwynn's best MSS imply *πάντα*, in agreement with the best Greek and Latin texts; it is only the later MSS of the Philoxenian, including of course the Bodleian MS from which the version was nicknamed 'syr. bod.', that have a form which seems to imply *πάντας*. Finally, in the confused text of Jude 22, 23, the Philoxenian agrees word for word with Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 6₈) in reading *καὶ οὗς μὲν ἐκ πυρὸς ἀρπάζετε, διακρινόμενοι δὲ ἐλεείτε*, and with this agrees the Latin quotation in Hier. *Ezech.* 18. Tischendorf states this correctly, but the Greek as given in Hort's Note appears to be a re-translation from the transmitted Latin of Clement's *Adumbrationes*, under the impression that the Greek text of the *Stromateis* must be only a paraphrastic allusion. But what we read in the *Stromateis* is word for word with the Philoxenian Version.

¹ See his Note on 2 Pet. iii 10, where 'three Catholic Epistles' is an error for 'four Catholic Epistles'.

Now that it is properly placed in the hands of scholars, the Philoxenian Version will take its place among the chief authorities for the smaller Catholic Epistles. Indeed, no more striking illustration of the interest of the text so admirably edited by Dr Gwynn can be given than this striking coincidence which it presents with the earliest Christian Father of Alexandria.

F. C. BURKITT.

THE ODES OF SOLOMON.

Ein jüdisch-christliches Psalmbuch aus dem ersten Jahrhundert. Aus dem Syrischen übersetzt von JOHANNES FLEMMING, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von ADOLF HARNACK. (Leipzig, 1910.)

LAST year (1909) Dr Rendel Harris published from a MS in his possession the Syriac text of the 'Odes and Psalms of Solomon'. Dr Harnack has now edited a German translation of the Odes made for him by Dr Flemming, appending to the work a very important historical enquiry into the origin of the Odes and their place in the development of Christian thought. A definite theory is put forward and supported with Dr Harnack's usual learning and ability.

This theory is that the Odes, like the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, consist of a Jewish original document (*Grundschrift*), and of a number of Christian interpolations. Proofs are offered in detail. Harnack starts with Odes iv and vi, which he pronounces to be 'certainly Jewish' because of their references to the Temple of Jerusalem (Ode iv 1-4; vi 8). He proceeds to divide the Odes into groups, Jewish, colourless, purely Christian, and 'problematic', and he finds only two to be 'purely Christian'. The 'colourless' Odes are, it appears, more likely to be Jewish than Christian, for the Jewish literature of the post-Maccabean period reveals 'a remarkable separation between piety and national life', being pious without referring to ordinances of religion. On the other hand Harnack knows no kind of Christianity of the earliest age which could speak so cryptically as the majority of these Odes, and he maintains (in a footnote) that the Shepherd of Hermes is no exception to this experience. The critic next takes the 'problematic' Odes, seventeen in number, and examines the cases in which expressions definitely Christian, such as 'The Son of God', and 'The Anointed', occur

in them. Of the first of these (Ode iii 9) he says that the title 'The Son' comes 'like a pistol shot' (*wie aus der Pistole geschossen*), and breaks the connexion. In the rest of the seventeen Odes the Christian pieces (long or short) can easily be separated from the rest, except in Odes x, xvii, and xxix, which the Editor reserves for later discussion.

On the religious character of the Jewish *Grundschrift* Harnack makes an interesting pronouncement. He first collects the ideas of the singer, so far as they can be summed up in single words and phrases, and says that they correspond generally with the χάρις, πιστεύειν, γνώσις, ἀλήθεια, φῶς, ὕδωρ ζωῆς, ἀγάπη, ζωή, 'with which John [the fourth Evangelist] works'. This, he says, leads to the interesting result that the Odes supply the connecting link between the piety represented by the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the piety and theology of 'John'. In the *Grundschrift* Dr Harnack finds no trace of the synoptic, 'that is the historical', Jesus, and no trace of the doctrine of Messiah.

Interesting as these results are, it would perhaps have been well if the writer had waited a little longer before publishing them. At present the text of the Odes can lay no sort of claim to practical finality. It is true that Dr Harris the original editor tells us that the text is 'a good one', but 'good' is a relative term, and in fact a largish number of emendations have already suggested themselves to Dr Flemming, to the *Times* reviewer (April 7), and to the writer of the present notice. A good deal of textual criticism needs to be applied. Emendations and suggestions have to be collected and considered in relation to one another before the text can be treated as sufficiently settled for the application of literary criticism.

Dr Harnack is in fact confronted at an early stage of his enquiry with textual uncertainties, although he seems to be unaware of his condition. On pp. 75-6 he urges that the Odes for the most part betray by their character that they are neither Christian, nor Jewish-Christian, but Jewish. 'Das', he remarks, 'ist aber auch durch zwei Stellen sicher zu belegen.' The first of these two passages is Ode iv 1-4.

1. 'Niemand verändert deinen heiligen Platz, mein Gott,
2. und keiner ist, der ihn vertauschte, und an einen andern Platz stellte, weil er nicht die Macht (dazu) hat.
3. Denn dein Heiligtum hast du bestimmt, bevor du die Plätze machtest ;
4. Der ältere (Platz) soll nicht tauschen müssen mit denen die jünger sind als er.'

Harnack urges that there is here an allusion to rivalry between the Jerusalem temple and that of Leontopolis, which were destroyed respectively in the years A. D. 70 and 73. If so the Ode must have been composed before A. D. 70, and this is indeed Harnack's view. The doubt-

fullness of the text, however, throws doubt on the assignment of the date. The repetition of the word 'Platz' (*athrā*) is highly suspicious : *deinen heiligen Platz, einen andern Platz, die Plätze*. Further the translation of ver. 3 given by Dr Flemming (in agreement with Dr. Harris) cannot stand, and the probability that the text is corrupt is very great.¹ Lastly, the character of the rest of the Ode gives no support to the notion that in vers. 1-4 the singer is referring to some outward sanctuary. From ver. 5 onward the writer speaks of inward things without giving any hint that he has changed his subject. In ver. 8 he describes the excellence of the mystic seal of God, and it may even be that the true text of the first clause is, 'No man altereth thy holy seal (impress), O my God'. This Ode with its opening verses as Drs Harris and Flemming give them is a *monstrum*.

Nor is Dr Harnack's appeal to Ode vi 7, 8 any more fortunate. The renderings, 'Und zum Tempel gebracht' (Flemming), 'And it brought [water] to the Temple' (Harris), are both desperate efforts to translate a corrupt text. Whether there was any reference at all to the Temple in the original reading of ver. 8 is highly doubtful. Thus the two Odes, the Jewish stamp of which according to Harnack is certain (*zweifellos*), owe that 'stamp' to a text which itself is open to grave doubt.

When we turn from the consideration of these two Odes to Harnack's main thesis that seventeen of the Odes have received Christian interpolations, further possibilities beside the possibility that the Syriac text is corrupt have to be considered. On the first instance of supposed interpolation cited (Ode iii 9) we may remark that if the expression 'The Son' came to Dr Harnack with the suddenness of 'a pistol shot', the great critic must have been less vigilant than usual. 'Operi longo fas est obrepere somnum'; and in the Berlin scholar's case we may read 'operibus longis'. But in fact ample warning is given in the Ode of what is coming in ver. 9. Ver. 8 runs, 'The Lover (*Rāḥmā*, masc.) hath found the Beloved' (*Rēḥimā*, masc.). Perhaps the first thought suggested is that of the reunion of two friends, but the word *Rēḥimā* connotes the thought of a beloved or favourite son, like ἀγαπητός in Greek (1 Chron. iv 9, all the MSS). The next case of supposed interpolation (Ode vii 18) ought certainly to be stated with a more serious caveat on the state of the text. It is not the first four words of the Syriac only that raise suspicion, but the whole verse; Dr Flemming's attempt to translate the words is no more successful than that of Dr. Harris.

On the whole it seems to me that Dr Harnack's book must be regarded

¹ I would suggest two fairly simple emendations, and translate, 'For thy Holy Spirit devised of old to make the world'.

simply as a suggestive preliminary study. His task was complicated by the fact that his document is a translation preserved in a late MS, the text of which can be pronounced to be good only in a relative sense. We are grateful to Dr Harnack for what he has given us, but with regard to his thesis we must be content to say,

‘Adhuc sub iudice lis est’.

W. EMERY BARNES.

THE GREEK PAPYRI.

Selections from the Greek Papyri. Edited with translations and notes by GEORGE MILLIGAN, D.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1910.)

THESE *Selections* are a welcome symptom of a new taste which is arising among those who can read Greek, and especially those who want to understand the Greek Testament. Rumours reach us that the University Press has already been well encouraged in this very up-to-date enterprise; and if so we can anticipate that the book will be not only a symptom of interest already roused, but an effective stimulus of interest in wider circles still. Our friends beyond the Rhine have anticipated us in the publication of small and cheap selections of non-literary papyri. Hans Lietzmann has a few documents in one of his *Kleine Texten*, and Witkowski in the Teubner series edits with an expert's skill all the private letters from the Ptolemaic period known at the time of his publication (1906). This little half-crown volume has already proved extraordinarily useful for students of the New Testament. Its classification of documents according to their writers' education, its admirable though brief notes (in Latin), and the complete word-indices, all combine to make it a discipline in itself. Most assuredly there is no other single volume in the whole of the great Teubner library of Greek texts which could for an instant compare with this one in the wealth of direct illustration it gives for the grammar and the vocabulary of the sacred writers. Dr Milligan's selections include about the same number of documents, and his book has xxxiv + 152 pp., against Witkowski's xxvi + 144: each has also a facsimile plate. It is characteristic of the luxury of English publishing that our book is twice the thickness of the German, and

twice the price : the latter fact is, alas ! symptomatic of the difference between the circulation the English and the German publisher can expect for a work of learning. It is not, however, only thicker paper that the student gets in the new book. Excellent as Witkowski's edition is, Dr Milligan's surpasses it all round as a manual for study. Witkowski's plan allows him no power of selection : he has to print solemnly as a separate document a letter which has lost everything except *Φιλωνίδης τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν*. A considerable proportion of his letters only contain prolonged hiatus and the ends or beginnings of lines. The English editor does not restrict himself to private letters, or to the Ptolemaic period, and every one of the documents he prints is there for a reason which was good enough to justify its being preferred to a score of other possible claimants.¹ This makes the fifty-five papyri far more uniformly interesting and instructive than those in the Teubner volume.² Then there is a very useful introduction, which compresses into remarkably small space all that a student need know about the palaeography of the papyri, and outlines the directions in which the documents will enlighten the reader of the New Testament or the historian of life in the Hellenistic age. A very careful translation is printed under the text, and succinct notes, full of references to Biblical passages on which our documents throw light.

It would be easy to comment extensively on the manifold points of interest that a book of this kind presents, but it is necessary to limit ourselves here to things that concern the Biblical student. Foremost under this head of course comes the quality of the Greek. I do not wish to enlarge here on a topic which I am afraid of making wearisome by iteration. But I can at least point out that Dr Milligan's documents, with their careful notes, will enable every one to judge for himself how far the papyri illustrate the Greek which a generation ago was considered unique. Dr Milligan fitly sets opposite the first page of his Introduction the remarkable prophecy of Bishop Lightfoot, which has deservedly attracted attention since Mr Pulliblack's kindness in communicating his lecture notes of 1863 gave me the privilege of publishing it (*Prolegomena*³ or ³, p. 242). It is tempting to reflect what a difference it would have made in great works of British scholarship, from the Revised Version downwards, had Lightfoot heard of the eighteenth volume of

¹ It may be as well to observe that Dr Milligan's intimate knowledge of the whole mass of published papyri is patent to every one who has read the little book. This last reservation is inserted in view of a curiously unintelligent notice in the *Athenaeum* for June 4th, the writer of which must have severely limited his random dips into these pages.

² It may be added that the two selections do not overlap, except for five letters ; students will do well to get them both.

the Louvre *Notices et Extraits*, which appeared only two years after he uttered this pregnant observation. Twelve pages of these *Selections* are devoted to papyri contained in the Paris publication, which alone—to say nothing of the collections from Turin, Leyden, and the British Museum, some of which Lightfoot might have handled as a schoolboy—would have supplied him with the very material he desiderated as likely to give ‘the greatest possible help for the understanding of the language of the New Testament’. What magnificent use he would have made of the fifty odd volumes of non-literary papyri we have on our shelves to-day! The study of Hellenistic as a subject by itself, an indispensable ally for the theologian, and much more important for him than the literary Greek that made his linguistic equipment hitherto, would have been upon us a whole generation earlier.

But I must get off my hobby, and say something about the *Realien* for the sake of which most of Dr Milligan’s selections have been made. A mere catalogue will be suggestive. No. 1, a marriage contract of B.C. 311, is the oldest Greek papyrus extant. No. 4, a pathetic appeal from a deserted wife (168 B.C.), is highly interesting to the historian of monasticism in Egypt, as are the following documents from the Serapeum. Note also No. 7, from the same source, with its frank outcry against gods whose promised help had failed. Heathen ethics may be sampled in No. 12, with the cold-blooded directions as to exposing a female infant. No. 13 is a curious letter, dated A.D. 22, which has an exact illustration of customs alluded to in Matt. vi 16. Nos. 17 and 28 are important for the question of the census, as to which the papyrus census-returns have done so much to reduce the historical difficulties of Luke ii. Law reports, contracts, petitions, a question to the oracle, specimens of magic, a journey up the Nile, a will, registration of birth and of death, the athletic club of which Herminus, ‘also called Fool’, was a distinguished member—these sample titles will indicate the varied interest of the collection. There is a striking ‘Letter of Consolation’ (No. 38), followed by the invitation to dinner ‘at the table of our Lord Sarapis’, with its obvious bearing on 1 Cor. x 21. The famous schoolboy’s letter (P. Oxy. 119) appears with the emendations which subsequent study have produced, and students of Hellenistic as well as people interested in the genus Boy will count it a treasure. The Church historian will note the *libellus* (No. 48) from the Decian persecution: an additional example of the formula will be found in the first volume of the John Rylands Library papyri, now in the press. There are several Christian documents, including the well-known Letter of Psenosiris, and some other specimens from the small total available, which give us welcome side-lights on the life of the Church on its humbler side. Indices of Greek words, biblical passages illustrated in the notes, and subjects,

complete the volume. Any criticisms or suggestions the present reviewer might have brought in were anticipated in early stages of the book's progress ; and it only remains for me to express the liveliest satisfaction on the appearance of a selection so admirably chosen and edited, which ought henceforth to be a compulsory subject for every theological examination.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

THE GREEK SAINTS.

Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca. Ediderunt Socii Bollandiani. Editio altera emendator. (Brussels, 1909.)

THE present volume, the work of Père Delehaye, is of a kind that does not easily lend itself to a review. It is a catalogue pure and simple. The saints are entered in alphabetical order, and under each name is given, with full bibliographical details, a list of all the hagiographical documents—lives, sermons, &c.—in the Greek language that are in print. The use of such a list is shewn by the fact that the first edition, 1895, has long been out of print. The documents catalogued number 1890. Apart from the purely hagiological usefulness of the book, the attention of wider circles of students—those interested, e. g., in apocryphal literature, or in monasticism—may be directed to this work. The entries under 'Petrus', 'Paulus', under the various Apostles, Patriarchs, and Prophets, will be a sufficient guide to the Greek extra-canonical literature connected with biblical personages ; while such titles as 'Iesus Christus', 'Crux', 'Maria deipara' (the last containing 112 entries), are mines of information on curious points of apocryphal lore.

The general collections of monastic material are grouped under the title 'Patrum Vitae' ; here we find such collections of lives and anecdotes as the *Historia Lausiaca* and the *Apophthegmata* ; here too we find, unexpectedly, Clugnet's collection of materials relating to the monk Daniel of Scete, to whom a reference ought surely to have been given among the Daniels. A valuable Appendix has been added on the great collection of lives of the saints, arranged according to the months of the year, that goes under the name of Symeon Metaphrastes. This collection has attracted much attention of late years, especially on the part of Prof. Ehrhard and of Père Delehaye himself. Many accretions have been made to it in the course of the centuries, and Delehaye here gives a critical reconstruction of the original contents.

When we are sometimes perhaps tempted to regret that it is sixteen years since the Bollandists have produced one of their great tomes of 'Acta Sanctorum', we should remember the vast amount of mere 'spade-work' they have been accomplishing by their lists of materials, such as the present volume, and their catalogues of the hagiographical MSS of the libraries of Europe, great and small. These dull preliminary works, by throwing open to wider circles of students the field of hagiographical study, are for the present doing more for the progress of scientific hagiology than could be done by the prosecution of the Bollandists' own monumental work.

E. C. BUTLER.

THE SIKH RELIGION. EARLY INDIAN MAGIC.

The Sikh Religion, its Gurus, Sacred Writings, and Authors. By MAX ARTHUR MACAULIFFE. (In six volumes: Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909.)

In the annals of British rule in India the Sikhs hold an honourable record both as brave foes and as faithful friends. The elements of the strength and nobility of character which we are accustomed to associate with this nationality are, no doubt, racial; but there can be no doubt also that they have been more fully developed during the last four centuries by a lofty religious ideal and by a healthy social discipline. In origin the community was purely religious; although it eventually became political in its aims under stress of the persecution which it suffered at the hands of the Muhammadan rulers of India, the Moghul Emperors of Dehli. The Sikhs were, as their name denotes, 'disciples' (Skt. *śiṣyāḥ*) of Guru Nānak (A. D. 1469-1538), who, following closely in the footsteps of the Hindu reformer, Kabir (A. D. 1398-1518),¹ taught, as the two fundamental tenets of his faith, the unity of God and the brotherhood of man. In this system the philosophical abstractions of Hinduism become as it were humanized. The cold logic of the stricter pantheism, which demands an impersonal First Cause, is so far modified as to allow of belief in the existence of a Supreme Being, who may be worshipped by faith, and with whom the good are ultimately united in ever-

¹ *Sic.* He is said to have lived one hundred and nineteen years, five months, and twenty-seven days.

lasting bliss. A form of monotheism, in fact, takes the place of pantheism; while in the sphere of conduct the ideals of righteousness and purity of life are substituted for those of philosophic impassivity and asceticism. The religion of the Sikhs was thus essentially practical in character and conducive to the production of good citizens of the world. Their scriptures, therefore, should have an especial interest for readers in Western countries where religion has usually been associated with similar objects.

The Sikh community continued to be governed by gurus until the year 1708, when Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth in succession, died, leaving to his people an injunction to regard henceforth the Granth, the 'Book' of the Sikh scriptures, as 'the visible body of the Guru'. From that time the Sikh Bible has remained the central object of veneration in public worship; and it must be confessed that the worship of the book itself has in a great measure taken the place of an intelligent appreciation of its contents. Mr Macauliffe quotes from a Sikh publication a statement to the effect that, at the present time, probably ninety per cent. of the Sikhs cannot understand their own scriptures. This is due to the fact that the books contained in the Granth are written in various languages and dialects, some of which are now either obsolete or only imperfectly known. 'Hymns are found in Persian, mediaeval Prakrit, Hindi, Marathi, old Panjabi, Multani, and several local dialects', and 'in several hymns the Sanskrit and Arabic vocabularies are freely drawn upon'. It is possible that there may be some pardonable exaggeration in Mr Macauliffe's expression of opinion that the Granth is 'probably the most difficult work, sacred or profane, that exists'; but it is at least clear that the task of translation and elucidation which he has successfully completed by the publication of these six beautifully printed volumes was one which demanded not only an unusually large knowledge of Indian languages, but also the ability to utilize in the country itself such information as can still be gathered from the few surviving traditional interpreters. It is a chief feature in Mr Macauliffe's work that it has been carried out by the advice and with the assistance of learned members of the Sikh community. In this respect it is professedly intended to counteract the influence of the earlier work of Dr Trumpp, which, being written from a definitely missionary standpoint, has always been regarded by the Sikhs as an unfair presentment of their religion. Mr Macauliffe's translations of the various books of the Granth are preceded by short histories of the life and times of their authors; and a good index to the whole work enables the reader to make use of the stores of information which he has thus brought together.

E. J. RAPSON.

La Magie dans l'Inde Antique, par VICTOR HENRY (2^e édition : Paris, Nourry, 'Bibliothèque de Critique Religieuse').

THIS work, the first edition of which appeared in 1903, contains the substance of a course of lectures delivered at the Sorbonne in 1901-2. Since that date Oriental philology has sustained a great loss through the death of the author, one of the most learned, thoughtful, and brilliant of French scholars. The main purpose of the book is to give the results of a detailed examination of the two principal literary sources for the history of early Indian magic—the hymns of the Atharva-Veda and the Grhya-sūtra, or 'secular' text-book of this Veda, the Kauśika-Sūtra. These two documents are of especial importance for the history of early Indian religion and civilization, since, as Professor Macdonell remarks in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, taken together they supply 'an almost complete picture of the ordinary life of the Vedic Indian'. While the ten chapters of the book are chiefly concerned with Indian magic, the Preface, Introduction, and 'Conclusion' deal more generally with the subject as an important factor in the developement of human institutions. The author's views are always clearly and cogently expressed, and they are supported with great knowledge and ability. He insists on the value of philological evidence—formerly, no doubt, greatly exaggerated, but, in recent years, unduly neglected—in all investigations of the nature of early Indo-European civilization ; while, on the other hand, he vigorously attacks some of the favourite postulates of the anthropologists, such as that of the universal prevalence among primitive peoples of 'Totemism', of which he finds no trace whatever in Indian magic.

E. J. RAPSON.

ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY.

The Church of England in the Eighteenth Century. By ALFRED PLUMMER, D.D. (Methuen & Co., 36 Essex Street, W.C.)

THIS work, which is the last of a series of six volumes, by different authors, on the history of the English Church from the earliest times, certainly conforms to the main object of the series. It is conceived in no narrow spirit, and does full justice to the claims of parties both religious and political, and it would be difficult from a mere perusal of its pages to discover to what side the author leans. In a small treatment of a subject this is undoubtedly a great merit; but, of course, the almost total suppression of the author's personality leads, in the necessarily abbreviated balancing of various considerations on either side, to a certain loss of tone in the colouring of the events that are described. This is inevitable; but though Dr Plummer is everywhere learned and interesting, there are one or two small matters that cannot fail to detract from the amenities of this book, especially as they might so easily have been avoided. Anything resembling a bibliography is at all times annoying, and in the frequent lists of names flung at the reader, not covertly from notes at the bottom of a page, but openly from the main body of the text, Dr Plummer in several places seems desirous of gratuitously testing how far he can defy the feelings of the reader. Mere lists of names are simply unedifying and do not in the least reinforce an argument. If space forbids comment, the lists are better left out altogether, and it is to be regretted that Dr Plummer has not recognized this.

Lack of space has of necessity made it difficult for the author to deal with many aspects of the history of the Church; but undue emphasis has surely been laid upon the political and literary side of it. It is not possible to concur in the view apparently taken by the author that a discussion of the literary merits of Addison, for example, is more important than many social events which occurred in the eighteenth century. The industrial revolution which began in 1750 is ignored entirely; so is the Poor Law; nor is the decreasing importance of the political aspect of the Church's history in the course of the century even alluded to.

On the other hand due praise must be given to the often complete, and always just, estimate of the characters of the leading men of the age, especially in their political and literary relations. As individual studies they display to full advantage the sympathy and industry of the author; but the successive elucidation of the views of individuals somehow fails to produce a clear total effect. For instance, the cynical indifference of Walpole, the result of political calculation, cannot

explain the lack of vitality in the Church in the eighteenth century. Hence it is that, profound as the remarks of Dr Plummer may be upon this or that personality, and fully as he seems to have caught the literary and political mind of the age, he does not seem to have explained adequately the decline of the spiritual influence of the Church, particularly in comparison with the rapid spread of Methodist enthusiasms ; for it was not in individual but in corporate excellence that this decline in the Church was most evident.

No one, however, who seeks to understand the relations of the Church to the politics and literature of the age will be disappointed with the researches of Dr Plummer.

R. A. WISEMAN.

CHRONICLE

OLD TESTAMENT.

Les Livres de Samuel. By Father PAUL DHORME. (Lecoffre, Paris, 1910.)

DR DHORME's book belongs to the valuable series of 'Biblical Studies' by the various professors of the École Biblique de S. Étienne, at Jerusalem. It provides a translation with notes on the text and subject-matter, and short discussions of the literary and historical questions. Owing to the imperfect condition of the Hebrew, the textual notes naturally take up the greater amount of the space, and in these and elsewhere the author shews himself thoroughly acquainted with the leading Roman Catholic commentators and with modern critical research. The use which he often makes of the results of Assyriology—a field in which he has done good work—and his independence of judgement make the commentary a very welcome one. Perhaps the most instructive feature is the treatment of the literary analysis. Dr Dhorme recognizes a compilation of J and E (not necessarily the sources of the Hexateuch) made by a Deut. redactor (not earlier than 621) with later insertions (P, e.g. 1 Sam. ii 27–36 and 2 Sam. vii). In his estimate of the extent of E he goes beyond Cornill and Budde, and if his theory seems valid in certain cases (e.g. 1 Sam. v sq.), Budde has adversely criticized my own efforts a decade ago to point out E in 2 Samuel, and his own less extensive recognition of J and E has not commended itself to Stade, Steuernagel, Riedel, and Guth. Dhorme finds a greater literary complexity in Samuel than is usually allowed. For example, in 2 Sam. ix–xx he ascribes to E, x 1–14, xii 1–15 a, xv 1–6, 10, 24–26, 29, xvi 5–14, xvii 27–29, xix 17–24, 32–40, and xx 1–22. Whatever one may think of Dhorme's literary theory it is evident that this group of chapters is more complex than most scholars have admitted. Dhorme, however, does not appear to allow earlier and later portions of his J and E, and without handling the historical problems of the Book, he simply commits himself to the view that these sources are much older than 621, and may be little later than the events themselves (p. 8). The inadequacy of this appears when, in ascribing 2 Sam. iii 17–19 to R^s, he approves of my own view that v. 18 represents another tradition, whereas my suggestion recognizes a certain historical standpoint under the influence of which the book tended to reach its present shape. And again, although he (*Rev. Bib.* 1908, p. 436), like A. H. Godbey (*Amer. Journ. Theol.* 1909, p. 610), looks with some favour upon my suggestion of an

intimate connexion between Judges x 6-18 and the older account of Saul's rise, this, if it has any value at all, is fundamental for the criticism of the literary growth of all the intervening chapters. As it is, Prof. Dhorme naturally recognizes the close relation between the last chapters of Judges and 1 Sam. i-iv, and the former were admittedly inserted by a post-Deut. hand. The consequence is that, although it is held that the book of Samuel was redacted by D and is now in post-exilic form, the complexities of 'J E' are handled regardless of (a) the literary vicissitudes suggested by Judges and Kings; (b) the editorial treatment of the (assumed) old sources in Deuteronomic and later periods; and (c) the historical data which presuppose sources organically different. It naturally falls quite outside the province of a commentary to probe all the questions which arise in a single book, and as a commentary, especially upon the text of Samuel, Prof. Dhorme's volume is a welcome contribution. But owing to the recognized literary character of the Old Testament the reader must remember that the study of the peculiar literary and historical problems of the present post-exilic form of Samuel can scarcely be severed either from those of the composite (and also post-exilic) books in which it is now imbedded, or from those of the later composite series (Chron.-Ezra-Neh.) which admittedly uses older material. There is agreement that Samuel is now in a post-exilic dress; the more precise formulation of the pre-Deut. and earlier post-Deut. vicissitudes involves theories which are still under discussion. In like manner, the historical problems are those of the traditions of the rise of the monarchy, and these cannot be isolated from *all* the traditions encircling the ages which immediately precede and follow.

The Historic Exodus. By OLAF A. TOFFTEEN, Ph.D., Western Theological Seminary. (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1909.)

THIS work belongs to a series of 'Researches in Biblical Archaeology', the first volume of which was noticed in *J. T. S.* 1908, p. 636. It is built around the attempt to prove that there are two 'Exodi' in the Pentateuch. One, from the land of Goshen, is contained in the sources J, E, and D. To it belong the descent into Egypt of Joseph and Jacob (who are associated with the Hyksos) and an entrance into Palestine in 1407, the biblical account of which is connected in the most remarkable manner with the Amarna Letters, and with Winckler's Tablets from Boghazkeui. The other Exodus, from the land of Raameses, is found in P. It is dated about 1144 and coincides with the leadership of Samson who, as a Nazirite, is the first to betray the influence of the Priestly Code. Thus, the discrepant and conflicting data in the narratives are cleverly used to urge that there are two distinct

histories—two separate emigrations from Egypt, each under leaders with virtually identical names, viz. Moses (but LXX Mōūses), Aaron and Joshua (or Hoshea). Prof. Toffteen puts forward with all modesty this theory, and his book, which (he tells us) is the fruit of many years of thought and labour, must on this account alone command a sympathetic reading. His evidence, as he proceeds to formulate his views, is undoubtedly ingenious, but his methods are too often extremely arbitrary, and any survey of his conception of the true history of the age makes his theory practically incredible. Most critics would probably admit that distinct historical views are embodied in the O.T. compilations, but this book at almost every point diverges too much from the position which biblical criticism has reached to enlist serious attention; and, although the theory extravagantly claims to support the historical verity of the narratives (p. 279), the conservative reader will hardly gain any satisfaction from Prof. Toffteen's conception of what the Pentateuchal history really was. We have a lengthy bibliography of relevant and irrelevant literature, and the author claims to be 'thoroughly cognizant of the views of all the more prominent writers bearing upon [his] work'. Nevertheless, he appears to be unaware of the principles of criticism by which 'the more prominent writers' have reached essentially identical results. The book has many interesting features, and is conspicuous for the attention devoted to external evidence; but it is marred from beginning to end by thoroughly fundamental faults. The author has most remarkable ideas of modern critical work and aims, and even goes so far as to date P about the time of Saul and David—support being found, of course, in the book of Chronicles! His philological equations, by the help of which he finds ingenious and often staggering parallels to the biblical narrative in external sources, are too frequently rash and sometimes very absurd.¹ The book may attract by its apparently conservative conclusions and by the wealth of external illustrative matter, but it is to be feared that it is too pre-Copernican and too unmethodical to achieve the purpose which the author had in view.

The Political and the Social Leaders of the Jewish Community of Sepphoris in the Second and Third Centuries. By A. BÜCHLER, Ph.D. (Published at the Jews' College, London, 1909.)

THE contents of Dr Büchler's pamphlet are sufficiently summarized by the title. He deals with Sepphoris and the whole of Galilee, describing the classes of population, the leaders, their wealth, juridical

¹ As a specimen of concentrated audacity I may refer to pp. 268 sqq., where Cushan-Rishathaim is Cus-Arsathaim, i.e. the city Ku-us-sar of Mitāni (elsewhere connected with the name Midian!) and Artatama.

powers, and the position of the Rabbis in everyday life and in popular estimation. His object is to present a picture of life and conditions as based upon the early Rabbinical evidence, and he points out that in modern descriptions of Galilean Jews and their Judaism 'combination and imagination have played far too great a part'. While suggesting that the general conditions which the sources represent were—*mutatis mutandis*—'almost if not wholly the same in the second and first centuries' (p. 3), he does not appear to lay enough emphasis upon the fact that the important city of Sepphoris had only a few Rabbis before A.D. 136, and that only between that date and 200 did it become a prominent centre of Rabbinism (p. 4 sq.). Consequently our conceptions of Galilee in the time of Jesus obviously cannot be indiscriminately based upon the evidence which belongs to the age when the Rabbinical communities flourished. On the other hand, apart from the specific changes (religious and social) which have definite historical causes (the fall of Jerusalem), there is still that noteworthy similarity of internal and external movements in all ages of Palestinian history, and that more or less unchanging background of custom and thought which make Dr Büchler's comprehensive investigation of the conditions extremely suggestive for the student of Palestine. He brings out clearly the different strata of the inhabitants, the haughtiness and wealth of the ruling and land-owning class, the difficult position of the Rabbis between a people which did not conceal its contempt and an aristocracy which hated them for their intrusion. Readers may compare the working of the Roman government in Galilean life with the Turkish régime, and with the relatively more tolerable conditions upon which the Jews could look back (an instructive quotation from Simon ben Gamaliel, p. 41, n. 2). The imperfect ethical standard of the age, the endeavours of the Rabbis to raise it, and to remove the existing oppression and immorality, will recall the denunciations of the prophets; and the Rabbis' outbursts against the proud will suggest comparison with some of the Psalms. Dr Büchler shews in a very interesting manner how the effort was made to improve the principles of justice and conduct on the basis of O.T. law and doctrine, and incidentally elucidates the insistence of the Rabbis upon the identity of righteousness and (legal and social) right. Finally, by drawing attention to the lowly origin of the Rabbis and the infirmities of the various classes of society, he enables the reader to realize that Rabbinical literature in Midrash and Talmud is not to be judged from a standpoint which demands a perfection not found in human nature, or ignores the necessity of adapting religious teaching to the intelligence of its hearers. This interesting monograph, if read in combination with the more or less contemporary inscriptions and the

archaeological remains of Galilee and its environs, brings up a very vivid series of pictures, giving us some idea of one phase of reforming activity in an area saturated with the dregs of the older Oriental religions.

Two new *Beihefte* of the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* have appeared. No. xvi, *Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik*, by ARNO KROPAT, is a useful monograph on the syntactical peculiarities of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, and will prove distinctly valuable to those who are interested in the linguistic problems of late Hebrew. The book is carefully arranged, the subject is well thought out, and a full index of biblical passages is appended. Kropat points out, and very justly, that many passages in Chronicles which have parallels in Samuel-Kings are not borrowed, but are linguistically and stylistically independent. This conclusion can be supported by a comparison of the material elements (with which this monograph is not concerned) and must surely bring the conviction that although Chronicles is relatively untrustworthy as a historical source, its value as a specimen of compilation, of the fertility of Hebrew literature, of the abundance of fluctuating traditions and of their plasticity, is still too much neglected. Kropat also notes the extent to which the influence of Aramaic reveals itself (p. 74), and observes that this is much less marked in Neh. i-vii 4 and xvi. Into the relationship between Chronicles and Mishnic Hebrew the book does not enter; this, however, does not prevent the monograph from being a positive contribution to Hebrew studies. *Beiheft* no. xvii, *Der Messias oder Tü'eb der Samaritaner*, is by the late ADALBERT MERX of Heidelberg, whose sudden and lamentable death so soon after the death of his friend Adolf Hausrath will be remembered. A short appreciation is contributed by Prof. Marti, the editor, to which readers may be referred for some account of Merx's scholarly versatility. Recent descriptions of the Samaritan teaching of the Messiah have been given by J. A. Montgomery (*The Samaritans*) and in *The Open Court* (May and September, 1907), and these may now be supplemented by the fuller material which Merx has collected and investigated. The evidence is contained in Samaritan liturgical and other works, and to a careful study of their contents Merx has appended texts and translations. Although the book appeals in the first instance to those who are interested in late Samaritanism, it contains much that is extremely suggestive for Old Testament students, since, as he takes occasion to observe, there must be much Old Palestinian material preserved in Samaritan literature (p. 49). Provided the sources be read with due regard to the proper principles of comparison, they will be found to contain many interesting examples of interpretation and speculation

which can be paralleled in early Christian or Rabbinical literature, and these are obviously quite as important for the study of the unchanging Oriental psychology as the thought and custom of fellahin and bedouin.

HERE may be noticed an article by Prof. HUGO GRESSMANN in the *Zeit. f. Alttest. Wissenschaft*, 1910, pp. 1-34, which, although no bigger than a pamphlet is more instructive and suggestive than many a portly volume. It is a contribution to the study of the patriarchal narratives, inspired partly by the work of Gunkel and Meyer, and partly by Wundt's encyclopaedic *Völkerpsychologie*. It should attract attention to the necessity of combining a study of the principles and forms of thought with the results which lie before us in the O.T.; it will no doubt also receive notice because Prof. Gressmann concludes that by the time of Saul 'die Sagen der Genesis im grossen und ganzen fertig waren, wenn auch Einzelheiten später hinzugefügt sind' (p. 31). While his article illustrates how valuable 'comparative research' may be, it unfortunately pays insufficient heed to the principles involved in applying the results from one branch of knowledge to those of another. He has no difficulty in shewing that floating elements of myth have been localized and attached to the patriarchal figures, and that we have the Hebrew form and often the local shape or local version of varied elements of traditional history, legend, and myth. It is, therefore, quite à propos to illustrate these features by Hans and Gretel (pp. 9, 14); but had he compared the modern Palestinian stories of the sheikhs and welis, the St Georges and Elijahs, the venerated godlings (one might almost say Baals) of the untutored native, he would surely have seen that his conclusion that the patriarchs bear *personal* names does not overthrow other evidence which suggests that they actually enjoyed in popular thought the semi-divine honours paid to local heroes (pp. 1-8). Moreover, the enquiry how far back Israel's recollection of past history ascended (pp. 31 sq.) works upon the assumption that the statement of a historical fact is evidence for the antiquity of the source in which it is found, whereas other aspects of 'comparative research' would shew that this method has no validity. Finally, Prof. Gressmann recognizes that there is a distinct South Palestinian background to the traditions, and he traces a connexion between this and Judah's independent position until the time of Saul, 'da erst reichte es dem nördlichen Bruder Israel die Hand' (p. 29). This 'brotherly' relation is not merely poetical if we consider the relations between Judah and Israel, but the whole framework of the narratives rests upon the common ancestry of all the tribes of Israel of whom Judah was one, and not until Judah had become a recognized portion of 'all Israel' could this scheme arise. The real difficulty in dating sources is to find criteria

which are valid, and here comparative research (e.g. the various traditions of the patriarchal figures in Genesis, Jubilees, Midrashic works) clearly shews that in investigating composite and undated documents containing older elements one must start from the form and organic connexion of the material in its present shape.

Old Testament History and Literature. By the Rev. B. H. ALFORD. (Longmans & Co., London, 1910.)

THIS is a sketch of biblical history and literature including the post-biblical period down to 135 B.C. It is cognizant of modern criticism, and in fact, after a preliminary chapter on the earlier traditions, commences in chapter ii with 'The Beginnings of History' in the Books of Samuel. The standpoint as a whole is rather moderate. The book is fresh and interesting; it strives to arouse an appreciation of the O. T. as religious literature apart from the technical questions of criticism, and it contains useful remarks upon the nature of the sources. A commendable feature is the endeavour to sketch the various phases of the literature, including the earlier post-biblical pseudepigraphical writings. It should form a helpful introductory book for younger readers. The author dedicates it to his grandchildren, and to judge the book by its aims the general positions of the writer are quite adequate.

Israel's Ideal. By the Rev. JOHN ADAMS. (Clark, Edinburgh, 1909.)

THIS book, by the author of *Sermons in Syntax* (noticed in *J. T. S.* 1908, p. 635 sq.), consists of a small series of studies in Old Testament theology in the light of our knowledge of Semitic heathenism, in order to demonstrate the essential superiority of the biblical ideas over allied conceptions and their relation to further developements in the New Testament. After a couple of introductory chapters the author deals with Yahweh as the God of Israel, the Doctrine of the Spirit, Sacrifice, Covenant, Prophecy, Messianism, Sin, Salvation, Creation, and the O. T. contribution to Christology (angel of the Lord, the Divine Wisdom, the Messiah). The book is interesting and suggestive, although often too brief in its treatment of controversial and problematical points, and is expository rather than analytical. The author confesses himself inspired by Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, and aims at impelling other students to furnish a contribution, however humble, to a more systematic treatment of the developement of pre-Christian doctrine.

Modern Study of the Old Testament and Inspiration. By the Rev. T. H. SPROTT, M.A. (Cambridge University Press, 1909.)

MR SPROTT'S book is based upon a series of lectures delivered by

him on the bearing of Old Testament criticism upon modern doctrines of God's relation to man. It deals with the aims and results of criticism, incorrect and correct conceptions of the meaning of revelation and inspiration, the O. T. as a true interpretation of the self-manifestation of God in nature, in man's conscience, and in history. The book lays no claim to originality, its object being to single out the imperishable features of the O. T., and to shew what they mean for modern thoughtful life; to sever the teaching of the O. T. from the technical criticism of literary form, historical framework, and the like; and to view it in the light of modern research in religion, sociology, &c. The book is written with distinct literary taste and is fertile in suggestion; among the many sections which will probably impress themselves upon readers may be mentioned the illuminating paragraphs on the essential features of the prophets' conceptions of the Divine (pp. 66 sqq.), the principle of solidarity (pp. 178 sqq.; perhaps the most fundamental principle for understanding the development of O. T. theology), and the remarks scattered here and there on the 'rationality of history'. Altogether it strikes me as being quite one of the best books of its kind.

THE eighth edition of Prof. DRIVER's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (Clark, Edinburgh, 1909), contains numerous alterations and additions which have been made on the plates of the re-set edition (1897). The pages in question are specified on p. xiv sq., and the changes consist mainly of supplements to the bibliography and the incorporation of new data or new views. As examples may be cited the summary of the more recent studies of Jeremiah (p. 273 sq.), and especially the material bearing upon Biblical Aramaic culled from the Egyptian-Aramaic papyri. Prof. Driver's book is too well known to call for any extended remarks, and it is enough to draw attention to the fact that the amount of new matter makes this edition as indispensable as the former editions. The same applies to his *Book of Genesis* ('Westminster Series'; Methuen, London) which has now reached a seventh edition. The 'additions and corrections', which may be had separately, form a little pamphlet of forty-six pages. They comprise mainly the results of newer light upon chronology and archaeology, some notice of Dr Orr's conjectures and criticisms, and also of other new literature. The very careful exposition of the problems of old Oriental chronology (with tables), and the full discussion of their bearing upon Genesis, form one of the clearest and most helpful aids a student could wish for.

THE second edition of Prof. H. L. STRACK'S '*Aboda Zara: der Mishnatraktat 'Götzendienst'*' (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1909) contains several

new features. The grammatical notes which had appeared scattered in the edition of 1888 are now collected and summarized in the introduction. The notes on the text and subject-matter have been revised, amplified, and rearranged, so that the explanatory remarks now accompany the German translation of the tractate. The introduction itself has been brought up to date and the paragraph on the polemical use of the tractate in anti-Jewish controversy has been made more concise. The translation, which is the most valuable feature of the new edition, is well annotated, although the interesting *halākōth* stand in need of a much more comprehensive commentary than the narrow compass of Prof. Strack's booklet naturally allowed. More attention might well have been paid in these notes to Semitic heathenism and folk-lore.

DR DANIEL VÖLTER'S *Aegypten und die Bibel* (Brill, Leyden, 1909) appears in a fourth edition with sundry changes and improvements. Most readers will agree that it exaggerates the resemblances between the Old Testament and Egyptian thought and tradition, but the author can at least claim that Palestinian excavation shews that the direct influence of Egypt is quite as important as, and sometimes more recognizable than, that of Babylon and Assyria. If the reader will take into account the fact that the Egyptians are not Semites—and consequently allow for the inevitable resemblances between Hebrew and Assyrian phraseology—and if he reads the book with the same discrimination as the rival 'Babel and Bible' literature, he will realize that the same phases of thought extended from the Tigris to the Nile, and that the resemblances which the Old Testament finds in the neighbouring lands are not necessarily due to external influence. Herein lies the value of Dr Völter's monograph, and it may help to modify that attitude which seems almost inclined to treat Palestinian thought as something which would never have existed had it not been for Babylonia. This criticism, of course, does not mean to deny influence or borrowing in the domain of thought, but suggests that the results of painstaking comparison must be checked by some regard to psychological laws.

STANLEY A. COOK.

Isaias diligenter revisus, &c., by C. D. GINSBURG, LL.D. (British and Foreign Bible Society, 1909), is an instalment of a very handsome critical edition of the Hebrew Bible which the British and Foreign Bible Society is bringing out in celebration of its centenary (March, 1904). It goes far beyond any previous work of the same kind.

To take a single example, for the passage Isa. xlv 3–xlvi 10 the

edition of S. Baer (Lipsiae, 1872) supplies nine critical notes, while Dr Ginsburg gives no fewer than thirty-eight. No doubt these are for the most part important only for the grammarian ; but it is a great boon to have the evidence so fully set before us, and to be able to realize the fact that the Massoretic text is not quite so straitly fixed as we are apt to imagine. More than forty authorities (printed or MS) are used, and reference is made not unfrequently to the Targum, the Peshitta, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate. Many of the readings collected by Dr Ginsburg are interesting even when they are not important for the sense. Thus in xxix 13, xxxviii 14 we find אֲרִי (consonants as well as vowels) standing in the place of the Tetragrammaton. The work seems to be accurately done in spite of the mass of detail involved. It is a pity perhaps that the abbreviations used in citing the Targum of Onkelos (ת"ר) and the Vulgate (ת"ר) should be liable to be confused. In the note on lxvi 9 ת"ר seems to be a mistake for ת"י, i. e. the so-called Targum of Jonathan. A few conjectures are recorded ; e.g. in liii 9 עֲשֵׂי רַע 'evil doers' for עֲשֵׂי רַע 'rich'

W. EMERY BARNES.

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The Church Quarterly Review, April 1910 (Vol. lxx, No. 139: Spottiswoode & Co.). E. W. WATSON A new history of Methodism—A. C. HEADLAM The Eucharist in history—H. SAINSBURY Christianity, Science, and 'Christian Science'—Screens and roodlofts—R. VAUGHAN How we may 'think of the Trinity'—Foreign and English schools of pastoral theology—C. W. EMMET The Biblical teaching on Divorce—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, April 1910 (Vol. viii, No. 3: Williams & Norgate). A. LOISY Remarques sur le volume 'Jésus ou le Christ'—Translation of M. Loisy's article—J. A. THOMPSON The three voices of Nature—M. SADLER The two-mindedness of England—H. JONES The ethical demand of the present political situation—G. BALFOUR Psychical research and current doctrines of mind and body—V. SCUDDER Christianity in the socialist State—Concerning imprisonment: by one who has suffered it—V. WELBY The message of Paul to the present age—W. MANNING The revision of the Book of Common Prayer—R. B. PERRY The futility of absolutism—Moslem sermons preached in Constantinople—Discussions—Reviews—Recent books and articles.

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(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, April 1910 (Vol. xxvii, No. 2 : Abbaye de Maredsous). G. MORIN Un traité inédit d'Arnobé le Jeune : *Le Libellus ad Gregorium*—J. CHAPMAN The contested Letters of Pope Liberius (*suite*)—G. MORIN *Le Confictus* d'Ambroise Autpert et ses points d'attache avec la Bavière—U. BERLIÈRE Un canoniste oublié du xiv^e siècle : Henri de Vienne, abbé—A. WILMART Le discours de S. Basile sur l'Ascèse, en latin—D. DE BRUYNE Un mot latin mal compris : *Muscella*—P. LEHMANN Encore Albert de Siegburg—G. MORIN L'office cistercien pour la Fête-Dieu comparé avec celui de S. Thomas d'Aquin—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques—U. BERLIÈRE Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, April 1910 (Vol. xi, No. 2 : Louvain, 40 Rue de Namur). J. FLAMION Les actes apocryphes de Pierre (*suite, à suivre*)—L. LAURAND Le 'Cursus' dans la légende de saint François par saint Bonaventure—H. DE JONGH La faculté de théologie de l'uni-

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Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, January 1910 (2nd series, Vol. v, No. 1 : Paris, 20 Rue du Regard). M. BRIÈRE La légende syriaque de Nestorius (texte et traduction)—L. LEROY Histoire d'Abraham le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Alexandrie (texte arabe, traduction française) (*fin*)—S. GRÉBAUT La prière de Longinos (texte éthiopien, traduction française)—F. NAU Hagiographie syriaque : Saint Alexis, Jean et Paul, Daniel de Galas, Hannina, Euphémie, etc.—P. DIB L'initiation chrétienne dans le rite maronite—L. DELAPORTE Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits coptes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (*suite*)—S. PETRIDÈS Le synaxaire de Marc d'Éphèse (introduction et texte grec)—Bibliographie : M. Lepin *La valeur historique du quatrième évangile* (F. NAU) : M.-B. SCHWALM *La vie privée du peuple juif à l'époque de Jésus-Christ* (M. BRIÈRE) : L. J. Delaporte *La chronographie d'Élie bar Šinaya, métropolitain de Nisibe* (F. NAU) : J.-A. Decourdemanche *Traité pratique des poids et mesures des peuples anciens et des Arabes* (F. NAU).

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(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, May 1910 (Vol. xi, No. 2 : Giessen, A. Töpelmann). E. SCHWARTZ Noch einmal der Tod der Söhne Zebedaei—R. PERDELWITZ Das literarische Problem des Hebräerbriefs II—J. WEISS Εὐθὺς bei Markus—THE EDITOR Zur Kirchenpolitik des Bischofs Kallist—TH. KLUGE Über das Alter der georgischen Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments—Miscellen.

Theologische Quartalschrift, April 1910 (Vol. xcii, No. 2 : Tübingen, H. Laupp). DÖLLER Die vier- und fünffache Ersatzpflicht (Ex. 21, 37 [22, 1])—ZELLER Elagabal-Ammudates und der Dichter Kommodian—GRAF Arabische Chrysostomos-Homilien—SCHILLING Eigentum und Erwerb nach dem Opus imperf. in Matth.—STOFFELS Makarius der Aegypter auf den Pfaden der Stoa II—MERCHICH Zur Begriffsbestimmung der Verstocktheit—Rezensionen—Analekten.

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